

Freedom

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY

NOTES.

May Day and Strike Movements.

Must we conclude after all that May Day, from the point of view of serious propaganda, is no longer to be reckoned with? It has every appearance of becoming nothing more than a gala day, when whoso listeth may take his holiday, if fine, journey to the Park and back, and enjoy the outing. By all means let the workers do as much of this as they care to. But by those who watch the trend of events it will be seen that a change has taken place in the ideas of comrades who looked for the possibilities of a revolutionary outbreak on such an occasion. And this is quite logical, and even essential, and need cause no feeling of disappointment to the most impatient amongst us. Labour and Capital have had many a skirmish since the days when the workers demonstrated in the streets of the great Continental cities and fought the police and the troops who were prepared to disperse them. France and Italy have shown us not only that Labour must choose its own battlefields for the economic struggle, but also that the First of May is only an incident in the year's work; and far more important and pregnant with possibilities are the "psychological moments" when the strike movement can act with sudden and unexpected results. Nevertheless, we send fraternal greetings in the truest sense of Internationalism to all comrades at home and abroad who may be celebrating May Day of 1909.

The "Cloven Hoof" Again.

That ambitious political intriguer, J. R. Macdonald, tried to play a very old game at the I.L.P. Conference. Like all these cut-and-dried authoritarians, he objects to the independent spirit shown by some of the branches. He is all for centralisation, and would have it known that the Executive can do no wrong. Assuming the air of a benevolent despot, he told the Conference that "law and order are mightier than Anarchy," which is undoubtedly true at the present moment, and is the reason why we have capitalism, wage-slavery, unemployment, starvation, and all the rest of the blessings that "law and order" maintain for the benefit of the few. The good man, of course, did not mean it in this sense, but simply played the card against the "disruptive spirits" in the organisation. His "law and order" would naturally, he thinks, be a blessing to everybody, and something quite different from Stolypin's or Asquith's, or that of Abdul the Damned. Fortunately, there is again a difference of opinion, and there are others, amongst whom we take our stand, who do not intend to have the "law and order" of this would-be despot of the Labour movement. We do not intend to change our masters, but to abolish them. Let him rave against Anarchism: it is the "high light whereby the world is saved," even if it ends the career of professional politicians. It will, however, offer Macdonald honest work to do, and if he objects—well, humanitarianism will provide a home for incurables.

Splits and Political Action.

Little time need be wasted in considering the recent dissensions in the I.L.P. Every one expected them sooner or later, and it is only a repetition of what happens in all active organisations. The unimportance of the split is obvious, because there is no genuine difference of ideas between the retiring members of the Executive and those who will replace them. Russell Smart and Leonard Hall are quite right in attacking the caucus that has tried to extinguish what revolutionary fire the I.L.P. once possessed. But they also will become an obstacle to the left wing of the party when using the powers invested in the Executive. It is absurd for them and for the *New Age* also to talk of "reasonable discipline" in the party. All Executives are reasonable in their own estimation. And if members think

otherwise, who is to decide! Eventually the majority. And so, having "looped the loop," we come round again to that old *reductio ad absurdum*, that reason and all the other virtues are a question of numbers. This monstrous lie of majority rule the malcontents of the I.L.P. are just as prepared to maintain as were the autocrats who went before. From all this we see clearly the truth of the Anarchist position, that perfect freedom of opinion must imply equal freedom of action, and that only good results from any split that may arise under such conditions. On the other hand, in political struggles splits are disastrous, because in that case the one thing—the only thing—needful is the compact majority, and this must never be endangered if the ultimate goal of power is to be reached. So we see once again the futility of Socialists who are Socialists meddling with politics. And in proof of this, the debate in the House on the feeding of school children, where the utter humiliation of the Labour Party was a pitiable sight, points the moral.

"In the Right with Two or Three."

News reaches us once more of the shameful persecution by the United States authorities of our courageous comrade Emma Goldman. All the inhuman machinery of the law seems to have been set in motion to crush this one solitary woman who has been fighting for so many years the monsters of capitalism who are ravaging that "great Republic." To preach to the enslaved masses, to tell them of their wrongs, to encourage them to struggle for a higher form of society, brings on her devoted head all the spite and venom of the law, with its spies, its judges, and its prisons. We cannot give details of all she has suffered, but the fact that every legal trick, backed by unlimited bribery, have been employed to deprive her of her right of citizenship, shows how this Government of the "land of the free" fears a single individual. On the other hand, we can all read for ourselves how the "Wheat King," Patten, speculating on the misery and starvation of the poor, gets "protection" from the law against the wrath of the people. Every honest person knows that Emma Goldman is right when she denounces the infamies practised by the capitalist class in America—that she has justice on her side when she demands liberty and well-being for the workers. But what an unequal struggle! To be "in the right with two or three," we hope, will not mean defeat, and at least it should win the sympathy of those for whom she suffers.

The Strike that Failed.

We are not at all convinced that much good comes from such schemes as those from which Ruskin College emanated. It is one thing to wish for the integral education of the people, which all Anarchists desire, and quite another to select a few individuals from the mass, and by education convert them into a privileged class above their fellows. But the point to be noted in this particular instance is the despicable spirit of reaction shown by a Committee largely made up of Labour M.P.'s. Dennis Hird is a well-known and intelligent exponent of evolutionary ideas, and no doubt his exposition of sociology was a little too scientific and too uncompromising to suit the canting conventionalities of political vote-catchers. And besides one wonders seriously what qualifications Bowerman, Bell, Shackleton, and the rest can possibly possess to sit in judgment on matters concerning education. The order of the day seems to be this: If a man knows nothing, put him on an Executive Committee; if he knows less, send him to the House of Commons. And are these the people who are to make laws for us in the days to come? That will indeed be "to live in narrow ways with little men." We are glad a few of the students had the pluck to strike, if only to make the world laugh at the spirit of Little Bethel that dominates the mind of the Labour Party. We also see how science will advance when Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer are supplanted by Bowerman, Shackleton, and Bell!

A GLIMPSE INTO THE FUTURE.

We can easily perceive the new horizons opening before the Social Revolution.

Each time we speak of revolution, the worker who has seen children wanting food lowers his brow and repeats obstinately, "What of bread? Will there be sufficient if everyone eats according to his appetite? What if the peasants, ignorant tools of reaction, starve our towns as the black bands did in France in 1793—what shall we do?"

Let them do their worst! The large cities will have to do without them.

At what, then, should the hundreds of thousands of workers, who are asphyxiated to-day in small workshops and factories, be employed on the day they regain their liberty? Will they continue locking themselves up in factories after the Revolution? Will they continue to make luxurious toys for export when they see their stock of corn getting exhausted, meat becoming scarce, and vegetables disappearing without being replaced?

Evidently not! They will leave the town and go into the fields! Aided by a machinery which will enable the weakest of us to put a shoulder to the wheel, they will carry revolution into previously enslaved culture as they will have carried it into institutions and ideas.

Hundreds of acres will be covered with glass, and men and women with delicate fingers will foster the growth of young plants. Hundreds of other acres will be ploughed by steam, improved by manures, or enriched by artificial soil obtained by the pulverisation of rocks. Happy crowds of occasional labourers will cover these acres with crops, guided in the work and experiments partly by those who know agriculture, but especially by the great and practical spirit of a people roused from long slumber and illumined by that bright beacon—the happiness of all.

And in two or three months the early crops will relieve the most pressing wants, and provide food for a people who, after so many centuries of expectation, will at least be able to appease their hunger and eat according to their appetite.

In the meanwhile, popular genius, the genius of a nation which revolts and knows its wants, will work at experimenting with new processes of culture that we already catch a glimpse of, and that only need the baptism of experience to become universal. Light will be experimented with—that unknown agent of culture which makes barley ripen in forty-five days under the latitude of Yakutsk; light, concentrated or artificial, will rival heat in hastening the growth of plants. A Mouchot of the future will invent a machine to guide the rays of the sun and make them work, so that we shall no longer seek sun-heat stored in coal in the depths of the earth. They will experiment the watering of the soil with cultures of micro-organisms—a rational idea, conceived but yesterday, which will permit us to give to the soil those little living beings, necessary to feed the rootlets, to decompose and assimilate the component parts of the soil.

They will experiment But let us stop here, or we shall enter into the realm of fancy. Let us remain in the reality of acquired facts. With the processes of culture in use, applied on a large scale, and already victorious in the struggle against industrial competition, we can give ourselves ease and luxury in return for agreeable work. The near future will show what is practical in the processes that recent scientific discoveries give us a glimpse of. Let us limit ourselves at present to opening up the new path that consists in the study of the needs of man, and the means of satisfying them.

The only thing that may be wanting to the Revolution is the boldness of initiative.

With our minds already narrowed in our youth, enslaved by the past in our mature age and till the grave, we hardly dare to think. If a new idea is mentioned—before venturing on an opinion of our own, we consult musty books a hundred years old, to know what ancient masters thought on the subject.

It is not food that will fail, if boldness of thought and initiative are not wanting to the Revolution.

Of all the great days of the French Revolution, the most beautiful, the greatest, was the one on which delegates who had come from all parts of France to Paris, worked all with the spade to plane the ground of the Champ de Mars, preparing it for the fête of the Federation.

That day France was united: animated by the new spirit, she had a vision of the future in the working in common of the soil.

And it will again be by the working in common of the soil

that the enfranchised societies will find their unity and will obliterate hatred and oppression which had divided them.

Henceforth, able to conceive solidarity—that immense power which increases man's energy and creative forces a hundredfold—the new society will march to the conquest of the future with all the vigour of youth.

Leaving off production for unknown buyers, and looking in its midst for needs and tastes to be satisfied, society will liberally assure the life and ease of each of its members, as well as that moral satisfaction which work gives when freely chosen and freely accomplished, and the joy of living without encroaching on the life of others.

Inspired by a new daring—thanks to the sentiment of solidarity—all will march together to the conquest of the high joys of knowledge and artistic creation.

A society thus inspired will fear neither dissensions within nor enemies without. To the coalitions of the past it will oppose a new harmony, the initiative of each and all, the daring which springs from the awakening of a people's genius.

Before such an irresistible force "conspiring kings" will be powerless. Nothing will remain for them but to bow before it, and to harness themselves to the chariot of humanity, rolling towards new horizons opened up by the Social Revolution.

P. KROPOTKIN (*The Conquest of Bread*).

SIX MILLION EDUCATED INDIANS.

The Rev. Dr. John P. Jones, an American missionary just returned from India, seems to have lived thirty years in that country to no purpose, and to be totally ignorant of the lessons of history. An interview with him was telegraphed from Boston to the New York papers, in which he is reported as saying:—

The present agitation in India is practically controlled, inspired, and embodied by about 2 per cent. of the population. There is no danger of an uprising of the native population, as the people as a whole are satisfied with the present Government. But the educated classes, which constitute a very small fraction of the people, are themselves pretty thoroughly aroused and feel that the opportunities furnished by the Government to them are not at all commensurate with the training which the Government has given them and the qualifications which they now possess. These men are genuinely patriotic, but thoroughly impractical, as India is not at all prepared for self-government."

The "unfitness for self-government" of the Indians is the cant of the English which this missionary has imbibed from long association with the men who live by plundering India. The same class say the same thing about the Irish, as the American officials in the Philippines say it of the Filipinos, and as the foreigner everywhere says it of the people whom he holds in subjection for his own profit. But what the returned missionary says of the character of Indian disaffection is of much more importance, although he intends it to be a conclusive argument for his own false theory. He admits that the educated class in India are disaffected and want to get rid of English rule, and that they constitute two per cent. of the population. As the population of India is 300,000,000, two per cent. of it is 6,000,000, which any man who knows history and who thinks clearly will recognise at once to be a most formidable force. Every educated man has a more or less large sphere of influence, and whether these 6,000,000 educated Indians have each ten or a hundred uneducated Indians under his influence, the combination spells the speedy end of British rule in India.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution there was not among the people of the Thirteen Colonies anything like that proportion of men who wanted separation from the "mother country." Indeed, it would be safe to say that the proportion was not one per cent., and all through the War of Independence thousands of native Americans fought on the side of the British. Yet British rule was wiped out and the great American Republic was established by a party that in the beginning was a small minority of the people of the country. The French Revolution, the most far-reaching event in modern European history, was effected by a still smaller minority of the people of France. The great majority of the educated people were on the side of the old régime, and there was not even a majority of that class in favour of reforming it. The Revolution was begun by the populace of Paris, the flame spread to a portion of the people of the other cities, the army joined the revolt, and the Revolution was effected while the mass of the people still remained faithful to the Monarchy. And it is so with revolutions everywhere.

—*The Gaelic American*.

MILITARISM IN FRANCE.

BY ARISTIDE PRATELLE.

(Conclusion.)

Militarism is a school of murder. Militarism is a school of debauchery, degeneracy, rottenness, and decay. When their service is over, soldiers go astray through civil life as if it were quite a new world for them. All their good temper and innocence, all their manhood and abilities have been so terribly wounded! That perpetual laziness, that mutual excitement of the nerves while in the mess, that constant demoralisation resulting from their blind and mechanical obedience, that indulgence in smoking, drinking, and sensual pleasures, that almost inevitable heritage of venereal diseases, poisoning them from head to foot,—all these factors of demoralisation contribute to bestialise the men, to hasten their physical decrepitude and mental degeneration. Previous to entering the terrible barracks, they were strong and virile lads. Out of it, they are nothing more than nonentities amidst a crowd of nonentities. They do not care any more to set to work. In fact, they are unfit for it any more. Their arms are too wearied now to till the land or strike iron. Militarism has devoured healthy, useful, and kind human beings, and turned them into lazy, perverse, and ferocious brutes. That man had a social value before his military service. At present he is a social rag, a social wreck, a "damaged article." Do not be astonished if so many soldiers depart from that hell with all the virtues required in the police or gendarmerie. Militarism can only produce drunkards, lazybones, and spies.

When these two years of compulsory and wearisome discipline are over, very few have resisted to the end the destruction of their personality; and among these few heroes, many of them will bear the scars of it for the remainder of their life. Yet, there are to-day more soldiers than ever who have realised that they are only intended to be turned into watch-dogs of Capitalism. Since the heroic days of the Dreyfus affair, all the bombastic scenery and tinsel of the parades are estimated at their true value by the people. Many sons of workers have been taught that our Army is no more than a "national gendarmerie," established in order that the lands and estates, stocks of goods and fortunes robbed by the few be kept safe from the possession by the many; and now they long to help in destroying the militarist spirit around them. By the true method of fighting, a number of recruits enter the Army firmly resolved to spend their two years in diffusing their own ideas in their own regiment. Among naive and unsuspecting fellows from town or country, among so many ignorant minds who give credit to the nonsense and lies forged by their masters, they endeavour to open the eyes of their comrades to a sense of these iniquities. They explain that the enemy is not the German or English worker, whom they do not know and who does not know them, but the French employer, landlord, and ruler who are cheating, robbing, and ill-treating the class to which they belong. They prove that the gun is given them with the sole idea that it will help to keep the slaves in their infernos, and that it would be a shame if they were willing to take the field against their exploited brothers. They demonstrate that if they were despatched towards the revolted and ordered to repress their revolt, they should listen to the voice within and refuse to betray their brothers. They advocate the great universal upheaval which will withdraw all the social riches from the hands of the parasites, to return them to the community for the welfare of all. To help them in that propaganda, an extensive literature has been created, and leaflets and papers printed especially with this view. The origin of the movement is, in fact, very old, and the Anarchists were its harbingers more than twenty years ago. To-day, prominent specialists such as Georges Yvetot and Gustave Hervé, among the speakers and writers, or my friend Grandjouan, that clever and daring artist, have done a thousand times more to disintegrate the Army and destroy the hideous idol than all the Congresses of Peace which have ever been held in the world.

In the course of past years several typical examples of individual rebellion have taken place in the French Army. The most famous of all was that of Grasselin, a gunner who refused to touch a cannon because his conscience ordered him so. Brought before the Council of War of Besançon, Grasselin answered to his judges:—"Jesus Christ said, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' I would not be harmful to anybody else." And he added: "Were there two hundred like me in my regiment, you would all be in a bad way." Grasselin was punished with two years' confinement. Several other young men acted in the same way, some of them to put in practice their Tolstoyan principles, some others moved by their revolutionary ideal. In themselves, these individual rebellions have a value. They oblige both soldiers and officers, both masters and slaves, to think of their respective situation for a while. Being noticed everywhere in the Press, they awaken public opinion, which is habitually lethargic and passive. Yet these acts are too small in number and too dearly paid for by their authors to become general and to be advocated by our propagandists. A man can only preach what he has decided to do himself. The easiest and best way for a recruit is to act as mentioned above,—to preach the revolutionary tactics among his comrades around him.

Far more interesting, far more astonishing, was the rebellion of the 17th Regiment of Line in the wine-growers' revolt in the South

of France. In spite of discipline, tradition, education, and law, a whole regiment of eight hundred soldiers suddenly mutinied, refusing to obey the order of departure, and escaping for the night across the fields. These eight hundred sons of the wine-growers in the Aude and Herault districts had understood that their duty was not to fight for the State against their own parents, but, on the contrary, to defend their dear ones against the Governmental repression. Having returned on foot to Béziers, they arrived in that town early in the morning. On their arrival, they were cheered, waited upon, and fed by the inhabitants. It was only by alluring them, and owing to the intervention of the wine-growers' committee, that the heads of the Army could master these brave men. General Bailloud promised them that no one would be punished individually. As soon as they had been caught and had entered their barracks, they were all disarmed, put into waggons, taken to Agde, and thence to Gafsa, under the deadly sun of Africa. Their exile lasted nearly a whole year. This gallant attitude of a regiment of line was an extremely contagious example, and a number of collective upheavals and individual acts of rebellion took place just after it. Of course, this state of things lasted a few days only, and it was yet too slight to be a serious danger for those in power; but it was quite sufficient to demonstrate that a new state of mind, absolutely unobserved ten years ago, prevails at present in the French Army.

What shall we deduce from all this for the future? Let us suppose that on another occasion of the same kind—a general strike of all our public services, for instance—twice or thrice that number of soldiers, burning with the same generous feelings, refuse to act as bloodhounds in the service of the oppressors; then the cowardly bourgeoisie will no doubt become bankrupt on the spot. At Béziers, only a few hundred sons of workers decided to remain on the right side of the social barricade—a few hundred refractories dared to shake down the columns of the Temple. But suppose that two or three mutinies of the kind had taken place at the same time, including several thousand rebellious soldiers, and that these soldiers, instead of having mildly listened to the fair words of the authorities, had used the guns which were in their hands to impose their will and conditions, our Government, mischievous as it may be, would no doubt have been compelled to capitulate on the spot and to grant every demand of the men. Some capital event of the kind is to be hoped for and relied upon at a more or less distant date. Perhaps many sons of workers will then be reminded of that famous sentence pronounced by Briand when, being not yet in power, he boldly advocated Direct Action and Revolutionary Socialism: "If the heads of the Army wanted the soldiers to shoot at the workers, the soldiers might fire upon some one else, but they would not aim in the direction they were ordered."

MODERATION.

Those who call themselves "Labourites" pure and simple, in contradistinction to Revolutionary Socialists and Anarchists, are pleased to pride themselves on their "moderation," as though that quality were in itself always a good and desirable thing. But is this so? Moderation in eating and drinking is good, because excess defeats the purpose of food and drink, namely, the preservation of bodily health. The use of means and the exercise of energy should be moderate, that is, should be proportioned to the desired end; to use a sledge-hammer and the force required for wielding it, in order to drive a tin-tack, would be not only unnecessary, but disastrous in its results. But there is also a moderation which is unreasonable and hurtful. The exaggerated prudence which would lead one to describe a man as moderately honest, or a woman as moderately virtuous, would but damn either with faint praise. He would be a sorry warrior who should rest contented with a partial, i.e., a moderate victory; to merely scotch instead of killing the venomous snake would be an act of moderation, but also of folly. And the principle of mere Labourism is of a precisely similar nature.

Both Labourism and Socialism recognise that Labour and Capital are in mutually hostile camps, and that the interests of each are opposed to those of the other; else, why Labourism? why a Labour Party? But while the Socialist would destroy the tyranny of Capitalism by abolishing private property in the wealth required by all, and while the Anarchist would go still further and destroy the tyranny of authority by annihilating government, Labourism recoils from such a radical transformation of society; it regards Capital and Authority as things to be retained, and would be content with measures for mitigating the evils wrought by both. Thus Labourism would perpetuate the class war indefinitely; it would be satisfied with checking invasion of the people's rights, instead of carrying the war into the enemy's stronghold and disarming the spoiler once and for all. Which of the two is the more rational policy? To a logical mind the question implies its own answer.

HENRY GLASSE.

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The Calm Before the Storm.

On May Day—"Labour Day," as it is also called—we are always inclined to ask ourselves the all-important question: Is the movement making progress, are the peoples awakening, or are such signs of revolutionary activity as we see of little importance compared with the work done in the field of propaganda? Obviously, it would be just as easy to underestimate the real significance and probable effect of past and present revolutionary propaganda, as it would be to go to the other extreme and attribute to all that happens in the struggle of Labour against Capital an importance that such events do not justify.

If, however, we look carefully into the happenings of the last twelve months, we can hardly fail to be convinced that the old faith in Government as a political necessity for the control and guidance of social and economic life has been severely shaken. Take, on the one hand, those most impotent victims of our present system, the unemployed. Not one amongst them but must have learned the bitter lesson that Government has no solution of the problem of how to find bread for them, and could not and would not apply it if it had. For them there can be no real hope but in a complete reorganisation of society; and never again would such hope be revived were it not for the specious sophistries of the Labour leaders.

Again, looking at the situation created by the Paris postal strike, we see a whole army of highly trained and intelligent men and women, "servants of the State," in open and determined revolt against the intolerable tyranny of the very machine whereby they earn their bread. And it must not be forgotten that the importance and far-reaching consequences of this agitation are doubly accentuated by the fact that democratic Government, with Clemenceau, Viviani, and Briand at its head, was in reality on its trial. Many hopes had been placed in the administration of these men. And now what remains? They are to-day far more detested and abominated than the ordinary bourgeois Republicans who have had their feet on the people. It is hardly possible to estimate the gain to the Revolution that is signified by this unprecedented development in the realm of Direct Action.

So that, whichever way we look, we see that Government is being "found out" in a way that will impress the workers far more than any theorising. It is plain now to all who are taxed and exploited that to place power in the hands of their own class is to corrupt and brutalise them to a degree that produces worse evils than those inflicted by the capitalist politician himself. It is the old story. The self-made man, as we all know, makes the hardest master; and in like manner the worker placed in power above his fellows makes the most brutal of tyrants, and is ever the first to turn the guns against those to whom he owes his political advancement.

Another disillusionment for those who pin their faith to legality and what is called "peaceful reform" is the development that is taking place in the Labour movement of Australia. One or two "reforms" that at the present moment are being advocated in England by the Labour Party are already accomplished facts in Australia. Compulsory arbitration and Wages Boards, for instance, have shown us what "peaceful reforms" and legality mean for the workers; and as a striking proof of the disastrous failure of Labour legislation, the world of Labour sees Tom Mann, who did so much to found the I.L.P., about to take his trial for rebelling against the very measures advocated by prominent members of that organisation as essential for the welfare of the workers!

Clearly, all these happenings do not make a revolution, nor in themselves would they be sufficient to ensure its success. But they are matters of the highest importance in clearing from the minds of the workers the last superstition that stands in the way—the need for political action and democratic Government. At the present moment a vast educational work is being quietly accomplished. Old ideas are rapidly giving way to clearer and higher conceptions of the real aim in view. The workers in all countries are rapidly realising that Capitalism is the State, and the State is Capitalism. And while our own work consists in keeping the true issues clear, there is much hope in the fact which is clear to all: that in proportion as the tricks and subterfuges of Capitalism become played out, the tactics of the revolutionary Labour forces, freed from the fetters of politics, increase and develop in ways hitherto unknown. Direct Action is the mother of initiative and audacity, and it is these that will conquer when the storm breaks.

POLITICAL PANICMONGERS' PRANKS.

The country is ablaze! Flaring posters meet the eye whichever way you turn. They announce the production of yet another invasion play, the production of yet another German Raid "serial," a newly discovered merit in Tariff Reform!

What does it all mean?

Wild-eyed "non-party" politicians thump incessantly upon fragile platforms demanding eight "Dreadnoughts"—*eight "Dreadnoughts" this year without fail.*

Eight "Dreadnoughts" we *must* have because we fear all—the Germans, those wicked, avaricious Germans in particular.

Eager crowds stand around, their veins bulging out over their temples, their nerves tingling with a sense of patriotism.

Oh! what can the matter be?

Yes, their homes are in danger—they are well-nigh certain of it! When they return to their squalid slum dwellings, they are convinced. Strange to relate, it is not the German who is the invader. The landlord has been. Having failed to secure his rent, he has ordered in the brokers!

The stupefied worker staggers against the wall—a dangerous thing to do. "Oh lean upon it lightly, for who knows"—when it may collapse! His desperate eyes view a ha'penny paper behind the fireguard within the empty grate. He reads: "Tariff Reform means—" anything that spells the millennium for the mob, and he is comforted.

Yes; he will vote for the non-party politician who will protect his home with "Dreadnoughts" costing fifteen hundred thousand pounds apiece. He can afford to pay. Has not the same non-party politician promised that he shall have work—*plenty of work?* He had omitted to mention *wages*. That was a pure oversight. But it would be all right. The "patriotic" politician would see to it—*his own salary!*

The outcome will be that a Tory Government will be returned to office—probably in the late autumn. They will introduce a "scientific Tariff"—impose taxation for the purpose of building "Dreadnoughts" to defend capitalistic interests. They will introduce conscription in order to Jingoise, paralyse, and brutalise the mob, thereby checking Revolutionary Socialism and all phases of advanced thought.

All Anarchists and Revolutionary Socialists, therefore, should unite in the endeavour to frustrate the mal-intentions of the political intriguer. The prospect of a General Strike among the workers of two countries about to be engaged in wholesale massacre would effectually nullify the aims of patriotic cosmopolitan Mammon-worshippers.

TOM WINTER.

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION in Hyde Park.

SATURDAY, MAY 1, at 3.30.

The International Working Men's Society have made arrangements for a Platform near the Reformers' Tree.

Speakers:

J. TURNER, E. J. B. ALLEN, W. PONDER,

E. MALATESTA, TARRIDA DEL MARMOL,

R. ROCKER, P. VALLINA.

A CAPITALIST CONFERENCE.

[The following report of a Conference supposed to have been held recently in the City may read like a "fairy tale," but as these concoctions are supposed to contain some grains of truth, we print it in the hope that it may be so in this case.]

A Conference of some of the leading capitalists has just been held in the City. It was called together by a circular which had been sent out privately, for the purpose, as it stated, of arousing "the capitalists of this country to a sense of the dangers now besetting them, and to consider the attitude of the Labour Party to employers as a class."

In response to this, a large gathering of representatives of big firms and private companies came together; and Lord B—— having been elected to the chair, the proceedings were opened by the Honourable George Sweatum, P.I.G., who in a few brief words recounted the objects of the meeting. Continuing, he said: It is not to be supposed that we as a class can remain inactive while our enemies are holding Conferences in various parts of the country, and maturing plans for the eventual overthrow of those who have done most to build up the wealth and greatness of this nation. Steps must be taken without delay to counteract the nefarious machinations of these dangerous organisations. I for one am not satisfied with the work of the Anti-Socialist campaign. More money must be spent, and bolder steps must be taken to stop the spread of this pernicious doctrine of Socialism. (Cheers.) I therefore propose the following resolution, which I hope this meeting will fully consider and eventually pass unanimously:—

"Seeing that the very foundations of society are endangered by the subversive doctrines of Socialism, and further, that the fall of the present system means not only the end of private property, but also the break-up of the home, the disintegration of the family, the destruction of all morality, and the overthrow of Christianity, we hereby resolve to immediately adopt all possible means to combat the enemy who is threatening our very existence." (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Portsun Light.

Upon the chairman asking for any amendment to this resolution,

Sir Gerald Downey said: Mr. Chairman, having listened very attentively to the arguments of our honourable friend, I feel constrained to offer a few remarks in opposition to the position taken up by him, which seems to me the result of a complete misunderstanding of the situation. I would beg to call the attention of the meeting to the following facts, which seem to me to justify an altogether contrary policy to that proposed by my honourable friend.

In the first place, the situation is not nearly so dangerous as has been assumed. From personal experience, I can say that the Labour Party is composed of some very good fellows indeed. Their intentions must not be judged by the speeches they occasionally make to the rank-and-file. Hear Cardie and J. R. MacChamberlain can, as a matter of fact, be regarded as very useful supports to the present system, and behind them we have some lesser lights who can be quite easily moulded to the pattern we require. It is quite true, Mr. Chairman, that we may have to throw some sops to Cerberus; but that has always been the case with ruling powers, and these sops can be minimised to an almost negligible quantity if we only act with discretion and keep in touch, politically speaking, with this much-dreaded Labour Party, who will always be willing to compromise, and for whom the sweets of office are the ultimate goal, a fact of which we have already had experience.

Now, gentlemen, there remains the Socialist wing of the party, as it is called, but which in reality is not so dreadfully Socialistic after all. Even this section, which at present is beneath contempt—so far as its political influence is concerned—even this section can be made to serve our ends. Take, for instance, Messrs. Hatchford and Blindman. Surely at the present moment his Majesty has not two more loyal and patriotic subjects. They are doing henchman's work for the cause of Imperialism; and as for the moment they preach nothing else, we can surely forgive their little revolutionary peccadilloes in view of the good work they are doing on our behalf.

Finally, I would call the attention of this meeting to what is happening abroad, especially in France; and I will go so far as to say that our interests are less endangered here than in any part of the world. As an amendment, therefore, I propose the following:—

"That in view of the present political position of the Labour Party, as well as of the political aims of Social Democracy, every effort

be made to keep them in the direction they are now going, as tending ultimately to convert them into the strongest safeguards of the present system."

The amendment was seconded by Mr. George Cocoville, and after some further discussion, was put and carried amidst cheers and laughter.

History Gives the Lie to J. R. Macdonald.

"Law and order is greater than Anarchy," said J. R. Macdonald at the I.L.P. Conference. But history contradicts him at every point, and the following extract from Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic" is only one instance among many. This cant phrase is the everlasting cry of reactionaries. In fact, one wonders if humanity would not have ceased to exist if "law and order" had never been defied.]

Love of freedom, readiness to strike and bleed at any moment in her cause, manly resistance to despotism, however overshadowing, were the leading characteristics of the race in all regions and periods, whether among Frisian swamps, Dutch dykes, the gentle hills and dales of England, or the pathless forests of America. Doubtless, the history of human liberty in Holland and Flanders, as everywhere else upon earth where there has been such a history, unrolls many scenes of turbulence and bloodshed; although these features have been exaggerated by prejudiced historians. Still, if there were luxury and insolence, sedition and uproar, at any rate there was life. Those violent little commonwealths had blood in their veins. They were compact of proud, self-helping, muscular vigour. The most sanguinary tumults which they ever enacted in the face of day, were better than the order and silence born of the midnight darkness of despotism. That very unruliness was educating the people for their future work. Those merchants, manufacturers, country squires, and hard-fighting barons, all pent up in a narrow corner of the earth, quarrelling with each other and with all the world for centuries, were keeping alive a national pugnacity of character, for which there was to be a heavy demand in the sixteenth century, and without which the fatherland had perhaps succumbed in the most unequal conflict ever waged by man against oppression.

To the Revolutionists of All Countries.

COMRADES,—We address ourselves to you, brothers in the social struggle, to explain the situation of the proletariat of Mexico under the despotism of that modern Nero, Porfirio Diaz.

The people are weary of suffering famine, torture, insults, and assassination inflicted upon them by the executioners of the Dictator. His slaves are ready for revolt.

Enough of these infamies!—that is the cry of all the exploited.

On March 29 last, the Government having increased the taxes, the peasants revolted, killing one of the collectors and wounding several others. These events took place at San Andrés, in the State of Chihuahau. All the villages of Sierra Madre for thirty miles round the capital of Chihuahau made common cause with the rebels. Fighting with the gendarmes (*rurales*) has already taken place, and it is known that several of them have been killed by the peasants, who are marching on the capital with the cry of "No more taxes! No more tyranny! Long live the Revolution!" This movement commenced by the peasants has become general in the State of Chihuahau, and in the other States the revolutionists are preparing to second this movement against the Porfiridian inquisition.

In the United States, on the frontiers of Mexico, the Mexican workers are agitating to aid their brothers in the struggle. Several public meetings have been held. At El Paso (Texas) the Mexican revolutionists organised a demonstration attended by over 2,000 people, where they proclaimed the Revolution, the Commune, and the taking back of the land for the use of all.

The Mexican proletariat has reached the limit of its endurance, and the latest events mark the beginning of a revolutionary period which will lead on to the end of modern slavery.

The triumph of the Mexican revolutionists will awaken the little Republics of Central America, who will sweep away the petty tyrants who oppress them.

To you, revolutionists of all countries, who, like us, struggle for political and economic emancipation, we appeal for support. Down with the tyrants! Down with exploitation! Long live human fraternity!

TORNELIO ARAMBURU.
YVES SALAZAR.

J. VIDAL.
C. GARCIA.

The receipt of a free copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe. 1s. 6d. per annum.

BALLADE OF "LAW AND ORDER."

[At the recent I.L.P. Conference, the Executive, which included J. Bruce Glasier, resigned in a body because some of the rank-and-file showed a lack of respect for "law and order," which J. R. Macdonald said was greater than Anarchy. The following lines written by Bruce Glasier some years ago are so appropriate that it was impossible to resist the temptation to republish them.]

Since all our institutions are
In danger at this moment,
From notions which those Socialists
Their utmost do to foment;
Against all their vile principles,
Which truly most abhorred are,
Let every patriot invoke
The power of "Law and Order."

Some people may have different views
Of how best to enforce it;
Now Buckingham's opinion was—
And firmly I endorse it—
"Of all the methods I have tried,
The hangman and the sword are
The stoutest means to propagate
Respect for 'Law and Order.'"

Now let the clergy inculcate
In all their prayers and sermons
How blest peculiarly are we
Above the French and Germans;
And let their admonitions be:
"These blessings the reward are
Of our unbounded loyalty
And love of 'Law and Order.'"

In every nursery and school,
And barrack-room and prison,
Let sheets be stuck upon the walls,
Conspicuous to the vision,
On which, in ornamental text,
With neat appropriate border,
Set forth the words, "Sedition shun,
And reverence 'Law and Order.'"

And let us sing "God save the Queen!"
We could not do without her,
And all the peers and gentlefolks
She likes to keep about her;
And while our voices and our hearts
In glorious accord are,
Proclaim the peerless apothegm
Of "Long live 'Law and Order.'"

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

THE POLITICAL LIE.

A ministerial crisis, which appears to transfer the power from the hands of one into those of the other party utterly and diametrically opposed to it, is yet powerless to effect any radical change in the interior policy of a Government. The relation of the individual to the State remains the same as of old; the private citizen need hardly notice, when he reads his newspaper, that another party has climbed to the summit of power and another Cabinet has replaced the old. The designations Liberal and Conservative are simply masks for the real motives of all Parliamentary contests, conflicts, campaigns, and changes—ambition and egotism.

This is the colossal lie of our modern political life with its many different strata. In several countries the fiction of representative legislation is the screen behind which is concealed an absolute, "by the grace of God" monarchy. In those nations in which it is an actual reality, where the representative body really reigns and governs, it amounts to nothing but a dictatorship of certain persons, who in turn obtain control of the supreme power. Theoretically, representative legislation ensures the fulfilment of the will of the majority; in reality it only carries out the will of half a dozen party leaders, their advisers and standard-bearers. Theoretically, the opinions of the representatives should be formed or influenced by the arguments advanced in the parliamentary debates; in reality they are not influenced by them in the slightest, but depend entirely upon the party leader or upon private interests. Theoretically, the representatives should have only the good of the commonwealth before their eyes; in reality their only thought is how to advance their private interests and those of their friends at the expense of the commonwealth. Theoretically, the representatives are supposed to be the best and wisest of all the citizens; in reality they are the most ambitious, the most pushing, and the coarsest. Theoretically, the vote deposited in favour of a

candidate means that he is known and trusted by the voter; in reality the voter knows nothing whatever about him except that a set of ranting speech-makers have been deafening him for weeks with the candidate's name and placarding it before his eyes. The forces which theoretically keep the parliamentary machine in motion are experience, foresight, and abnegation of self; in reality they are strength of will, egotism, and fluency of speech. Culture, intelligence, and noble sentiments are defeated by noisy eloquence and indomitable audacity; and the halls of legislature are ruled, not by true wisdom, but by individual, obstinate will.

Not an atom of the right of representative legislation supposed to be gained by universal suffrage falls to the individual average citizen. Now as much as ever before is my poor Hans obliged to pay taxes and to obey the authorities, bruising his elbows again and again by coming in contact with the thousand absurd restrictions that hem him in on every side. All the share he has in the whole business of representative legislation, with all its fuss and ceremonies, is his fatigue on election days from walking to the polls, and his dissatisfaction that more entertaining and profitable reading matter is crowded out of the newspapers to make room for the uninteresting, interminable congressional debates.—*Max Nordau.*

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

United States.

Comrade Emma Goldman is back in New York after her propaganda tour in the West and South, which appears to have been on the whole successful, though harried continually by the police and the authorities. Free speech, as in England, is being gradually suppressed in the once great Republic. In El Paso, a city in Texas, she tells us, no public meeting is allowed to be addressed in Spanish, owing to the presence of some thirty thousand Mexicans and an understanding between their ruler Diaz and the United States Government. On the other hand, at Houston, to her amazement, the Chief of Police and the Mayor offered their town hall for a lecture; but "having enjoyed the hospitality of the police so often without my consent, I could not accept their offer voluntarily," and a hall was secured from a Roman Catholic order, the brethren, however, refunding the money in terror on hearing that the lecture was to be given by the renowned E. G. Then a group of Single Taxers came forward and arranged for a meeting in one of their places. "As men," says Comrade Goldman when alluding to this experience in *Mother Earth* for April, "I have found the Single Taxers the bravest and staunchest champions of liberty in the widest sense." This they have invariably been from the first. Years ago, as now, when an Anarchist lecturer or interrupter would have been hounded out of a hall owned or hired by Socialists, the Single Tax platform and a friendly welcome was always ready for the tabooed follower of Bakunin. Now, as then, they are true "comrades" in every sense. Emma Goldman's intention when starting on her tour was to conclude it with a visit to Australia; but travelling is expensive, and financial reasons brought her home instead. However, the visit, we hope, is merely postponed, though there is an ominous report that the police are striving to hunt her altogether out of the States. This has been "in the air" for some time, but being an American citizen through marriage with a naturalised man, our propagandist until lately had small fears as to deportation. Now, however, the point has been vindictively pushed to an issue. It is said she cannot claim citizenship through her father, as he did not take out naturalisation papers until after her marriage. She has not seen or heard of her husband for many years, and his whereabouts being unknown to his relatives, his citizenship papers were cancelled a few weeks ago by Judge Hazel in Pittsburg. This proceeding declares her to be an alien—what the police have been hoping to make of her for years; and while it is not likely they will deport her, they can bar her re-entrance into the United States should she leave the country. If they think that Anarchism will die in America once a noted propagandist and agitator is hounded from it, they are mistaken. At the same time, those who know her will sympathise deeply with Emma Goldman in her present uncertain position—her heart and soul are in her adopted country, and exile, even the thought of it, must mean intense pain and suffering to one of so warm-hearted and ardent a nature.

According to a correspondent to *Temps Nouveaux*, the American Church is striving hard to boss the minds of the people, and with its vast wealth (Trinity Church, New York, alone has an income of nearly a million) becomes an increasing power in the land. A clerical society has now been formed in New York whose members have vowed to build a chapel at every street corner. To ensure this they are already renting every vacant corner building, which is put under control of a priest and used *pro tem.* as a church club or institute. Church and State are combining to slowly smother the individual rights and privileges of the people, who, like their British brothers, immersed in the struggle for existence, hardly note what goes on around them, and seem not to feel the grip of the all-destroying octopus until fast bound within its tentacles. Wheat corners may flourish, black men and white

be lynched, the Church is dumb; but think freely, write freely, speak freely—that no man shall do and live in peace.

France.

The wool-teasers of Mazamet have been out on strike for some time. Lately they sent two delegates to Clemenceau to explain their grievances and the attitude of the masters, in the hope of enlisting his intervention. They remained a week in Paris without being able to get any formal answer from the Minister, and thus learning by experience how useless legal means are in nine out of ten such cases, they have returned to Mazamet, and *sabotage* and destruction of mill machinery, etc., have followed. No doubt the masters will now pay attention to the men's demands.

The General Confederation of Labour have published a manifesto in Paris (which is also being circulated in the provinces), reaffirming their confidence in the General Strike as a Labour weapon, and calling upon all Trade Unions to do their utmost to strengthen the feeling of solidarity among all workers. One of the latest strikes—that of women in a small factory near Angoulême—has resulted in their forming a Union and affiliating themselves to their local federation.

En avant! seems the war-cry of the Labour world in France just now. There was a rousing meeting of Trade Unionists at the Paris Hippodrome the other day, at which three important points were registered. Yvetot asked if his hearers still believed in militarism—having now felt the strength of civil solidarity in face of Government troops. Ten thousand voices answered him. The same acclamations responded to another speaker's masterly exposure of Ministerial duplicity in regard to Labour questions. Whilst the proposition formulated by Janvion and Pataud, that a secret vigilance committee should be formed, whose duties would be to watch against contingencies and to fix the hour of a general movement among the employed, whether in a private or public capacity—was endorsed with enthusiasm.

A little episode to prove how the criminal is made and not born. An unemployed waiter reached Amiens in search of work; finding none and absolutely penniless, he went to the Prefecture and implored the loan of enough money to take him to Paris. It was refused. He lingered a day or so in the town, sleeping where he could, finally one night begging shelter at a police station. Once more he was refused. Reaching the railway station in hopes perhaps of shelter or opportunity to steal a ride, he stole instead a coat that hung handy and sold it for tenpence, which enabled him to buy food. Arrested, he was thrown into prison to await trial. Conviction certain, the theft being of private property, what but a so-called "criminal career" lies before this man? He has been in prison—every door will be closed to him; while, branded as a thief, the police will dog his footsteps, effectually preventing every effort to gain an "honest living." As usual, society is the criminal-maker.

It is not much more than a hundred years since the Channel Islands became the property of Great Britain, and a comrade in Jersey sends us the following particulars, which are interesting:—"This island is divided into twelve parishes, each of which has almost complete Home Rule; the Executive is the Constable (*Connétable*), who is elected at a parish meeting of all ratepayers—a kind of elective autocracy. There is also a House of Parliament for the whole island. The land is held mostly in small lots, as there are no big landlords. It is good land and yields two crops a year, yet poverty is quite as conspicuous here as in other places. A carter, a steady man of my acquaintance, works 14 hours a day and gets 18s. a week; and yet when a carter's place was vacant in the same firm, 60 men applied for the job. Of course, living is cheaper here, and no rates and taxes worth mentioning; but this advantage is neutralised by the low wages. I fancy the shipping charges take away most of the profits."

Switzerland.

A Trade Union Congress has just been held in Lausanne, which was attended by delegates from all parts of the country excepting where hard times prevented the despatch of such. The chief topic of discussion was the policy of Trade Unions in times of crisis, the general opinion resulting being that as such times bear most heavily on the proletariat, the Unions should make use of them to increase agitation among the unemployed, to exact shorter work hours, and everywhere to instil the revolutionary spirit. The German-Swiss, under the direction of their Central Committee secretaries, holding that a crisis weakens the workers, contended that no movement should occur at such times, but that the workers should instead adapt themselves to the bourgeois economic condition of the movement. However, the general opinion being as stated, a new and active propaganda towards the General Strike on all occasions was decided upon, as well as efforts to induce people to refuse to pay taxes and house-rent when practically penniless. All the delegates promised to demand that their organisations should treat as a traitor any member who in times of strike volunteered his services as a soldier, and to be dealt with accordingly. Militarism being a subject of immense gravity, its bearings with regard to organised Labour are to be discussed at a special Congress to be held in June at Bienne. The compositors declared that in future they would refuse to set up copy antagonistic to the interests of Labour in general, but would first discuss the matter fully in their Unions. The spirit of Direct Action is well on the wing. Whilst on the subject of Labour, we may state that from May 1 the municipality of Lisbon grants an eight-hour day to its employees.

Germany.

The police are again taking exceptional measures against our comrades. The central Anarchist committee has been dissolved, and some of its Trade Union officials are in prison; various papers have been suppressed, only two—*Freie Arbeiter* and *Revolutionär*—appearing regularly.

South America.

The Brazilian Confederation of Labour has passed a momentous resolution in consequence of the persistent rumours of war between some of the States, especially between Argentina and Brazil. Speaking in the name of the association and groups representing a majority of the organised workers of the continent, without distinction of sex, nationality, political or religious opinion, it declares that it refuses both individual and collective support to any violation of the peace between the nations; that a declaration of war will be met by a general strike of every trade and profession, manual or intellectual, public or private, not only in the belligerent States, but in others as well; and that it will do its utmost to paralyse military action by opposing to military passions and interests the pacific will of the people. The General Labour Union of Argentina has circulated a similar manifesto refusing all aid to the Government in the event of a declaration of war, and stating its determination to stand side by side with the Brazilian workers should their rulers begin military operations. War would soon cease throughout the universe had the world of Labour the courage of its opinions as instanced above.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

MANCHESTER "FREE SOCIALISTS."

We have held our fifth meeting, and have so added to our numbers that very reluctantly we shall be obliged to seek a new meeting-place, and that soon. We have been very happy in our little room, making recruits and new friendships; and almost regret our growth, so quickly have associations begun to cling to the room where we have ever been such welcome guests. So far have we travelled that two of those who came to listen are to open the discussions at our next two successive meetings. Some are crying out "Propaganda, propaganda!" wanting outdoor meetings, public lectures, etc., to which we others reply, "Is this that we are doing not propaganda of the best and most lasting nature?"

That there was a necessity for such a group as our own is proved by the facts that so many have come to us for knowledge, and so many comrades have written asking to exchange opinions, sending words of encouragement and hope.

Every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock we shall welcome all who earnestly desire to bring about the happy state when mankind shall be free.

BESSIE WARD.

111 Rosebery Street, Ardwick, Manchester.

LIVERPOOL.

The Liverpool Communist Sunday School continues to flourish in spite of removals and oppositions of various kinds. I am pleased to report that we have over fifty members, and this number will undoubtedly increase. Our new place of meeting was opened on March 28. Mat Kavanagh was the speaker of the afternoon, and to celebrate the event of the Commune of Paris our comrade delivered an address which fitted the occasion. The attention and interest displayed by our young comrades was sufficient to convince one that the subject had been well chosen and treated admirably. On April 4 Comrade Devos discoursed upon a deep subject indeed, entitled "The Beginning of the World"; but the speaker did not fail to render it in simple language, and make it instructive and interesting to the children. On April 11 Comrade Fred Bowers chose for his subject "Fairies." Needless to say, the subject "caught on" immediately. Many questions were asked as to the existence of such beings. On April 18 Comrade Will Dumville's subject was "Ye Gods!" Our comrade gave the children an easy outline of the evolution of the god idea. The applause and questions which followed plainly showed that the subject was not too difficult for them to grasp. Subjects of this character never fail to break down those prejudices which are unmercifully crammed into the children's heads at school. Next week, April 25, Comrade Junior speaks on "The Elements of Socialism."

I fail to understand why some of our comrades disagree with us in this method of propaganda. Is it because they are not yet emancipated from the thralldom of superstition themselves? Or do they imagine a child to be another Peter Pan, the boy who never grew up? I would ask our comrades to remember that in five or six years these youngsters will be rubbing shoulders with the workers, and their ideas, whatever they may be, will be ventilated. The State and the Church capture the children, for they know that the children of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow. I have come to the conclusion that many of us Anarchists and Socialists think that free ideas should be carefully meted out to a selected few, and not scattered broadcast amongst little people and big people of all classes.

The State carefully looks after the patriotic superstition that is

nursed in school. We have only to listen to the poetry and songs the children repeat from time to time. Samples such as "Our glorious standard launch on high to match another foe," etc., and such hate-provoking rhymes as the "Revenge," which undoubtedly leave the child with the notion that England is a paradise. Very few children are free from this patriotic superstition, and I think it is one of the finest methods of propaganda to let them know there are some who believe it is as bad as the religious superstition. We have suffered too long from that disease known as "swelled head," believing that a child does not think. A child will think if we teach it to do so; but leave it to the mercy of the present school method, and it will grow up in a spirit of subserviency.

The Liverpool Communist Sunday School has been organised to break down prejudices which are set up in the weekday school. To teach a child to think and act for itself. To spread the idea of Internationalism. To point out to them that humility, patience, and submission are no longer virtues, if ever they were; and that they must own themselves. So long as the "nation to be" really believes that Jesus Christ and his mortal apes—kings, M.P.'s, priests, etc.—are its divine shepherds and rulers, the present state of serfdom is secure.

JIM DICK.

BIRMINGHAM.

On Sunday, April 25, C. Kean opened his tour with two good meetings in the Bull Ring. At the evening meeting, which lasted over two hours, many interesting questions were asked and answered. The sale of literature was good, especially "Direct Action v. Legislation." On May 1 Kean goes on to Manchester.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

COMRADES,—By the time you read this, the spirit of the open road will have claimed its victim, and I shall have reached Birmingham, left for Nottingham, and on the way to Manchester for May 1. Visits have also been arranged for Leeds and Glasgow. Cardiff, Bristol, Liverpool, Newcastle, and other groups know of my willingness to pay them a visit.

Open-air subjects will be—(1) Direct Action v. Legislation, (2) Wage-Slavery, (3) What is Anarchism? (4) Anarchism v. Political Socialism, (5) Unemployment and the Remedy, (6) Government—a Curse.

Where indoor meetings can be arranged, it is advisable, before fixing on any subject, to let me know if it is a group meeting, I.L.P., S.D.P., Secular, or other Society. Shall be glad to debate with any competent opponent. List of indoor lectures on application, and requests for my services, suggestions, co-operation, or other communications, should be sent to FREEDOM Office.

C. H. KEAN.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(April 1—April 29.)

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