

Freedom

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

The Unrest.

The outbreak of another great strike on the heels of the phenomenal coal strike just ended ought to convince the most apathetic that some radical changes in industrial organisation are not only necessary but long overdue. For men do not willingly, and for the mere fun of the thing, enter into these trying periods of conflict which use up their slender resources, often mean semi-starvation in the home, and an increase in that never-ending anxiety in the struggle for life. Something has to be done, but those who complain most of the loss and inconvenience of a strike are the last to give themselves the trouble to enquire into causes, and to bring reason and common-sense into a consideration of the workers' claims. For them forcible suppression is the first and last word. Nevertheless it is easy to see that some of the more thoughtful and humane members of the community are beginning seriously to discuss what new form industrial organisation could take that would meet the demands of the men. Even the ultra-Conservative *Sunday Observer* admits concessions must be made by the dominant class, and proposes co-partnership as a remedy! The *New Age* argues for a system of what may be regarded as co-management between masters and men, or even between the men and the State. The *Daily News* is printing a series of articles on "What Labour Wants," and of these the one on "Syndicalism" says plainly that it indicates "the tremendous passion gathering behind the Labour movement," and moreover that "the rich would do well, instead of crying 'robbery,' when they are confronted with the mildest attempt" to equalise the distribution of wealth, "to co-operate loyally and intelligently in the process." These are signs that we are certainly within measurable distance of great changes.

Conferences—and Conclusions.

During the Whitsun holidays conferences are the order of the day. Some are very useful: some are quite otherwise. The I.L.P., for instance, seems to have followed the lead of Jesuitical politicians of the Snowden type; and although they may have avoided a split, their present position has no meaning for the workers in the face of recent developments. The British Socialist Party in conference is scarcely more enlightening than it is out of it. Mr. Hyndman gave us the usual Social Democratic programme—the one we knew of a quarter of a century ago—and at the present moment there is no one, unless it be Will Thorne, to voice it in the House of Commons—one man in twenty-five years! Hyndman himself is still unelected, and still asks the workers to put their hope in political action. What a counsel of patience! We can say in answer that while Governments smile at Mr. Hyndman, they at least show some respect for Direct Action. And a great deal has been gained by its means for the moral attitude of the worker. A widening of the solidarity of Labour—most essential of all things—a growing spirit of independence, and some monetary increase into the bargain—these are gains that will bear richer fruit in the future. And they have been fought for in the teeth of the opposition of Mr. Hyndman and his friends. How much finer was the note sounded by the Co-operators at Portsmouth. Here at last we see the beginning of that *rapprochement* between Co-operation and Trade Unionism that shall have a tremendous influence in future developments, while Labour politicians keep fretting with their Sisyphean labours.

An Inventor's Ideal.

It is an old argument against us that if the incentives of wealth and social position were removed by Socialism, man

would have no objective to strive for and society would decay. M. Edouard Branly, the inventor of wireless telegraphy, gives a noble answer to this libel on human energy and goodwill. He has refused the position (a very lucrative one) of technical manager to the French Marconi Society. Like many other geniuses, he is by no means rich, but he declines to give up his great work of research in electrical science, feeling that he has much to discover that will be of vast benefit to humanity. In such circumstances he asks, "When one does not live long enough to exhaust one single idea, how can one lose one's time gathering in gold pieces?" Probably the anti-Socialists could tell him why.

The Danger of being Poor.

The frank, fair, and courageous policy of the *Daily Herald* deserves all praise, and its success has been assured by the splendid fight it is making in the interest of the masses; that is, of course, of the poor. Especially is it doing a good work in calling attention to legislative Acts, which, though avowedly drawn up in the interests of the community, end ever and always in penalising the poor. Such, for instance, is the case with a measure now under consideration for dealing with the "feeble-minded." Dr. Eder in two vigorously written articles has laid bare very clearly the evils that must inevitably follow on the passing of such an Act. Of course it will be the poor who will be victimised; and when it is remembered what abominable things were done in the past in asylums where unscrupulous officials had carte-blanche in dealing with "lunatics," even of good families—it can be imagined what possibilities for abuse are opened up by the *legalising* of these methods. It points the old moral: whenever Government tries to remedy an evil it creates far more abuses than existed before.

Release of Guy Bowman.

The Syndicalist prosecutions are one more instance of how Governments defeat themselves by adopting the foolish and futile method of trying to suppress free opinions by terms of imprisonment. Three or four months ago the *Syndicalist*, just started, was hardly known; and certainly amongst the general public Syndicalism was only known as a particular form of capitalist exploitation. Now, after the sentences on Bowman and Mann, we have this diabolical thing (*vide* the description by the impartial Sir Forrest Fulton) being seriously discussed by the philosophic Mr. Balfour! It is certainly remarkable, for we can rest assured that his chaste mind would not allow itself to be interested, let alone disturbed, in the friendly discussion of anything that was merely "vile" and "dangerous." The imprisonment of Bowman and Mann has raised the question of Syndicalism to a high point of public importance, and it is to be hoped it may be thoroughly discussed from every side. Let us know what there is of good or evil in it, and let its opponents meet it fairly by reason and argument. Prosecutions are a failure.

Against Conscription.

We are glad to see that in Australia a spirit is rising against the Conscription that has been lately introduced there. Great efforts have been made to stir up Jingo feeling in the Colonies, with the natural consequences that the economic struggle has been sadly relaxed. Australia and New Zealand both need a revival of an anti-political Labour movement after the disastrous results of their fatal excursions in the direction of political administration by "Labour" representatives. Compulsory Arbitration and the reliance on judicial decisions in Labour disputes have borne evil fruit for the workers. Let us hope some serious lessons have been learned, and some future developments will save the Colonials from the devastation that Capitalism has wrought in Europe and America.

RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS.

By FRANK KITZ.

(Continuation.)

Many provincial branches severed their connection with the S.D.F. and joined the newly formed League, of which new branches were formed in fresh centres.

It was in the course of furthering the provincial propaganda that I revisited many towns where, as I have previously related, I had formerly arrived as a tramp. The propaganda was carried into Wales, Mainwaring and myself holding meetings at Aberdare, Merthyr Tydvil, and upon the historic Rocking Stone at Pontypridd, Mainwaring using the Welsh language in his addresses. We might fairly claim to have been the pioneers in Wales of modern Socialism, which has now taken root in the Principality. Certainly, the real Prince of Wales, the Marquis of Bute, will not fail to furnish the Welsh with object-lessons in landlord rapacity and greed. Acting upon his right of possession, he has quarried and sold half the mountain upon the summit of which the ancient Rocking Stone stands. Popular clamour at the desecration of an ancient landmark has been of little use to arrest the work of destruction. And why not? Can't a Marquis do what he likes with his own mountain?

In summarising the work of the League, its leaflets were the most effective method of propaganda. Amongst those issued were "Ireland a Nation," showing the futility of Nationalist proposals to free Ireland; "The Causes of Prostitution"; T. Barclay's (Leicester) inimitable parody upon the old nursery rhyme, "The House that Jack Built" (when will this be republished?); and many others, including one by myself, an "Address to Working Women and Girls," which the S.D.F. have done me the honour to republish—without acknowledgment.

Events across the Atlantic were to give the League an opportunity to distinguish itself from the State Socialists. Men, women, and children had been shot and bludgeoned by Pinkerton's police and the militia in the ferocious and brutal attacks upon unarmed crowds in the eight-hour agitation in Chicago. At last, after many had been murdered, some one (who has never been discovered) threw a bomb at the police who, at the memorable meeting in the Haymarket on May 4, 1886, were advancing upon the people; and this time the police were slain. Although this act of reprisal stopped the murders by the police, it furnished a pretext for the arrest of eight of those most prominent in the Labour agitation. Of the subsequent infamous trial and martyrdom I cannot write here. My object is to show the attitude taken up in this country by the League and other advanced sections in relation to these tragic events.

The capitalists of America and other countries deluded themselves with the belief that the hanging of our devoted comrades—Parsons, Spies, Engel, and Fischer—had stamped out the embers of Anarchy. The reptile press on both sides of the Atlantic, guided by a common inspiration of hatred towards the workers, gloated over the tragedy of November, 1887; and, indulging in an orgy of abuse and calumny of our martyred comrades, vainly hoped that by the stifling of their voices they had secured undisturbed mastery of their own position. But the dying words of August Spies, "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle to-day," were a call to action to the comrades on this side. The Socialist League, with comrades of the Labour Emancipation League and the FREEDOM Group, determined to do their utmost to defeat the object of the infamous trial and judicial murders in Chicago, by publishing the lives and speeches of the condemned men, with a record of the events which led up to the culminating tragedy. At this distance of time I cannot compute the thousands of copies which were issued in several editions of the "Chicago Martyrs." The sale was phenomenal, and cheaper editions were published. The widow of Albert Parsons came over at our invitation, and delivered a series of lectures which were fully attended. Through all the intervening years the memory of our Chicago comrades has been kept green by annual celebrations convened by the Socialist League and later by the FREEDOM Group. Sometimes the police have deprived us of the use of halls for these meetings, but that has not prevented the gatherings being held. As the years have rolled by we have witnessed the growth and spread of Anarchism, and the attempt to silence it on the scaffold has been frustrated.

The State Socialists lent no assistance to keep alive the memory and principles of the Chicago men. "Father" made it the occasion to put a pamphlet on the market, but his followers were advised to abstain from attending the commemoration meetings. A similar line of policy was pursued over the May Day celebrations. The International Congress held at Paris in 1889 had decided to hold mass meetings throughout the world on the First of May each year, to show the solidarity and international character of the workers' movement. The Trade Unionists decided upon a Sunday demonstration, and the only Socialist societies which held the first (1890) May Day meeting in England upon the First of May were the Socialist League, the foreign sections, and the Federation of All Trades and Industries, led by Jack Williams. The "only" Socialist organisation declined to come out. A successful meeting was the result of our combined efforts, and it created a very different effect to that held the following Sunday.

(To be continued.)

THE PASSING OF ARBITRATION.

If the Arbitration Act can withstand the battering process to which it has been subjected during the last month, its recuperative powers would be a credit to any white hope appearing upon the pugilistic horizon.

Events in rapid succession have demonstrated the futility of the Act to prevent men from discussing and settling their grievances in their own way.

The watersiders' and seamen's agreements have shown that for practical purposes the men directly concerned can more ably deal with their own industrial conditions than can the Arbitration Court.

The tramway men's strike, backed as it was by the combined organisations of Labour, registered and unregistered, prepared to down tools if called upon, showed clearly the inability of the Act to prevent men from striking if they feel so disposed.

Despite the preaching of a generation as to the "barbarity of strikes," those who do the striking recognise that, barbarous and all as it may be, to prevent men by legal enactment from ceasing work is even more barbarous.

The arbitration method has clearly and signally failed. No matter how ardent a supporter of arbitration one may be, that fact is very clear. Three years ago to dare to question the arbitration system was a heresy; five years ago a crime. To change so rapidly, from being the prop which the workers regarded as essential to support their organisations, to being the despised and irritable hobble placed upon their activities, is one of the most surprising factors in the making of New Zealand's industrial history.

Time was, and not so very long ago, when learned professors and political economists rushed to New Zealand to study its industrial legislation and report thereon to their respective countries. Books and elaborate treatises were written of the "land without strikes." Those responsible for the passing of this legislation paraded themselves before the public eye as philosophers who had discovered the secret of industrial peace.

So rapidly, however, do changes take place that most of those responsible for the building of this elaborate structure, which attracted such world-wide attention, live to see its contemptuous rejection by the mass of the organised workers in New Zealand. To-day the only section who desire to see the Arbitration Act retained are the employers, who love it because of its Union-crippling and chloroforming propensities, and a few Unionists noted only for their absolute lack of backbone.

Compulsory arbitration is absolutely impossible when the workers can declare, and operate, if need be, a General Strike. When conditions arise which are of sufficient moment to cause thousands of men to cease work as a protest, the only measure which would compel those workers to resume work would be one of oppression and repression. Industrial peace obtained at the bayonet's point cannot be lasting. The moment the opportunity occurs a rebellion will take place.

The Arbitration Act has served a useful purpose as an educational medium. For its successful operation it depends for its existence upon the ignorance and credulity of the people. The moment the workers grasp the principle of the Class Struggle, the doom of arbitration has been sounded.

Industrial organisation is permeating the air; the desire of closer organisation, stimulating the workers, causes that awakening which makes men see that under arbitration sectionalism runs riot—closer organisation is impossible.

After nearly twenty years of bubble-chasing, the bubble has burst, and the workers, recognising the mistakes made, are turning their attention to "linking-up."—*Maoriland Worker*, Feb. 23, 1912.

The Awakening of the Far East.

[The following notes on Japan and China are taken from a letter recently received from Shanghai by a comrade. The writer's remarks on the new form of government in China are especially interesting.]

In Japan there are very few surface indications of popular unrest, but the unrest is really there—under the surface. You have read, of course, of the intense patriotism of the Japanese, and of their unswerving loyalty to the Mikado. The truth is that this appearance of devotion to Japan and its ruler is of quite recent growth. It was artificially stimulated by the Government as a means of combatting the spread of a sentiment in favor of greater liberty. It is really comparatively superficial. In spite of all the Government can do, discontent is becoming more general every day. One reason why this is not more apparent is that the Government's elaborate system of espionage makes it dangerous for anyone to write or say what he thinks.

The Chinese revolution will undoubtedly give a tremendous impetus to radicalism in Japan. I have heard well-informed men here say that they do not believe the present Japanese Government can survive for two years if the Chinese republic proves moderately successful. The Mikado's advisers recognise, too, that the Chinese revolution is dangerous to the established order in Japan. They did

their utmost from the first to persuade the Chinese revolutionists to accept a constitutional monarchy. The republic having been established in spite of them, it is certain that they will do their utmost to wreck it by encouraging rebellion and disorder among the masses of the Chinese.

Yesterday Dr. Sun Yat Sen resigned as president of China, and Yuan Shi Kai was elected by the National Assembly at Nankin to succeed him.

If I had needed anything to convince me that it is impossible for any kind of government to be good for the people, this one thing would have done it. After a revolution which has been generations in process of organisation, in which there has been actual fighting for many months, in which it is estimated that 20,000 men have been killed, and which finally ended in the overthrow of one of the oldest and most strongly entrenched dynasties in the world, the Chinese can't find anyone better to elect than Yuan Shi Kai!

Yes, I am aware that all the authoritarians say it was an excellent choice, and that a good many reformers seem to think so, too. But what kind of a man is Yuan Shi Kai?

Yuan's idea is that a Government should be *efficient*. He objected to the Manchu Government, not because it was despotic and cruel, but because it failed to *govern* vigorously. He objected to it also because it did foolish things, like encouraging the Boxers, and involving itself in trouble with other Governments which were stronger than itself. Finally, he objected to it because it deprived him of office and threatened to cut off his head.

But it never occurs to him that the people who are governed have any rights. His ambition is to be another Diaz on a larger scale.

I think he will be another Diaz, too. I'm firmly convinced that he will be president as long as he lives, or at any rate until he is overthrown by another revolution. Certainly he will never surrender his power voluntarily.

As a *Government*, no doubt his Government will be better than the Manchu Government. Yuan will make himself felt. He will probably kill a lot of brigands, put down a lot of riots and insurrections, see that the tax collectors turn the taxes in to *him* instead of putting them into their own pockets, and maybe make China a great military power.

In short, I expect to see him restore what people call "order," but I don't think the masses of the Chinese will be any better off under Yuan than they were under the Manchus.

C. P. S.

CONCERNING SYNDICALISM.

Politics is a different affair since the Lawrence strike. You can fairly hear the world buzz with people revising their opinions and laying aside their old views. In New York City men who four months ago were talking about tenement house inspection are to-day talking about the mass movements of labour and the forcible expropriation of the rich. Ray Stannard Baker in the *American Magazine* writes that the time may come when the Socialist Party will actually be the great conservative party, the bulwark of law and order. Lincoln Steffens brought back word from Lawrence that the mill owners had suddenly come to look upon the American Federation of Labour as their last hope. And as for the political issues that furnish material for presidential campaign speeches, recall of judges and constitutional tinkering—no far-seeing observer of political conditions regards them any longer as serious, either for good or for evil.

More of us feel as if we had been idly rummaging in a candy-box only to discover that the bottom layer consisted of pellets of dynamite. Wise as we felt sure we were, there has come a sudden feeling that there are a good many things on heaven and earth not accounted for in our philosophy. A few people I know have taken refuge in dithyrambic verse, others in hero-worship of Haywood; the *Times* is still calling loudly for a policeman, and the State of New Jersey has insulated itself against danger by getting out a general warrant against Haywood; not a few Socialists have the brilliant idea that if Haywood were expelled from the Socialist Party, life would go on again as before.

What is not seen does not cease to exist, in spite of a famous school of metaphysicians. There, whether it pleases us or not, are the Lawrence, the English dock, railway and coal strikes, the German coal, the French railway strike. There is the spectacle of the English Labour Party on the defensive against something more radical than itself; the French Socialists ignored as politicians; in this country, Schenectady and Milwaukee derided as betrayals of the working class. Reporters who have come back from the labour struggles speak of them with awe, and almost always they run to some metaphor about an upheaval of the elements. They feel that all the so-called constructive planning is like a handful of peanut shells on the surface of the ocean. "Too late, too late," a famous man is said to have remarked. "The thing's beyond control—the Socialist movement has come too late to save the country from a cataclysm."

I have been in touch with the Socialist administration in Schenectady for the last four months, and it is my sincere conviction that if the pressure cannot be relieved sooner than there is any prospect of doing it in that city, things will happen that no man dare predict. Unless what is called "political action" can move with an audacity swifter and surer than any that thrives in the atmosphere of politics to-day, politics will cease to be the avenue of discontent. There is no longer any question as to whether or not there shall be vast changes in

the structure of society. The issue is whether or not it is too late to make the changes deliberately. The old order of things has a choice between walking out of the door and being kicked out of the window.—*The International*, New York, for June.

BOOK NOTES.

BERGSONIAN BLARNEY.

Modern Science and the Illusions of Professor Bergson. By Hugh S. R. Elliot. 5s. net. London: Longmans & Co.

Mr. Hugh S. R. Elliot has been to the trouble of writing a volume to expose the pretensions of Bergson. After reading it one wonders if it was worth the while, notwithstanding that the author has given us a very interesting chapter on "The Progress of Philosophy." For the undoubted impression given to an unprejudiced mind by Bergson's statements of his metaphysical absurdities is that he does not believe them himself. We all know what Voltaire thought of high metaphysics. Well, there is such a thing as metaphysical blarney, and in this Bergson indulges to his heart's content. It should have been marked as "fiction for ladies," for surely none but those of the more emotional sex who indulge in dilettante spiritualism could swallow his meaningless flow of words. Take, for instance, this sentence describing what Bergson regards as the origin of life: "At a certain moment, in certain points of space, a visible current has taken rise; this current of life traversing the bodies it has organised one after another," etc., etc.

Would you dare to ask him to name the "certain moment," to indicate those "certain points of space," to trace for us that "visible current" of life, and above all to insist upon having facts to fit his theory, he would be simply amazed at your ignorance, and his admirers would feel, without knowing why, that you were destroying the romance of his "metaphysical" imagination. Yes, that is the explanation of Bergsonism. He is romancing with metaphysics to combat the methods of experimental science, of induction, and, above all, of materialism and evolution. He knows he is sure of an audience of the jaded do-nothings who are craving for a new sensation, and who will listen to such verbiage as this: "Instinct is knowledge at a distance. It has the same relation to intelligence that vision has to touch." No wonder Mr. Elliot should ask—"Why, then, do we owe our knowledge of the stars to intelligence and not to instinct? Why has Astronomy advanced by the gradual triumph of intelligence over bigoted superstition?"

One cannot say that Bergsonism is demolished by the criticisms contained in this volume. You cannot demolish a will-o'-the-wisp. But you can expose the illusion. And this, we think, has been accomplished. Although the author holds still to some disputable points—for instance "that beliefs are the outcome of a congenital disposition" (p. 199)—he makes a capital defence of materialism; and there can be no doubt of the educational value of the two chapters, "The Progress of Philosophy," and "The Automaton Theory," for which alone the book is worth having.

Other Publications Received.

The Ego and His Own. By Max Stirner. New Edition. 2s. 6d. net. London: A. C. Fifield.

A cheap reprint of Stirner's famous work has long been required, and Mr. Fifield has published a really well-bound and clearly printed edition. While few Anarchists will agree with all of Stirner's theories, there are not many who will fail to learn something by a study of this book.

The Solemnization of Jacklin. By Florence Farr. 6s. London: A. C. Fifield.

The Rebel—and His Disciples. By Guy A. Aldred. 1d. London: The Author, 17 Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Vest-Pocket Essays for the Laborer. By Peter Esteve. No price. New York; Labor Culture, 229 West Street.

Correspondance d'Elisée Reclus. Tome II., Octobre, 1870—Juillet, 1889. 3fr. 50c. Paris: Schleicher Frères.

THE PEOPLE.

From the Italian of Giovanni Domenico (Tommaso) Campanella.

The people is a beast of muddy brain

That knows not its own force, and therefore stands

Loaded with wood and stone; the powerless hands

Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein:

One kick would be enough to break the chain;

But the beast fears, and what the child demands,

It does; nor its own terror understands,

Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.

Most wonderful! with its own hand it ties

And gags itself—gives itself death and war

For pence doled out by kings from its own store.

Its own are all things between earth and heaven;

But this it knows not; and if one arise

To tell this truth, it slays him unforgiven.

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"Dangerous Anarchists"—and Other People.

The sentence on our comrade Errico Malatesta, and his recommendation for deportation by the Common Serjeant, have aroused widespread indignation amongst those who, whilst not sharing his views, respect him for his disinterested devotion to the cause he has at heart. That indignation has been largely increased by the outrageous instance of allowing a man from Scotland Yard to prejudice the case by the statement that Malatesta was a "dangerous Anarchist" in his opinion, if such people can be regarded as holding any "opinions" independently of those they are paid to express.

This thing has become a scandal in the case of that unhappy class of recidivists who are more or less always in the hands of the police. But the tipping of the scales by such methods as were employed in Malatesta's case has exceeded the limit, and, as the *Daily News* very pertinently asks, if our characters are to be at the mercy of police caprice, if they are to decide as to who is "dangerous" in matters of opinion, what is to become of us all?

Now of course everybody knows that Malatesta has been all his life an active propagandist of Anarchist opinions. Many also know with what generosity he has given himself to the service of the oppressed, and how he has suffered in their cause. But we maintain that it is unnecessary for us to prove him to be one of the best of men. We have only to insist that he shall at least have such justice as is accorded to any prisoner in our courts of law. That is the point.

As to the police methods employed, we can show without the least fear of contradiction that if Jesus Christ came to London—instead of Chicago—he would by the same ruling be immediately recommended for deportation. For he would soon become known to the police as a "dangerous agitator." It could be proved that he had been driven from pillar to post, that he had stirred up trouble wherever he went, and that blind fury and malignity burst forth at the mere mention of his name. His attack on the money-changers and his prophecy "Destroy the Temple" would be convincing proof of his Anarchist principles, and his announcement "I come not to bring peace but a sword" would be the last straw in deciding his fate. The up-to-date Judas Iscariot would be found; the thirty pieces of silver would be provided; Pontius Pilate would be ready to sacrifice him in the interests of the ruling class; and the poor "Carpenter of Nazareth" would be denounced as a "dangerous Anarchist" by the man from Scotland Yard, and handed over to his enemies.

This is an extreme but perfectly justifiable analogy to be drawn from the Malatesta case. But there is far more than this to be said. Those "undesirable aliens" who helped to engineer the Boer war—which cost this country the trifle of three hundred millions and twenty thousand lives—so far from being regarded as dangerous, are living here in the most extravagant luxury. We mention this to show the class prejudice that is lying behind it all, and to show that it is not a question of "criminal responsibility" as to how you are treated, but a question of what opinions you hold.

We will take another instance. The London correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* has recently interviewed Mr. Lloyd

George on the subject of the "duties of democracy." Amongst other things of a rather disturbing nature to the ruling classes, he said: "I declare it to be a danger for our civilisation that we in England have so many rich men who live only and exclusively for their pleasures." He forgot to add that they were living on the unpaid labour of the working classes. But let that pass. The point to note is that he asserts that the "many rich men," living as they do, are "a danger for our civilisation." Well, that is precisely the opinion of Malatesta. Only our friend has gone to the root causes of these crying anomalies and finds they are all founded on legality, and that legality is the outcome of government.

Now, once again, it would be easy to prove from the above statement that Lloyd George is a "dangerous agitator." Indeed Lord Rosebery has as good as said so; and there are very few of us who have not heard the most brutal denunciation of him by those who support "vested interests." And here we may make a plain statement of fact which will help us to determine who really are the dangerous people at the present juncture. That fact is that we are at this moment entering on a period of change. This is perfectly obvious to all intelligent people. But unfortunately those who control the industries of this country are not all intelligent, and some cannot and others will not grasp the fact that the wealth-producers will and must have a larger share in the wealth produced by their labour. All wage-earners are finding they have a grievance against the present system; but the extraordinary development which astonishes us all is the solidarity that has grown up between all sections.

When such a state of things exists one need not be very far-seeing to realise that some change is simply inevitable, and that to resist this flowing tide of Labour is not only cruel and unjust on the part of the employers, but is the direct cause of all the trouble we have to-day. Here at once we see it is the "rich men," the exploiting class—or at least such of them as will not concede the possibility of better life conditions to the workers—who are the "dangerous" people.

He is the "dangerous" man who does not care for the sufferings of the down-trodden masses; who thinks that all is well in a world that assures to him the fruits of other peoples' labour. He is the "dangerous" man who, despising the liberties—few but precious!—that have been won in this country, would strive to maintain the privileges of his class by plunging us into reaction to stem the tide of progress. Were it not for these people it would be possible to conceive of a peaceful evolution from the present chaos to a social system founded on liberty, justice and equality. Were it not for the blind selfishness of the ruling classes, the work of social reorganisation might be proceeding now and building the bridge that would carry us over the "great divide" that separates this dying system from the new social order.

It is not Malatesta, it is not the Anarchists, the Socialists, the Labour leaders, who preach violence and bloodshed to gain their ends. They know too well in the struggle whose blood will flow. No. It is those who stand in the path of human progress who are the "dangerous" people. At their doors must be laid the bitter conflicts which they force on the people. For as water will find its own level, so humanity must rise above the wage-slavery of to-day. And if those who work and strive to help the people out of their poverty, their misery, their degradation are to be counted as "dangerous" to anything but slavery and injustice, then there are many who would join hands with Malatesta and share with him the honour of being denounced by the man from Scotland Yard.

Malatesta Release Committee.

A

MASS MEETING

WILL BE HELD IN

TRAFALGAR SQUARE, on SUNDAY, JUNE 9,

AT 4 P.M.,

To Protest against Political Police Methods and to Demand Malatesta's Immediate Release.

For list of speakers see advertisements in the *Daily Herald*.

Money is urgently needed, and should be sent to J. F. Tanner, Secretary and Treasurer, Malatesta Release Committee, 13 Beadon Road, Hammersmith, W.

LABOUR AND POLITICS.

The present time needs bold plain speech by every earnest worker for human emancipation if we are to avoid the destruction of the fruits of many years' toil, and the recurrence of that period of blighted hopes and disappointment through which the workers' movement passed a few years ago. It is necessary to speak out when politicians of every party endeavour to lead Labour back into what they term the political "field"—but which ought to be called the political graveyard—and to review the results and consequences of past political action. Then we may utilise the lessons taught by experience.

The working classes recently discovered that they possess the power to help themselves. They partly realised the value and necessity of direct action and class solidarity. They, or many of them, at least, got a glimpse of the new free world which knowledge and revolutionary method will open to them in days to come. Hope and joy flew from end to end of the land, and men and women who had become doubtful, faint, wounded, and weary in the service of humanity recovered their faith and vigour in the cause. The politicians were amazed and dumbfounded at the discovery that their wonderful legislative and administrative functions were *not* indispensable. To this hour the proceedings of Parliament and the general political farce appear in their true trivial and unpractical character so far as the needs and interests of the great working community are concerned. Politicians of every party are alarmed. The tendency of the time will not suit their book. So, with a common instinct, they join each other in attacking, either openly or by more unscrupulous and deceitful argument, the ideas and methods which are antagonistic to their business or to their personal ambitions. They attack the General Strike, independent judgment and spontaneous action by the workers, and Syndicalism. Especially obnoxious to them is the idea that the workers should control industry and the distribution of the wealth their own labour produces. In the name of Socialism they declare it to be impossible to establish by such methods an equitable balance or relationship between the various productive and distributive groups. The politicians, but *not* the workers, could arrange affairs for the benefit of the whole community! Capitalism and landlordism are preferred by the statesmen and their supporters, who are so anxious to increase the output of the law factory. The workers are implored to desist from the method of social self-help and to elect new men and wait for more laws to effect social improvement.

But what has been the experience hitherto? Radicals, Chartists, Labour men, and Socialists strove throughout the nineteenth century to use the political machine for the general good of the people. Though there has never been a Labour or Socialist majority in Parliament, is it not strange that this institution should have responded in so small a degree to the lifelong and impassioned efforts of the reformers? But ordinary supporters of State Socialism, in spite of these facts, hold a blind faith in Parliament which utterly eclipses all expectations which other political students have ever entertained. Unfortunately the discussion of the subject is also befogged by the influence of political traditions and habits of thought. Then we have to encounter the army of aspirants for "public honours," and the evil practices of parties and their electioneering methods which subject every idea to organised and stupid bias and partisanship.

There is now a favourable opportunity to bring the facts into prominence. For well-nigh twenty years the political method has been tested by English Socialists. The General Strike was described as "general nonsense." Strikes were "out of date." Trade Unions were useless, except as political associations. The effect of this teaching was a weakening of organised Labour morally and numerically. The greater the reliance upon success in the "political field," the worse were the results. Open and brazen desertion and treachery, temporising, compromise, and impotence were the consequences inside Parliament, while outside there was disunion, recrimination, antagonism, pessimism, and despair. The Socialist ideal was being cast aside bit by bit in favour of trifling modifications of the capitalist system, which merely rivetted the chains of servility more completely upon the working class. Even that tempting bait of political action, the legal Eight-Hour Bill, was forgotten. The Right to Work Bill, with its penal clause so insulting to the workers, was contemptuously kicked outside by the House of Commons. The greatest achievement was the reversal of the Taff Vale decision, which simply left matters as they were before the Labour victories of 1906—even *if* that much has been accomplished. On the "industrial field" the personal and direct oppression of the worker increased everywhere. The day's work became more intense than ever, while the purchasing power of wages seriously declined. The spirit of rebellion and the hope of revolutionary change began to die.

Those were the kind of results produced by the political method, both in this country and on the Continent. Perhaps one or two of the facts of French history are most significant of the character of the political weapon. In France a leading Parliamentary Socialist accepted office in the Cabinet with the unspeakable butcher of the Commune, General Gallifet (with the approval of the Social Democrats of England, France, and Germany); and Briand, the Socialist Premier, resorted to exceptional methods for crushing the General Strike on the railways, of which he had himself been a leading advocate. True, all the revolutionary elements were not supine. But *they* were not in Parliament, and few of them sacrificed their ideals to it.

"But," say the advocates of political action, "we are not yet a majority; what can you reasonably expect from us?" Truly, very little, though meanwhile the workers may do much for themselves. They admit, grudgingly, that the latter statement is true, though we must remind them that the more the workers look to others above them for redress of their grievances, the less inclined they will be to recognise their own power and responsibility. Why should we wait—indeed, can we wait, until we have a majority in Parliament? First, there would be all the anomalies of the franchise and registration laws, and the redistribution of seats to deal with. The procedure of Parliament, itself a huge task, would need radical reform. A lifetime of tinkering at the crazy old machine would be necessary before the real great task could be tackled. And every law brings fresh anomalies into existence, a fresh batch of officials, more petty reactionary interests, more servility and penalties for the poor. Each Act of Parliament is another buttress for the propertied class.

Though all the Parliamentary hindrances were removed, and the new law-givers excelled in wisdom and ingenuity all those who have in past centuries failed to secure justice and freedom by such means, there is no assurance that the property-owners would abandon their privileges at the behest of Parliament. It is more likely that they will appeal to the "legal rights" and "safeguards" given to them by that institution; and whatever reluctance we may have felt on our side to resort to direct action, they would have small hesitation on theirs. It being then merely a dispute as to which party should govern the country, they would be on familiar and suitable ground to justify and enable them if necessary to drown the "revolutionary" Parliament in its own blood. The plain truth is that Parliament is Labour's death-trap. The effect of political action is to disunite the working class and dwarf the aims of the movement—exactly the opposite of direct economic and social action, which produces unity and enlargement of ideals.

We have seen in Australia that a Labour and Socialist majority may be in antagonism to the Labour revolt, and quite as useful to the capitalist class as any other kind of majority. In any case, the political method is not so prolific of good results as to justify the immense sacrifice of time, money, and effort it requires, besides the abandonment of the better method. William Morris years ago pointed out that just as the Socialist workers' movement grows in strength and activity, so will the governing section of the propertied class throw out "sops" to the working class. Therefore those people who are sincerely anxious to obtain "palliatives" from Parliament need have little fear of joining the revolutionary movement on that ground. The character of the "palliatives" thus far secured, and of those which may be obtained within the next two or three decades, is not of the kind any *Socialist* may fairly claim to be "steps in our direction." On the contrary, instead of being measures conducive to the building of a free Co-operative Commonwealth, they are nothing more or less than a series of expedients whereby the working class, especially the poorest, are to be made into a carefully regulated army of social serfs, and any amelioration of their lot is to be simply the cheapest and craftiest contrivance which statesmen can invent for patching up the worst leakages in the social vessel. This has been the case so far with Labour Bureaus, relief of the unemployed, sickness and unemployment insurance, the Minimum Wage Act, and the like. Formerly, the poor law, emigration, and the Factory and Truck Acts sufficed; but now "social legislation" is necessary if the discontent of an awakening and hungry proletariat is to be appeased. But the remedies are more apparent than real. Participation in the business of politics admits of nothing else, except that in a very few instances, accidentally, a man gets elected who will deliver prophetic addresses on the "floor of the House." Some Socialists hope to do that; but is it not an admission of the practical uselessness of politics? Especially when these prophetic utterances will be chiefly confined to maiden speeches—judging by recent experiences in the House of Commons.

The truth is, it is not Parliament which needs conversion and education, it is the workers and men and women of social goodwill; and when they think and know the truth we may be confident that the end of the present system is near.

"The working class," some of our friends are fond of saying, "is the last class to be emancipated." But the effort for emancipation need not, indeed it cannot, be linked with a political movement which will involve the horror of general State servitude. The working class when organised upon the political field could no more remove the principle of tyranny and injustice from law and authority than could any other class. The establishment of direct "representative" or complete democratic government would make the situation even worse. Politics facilitates the concentration of all the prejudiced, ignorant, obstructive, and reactionary elements. This force so well organised in communities of 40, 60, or 80 millions would make escape for the idealist and reformer almost impossible, especially if all the printed organs of opinion were under the control of the officials of the dominant majority. We speak of the suppression of free speech now; there would be none to suppress then.

The machinery of government has always fulfilled the function of enabling one set of men to dominate their fellows by the aid of force and trickery; and by its very nature, which is *compulsion by violence*, it has no place in a community of men who seek the common interest, and where the monopolist no longer exists.

It is a misnomer to speak of politics as "an arm" of the working class. It has never been so, and cannot be so, because every time the

workers go to the ballot-box they logically and in fact yield to their "representatives" their right to speak and act. Not merely that, they also agree to be bound by the decrees and regulations of the institution to which they entrust their fate. The first aim of Socialism is to abolish poverty and the servitude of the useful classes in society. These evils are produced by the monopoly of the land and the wealth made by labour, and are maintained by the organised system of authority and violence.

We know that by the solidarity and direct action of an educated revolutionary working class the present evils of society can and must be abolished. Shall we workers, therefore, in these days of hope turn aside from the straight road to emancipation and liberty to forge a new set of political chains; or shall we by the exercise of our own power, guided by the knowledge of freedom, march in the vanguard of progress?

G.

CAPITALIST OUTRAGES IN SAN DIEGO.

The land of the "Almighty Dollar" has had a bad odour in the nostrils of the world for many a year on account of the ferocity of its capitalist class in their dealings with their workers on strike and pioneers in thought and action in the Labour world. The latest barbarities of a gang of capitalist hooligans, aided by a brutal police force, enable us to understand the point of view of those people who justified the use of dynamite in the case of the McNamara brothers.

The San Diego (California) branch of the Industrial Workers of the World have been engaged in a free speech battle. They were suddenly prohibited the use of a well-established and recognised meeting place in the town. Their meetings gave offence to the "big business" men, and the Town Council passed a bye-law to stop them being held. The I.W.W. determined to test the right of the Council by continuing the meetings, and their speakers prepared to face imprisonment. The sequel is almost incredible. As usual, arrest and imprisonment of speakers took place; but in addition, hundreds of business men of the town formed themselves into a semi-secret society called "Vigilantes," to illtreat the I.W.W. and other Labour men. They were armed with revolvers, rifles, whips and bludgeons, and well provided with motor cars. The San Diego police have arrested and ill-treated Labour men and turned them out at night into the hands of the organised gangs of "Vigilantes." The I.W.W. have been guilty of no act of violence of any kind.

They had arranged in the course of the free speech fight that a party of eighty-four men from Los Angeles were to enter San Diego. The police reserves met and arrested them. All their money and valuables were taken from them by the police, and they were beaten and kept all day without food. At night they were turned over to the "Vigilantes," who severely beat them, and with the aid of mounted policemen, drove them during the night beyond the city limits. Many of them were almost beaten to death. The I.W.W. on May 7th, hearing of the treatment of their friends, held a protest meeting which was dispersed by force, men and women being mercilessly clubbed. Four of the speakers were arrested, and with twenty-five others, were deported from the city during the next day. One speaker was fatally shot during a police raid on the I.W.W. hall. We are informed that "from that time San Diego has been absolutely at the mercy of the 'Vigilantes.'" The machinery of law is completely broken down. Justice is a farce in San Diego to-day. A band of business men, who are really cutthroats, have this community absolutely at their mercy."

Not only I.W.W. men, but members of the American Federation of Labour, have been kidnapped, made to undergo terrible suffering and ignominy, expelled from the town, and forced to promise not to return. Two I.W.W. men have been murdered by the police and the "Vigilantes." The San Diego *Labour Leader* reports that the editor of the *Herald* was kidnapped, taken in a motor car, and forced under threat of death—he was actually hanging by a rope from the branch of a tree—to promise never to return. Fortunately, he has returned, and is able to identify the criminals who commit these outrages. His offence was that, as editor of the *Herald*, he gave publicity to the series of outrages which had been perpetrated by the "Vigilantes." The Attorney Moore, who obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* on behalf of the imprisoned I.W.W. men, was kidnapped and has disappeared, probably murdered. A large number of men are still in jail.

Into this hellish cauldron, early in May, our comrades Emma Goldman and Dr. Ben Reitman boldly ventured to assist in the free speech meetings. By a ruse at the hotel, in which the chief of police played his part, Reitman was entrapped by a party of "Vigilantes" who forcibly carried him by motor car many miles from the town. They then brutally assaulted him, and are reported to have branded him on the back with the letters I.W.W. Emma Goldman was also forced to leave the town.

In spite of all these outrages, the fight for free speech still goes on, and we sincerely hope that the bravery and suffering of our I.W.W. comrades will be rewarded by a complete victory over their enemies.

E. S.

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

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Italy.

Whilst the Turco-Italian war continues, only interrupted by rumours of peace proposals by Italy or her friend Russia, in which proposals the desires of the Arabs, the only people with a real right to decide on their destiny, are of course entirely ignored, the Italian people are in the grip of unemployment and oppression. Numerous are the rumours of the suffering among workers who have lost their work owing to factories closing and banks failing; and more economic difficulties are ahead if all the thousands of Italians in Turkey are expelled by the Turkish Government and return to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Those who dare to speak out and criticise the Government are prosecuted. The *Agitatore*, of Bologna, with its valiant editor, Maria Rygier, and other comrades, have been before the tribunal, accused of preaching "crime," inciting to class hatred and insult to the army, by defending the attempt of the soldier Masetti to shoot the colonel Stroppa. As to this act of Masetti's, Maria Rygier said before the tribunal: "Those acts are approved or disapproved according as they are revolutionary or reactionary." She declared she saw in Masetti's act a protest against the iniquitous Tripoli expedition. The accusation of "seditious association," by which all the comrades of the paper were to be involved in criminal responsibility, had to be dropped by the Court; but Maria Rygier, as the author of the article, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and Sardini, Vedova, and Dainesi, printers and compositors of the paper, to terms of from eleven to eighteen months. Evidently Scotland Yard would like to deport Malatesta to such a country, where at present Anarchist propagandists are so drastically treated.

Strike Movement in Russia.

The protest of the Russian workers against the massacre of the workers at the Lena goldfields has taken a most unexpected extension, and the Government could not stem the tide of loud indignation of the people. After the strikes of St. Petersburg, Riga, Warsaw, Odessa, Karkov, etc., the workers of the industrial centre of Russia declared their protest strikes. In Moscow alone 70,000 men struck work, and still the movement is spreading to the provinces. A low estimate of the number who took part in the protest strike at St. Petersburg is 200,000, and in the whole empire about half-a-million.

Never since the days of the revolution in 1905 have the the First of May demonstrations been so impressive as this year. Everywhere meetings and manifestations took place, and if the Government had had any illusion that "order" was definitely restored the events of the last few weeks must have been a rude awakening.

Portugal.

A Bill has been passed by the Senate extending the amnesty to all press offences and political crimes except murder or incitement to murder. We hope that the last of our comrades who were still kept in jail will soon be at liberty.

Japan.

Kotoku and his valiant little band of helpers have been executed and suppressed by the Government, but the spirit of revolt which they helped to kindle is undoubtedly growing more and more active. The Japanese worker begins to move, slowly, but undeniably in the right direction and in the right way. The seamen have been for some time threatening with a strike, and on two steamers of the company Nippon-Jusen-Kaisha the firemen left their work at the moment of the departure of the ship; they only consented to return to their work when an increase of wages was promised. It is expected that the movement will spread to all navigation lines.

Holland.

Last February's *Het Volk*, the organ of the Parliamentary Social-Democratic Party, denounced the "Syndicalist terrorism" which they said reigned in the offices of the strike committees of seamen and dockers, where blacklegs and men unwilling to strike were ill-treated. This paper, calling itself Socialist, denounced to the police and authorities what it was pleased to call a "Syndicalist Inquisition"! The dockers' paper *Havenarbeider* promptly called upon *Het Volk* to give names and facts or else to withdraw the accusation. Neither was done. This was all the more cowardly and treacherous as it was known that the police had taken note of the accusation. But the Social Democrats went still further. At their Congress at Leiden they officially approved of the attitude of their paper *Het Volk*.

In view of this scandalous behaviour towards struggling workers, whose only crime is a disbelief in Social Democratic Parliamentary tactics, twenty-one trade organisations, joined by the Federation of Socialists, the Amsterdam group of Libertarian Socialists, and others, have issued a "Manifesto to the Workers of Holland," condemning the "denunciation of comrades in the struggle for class justice," and calling upon *Het Volk* to withdraw its calumny or to prove it. "The Parliamentary Social-Democratic Party," says the manifesto, "is guilty of one of the worst crimes which can be committed in the Labour movement."

MASSACRE OF RUSSIAN WORKERS.

On May 5, our comrade Peter Kropotkin sent to the Socialist and Labour papers a spirited "Appeal to British and American Workmen," asking them to protest against the massacre of Russian workers on strike which took place at the Lena Goldfields on April 13 last, details of which appeared in last month's *FREEDOM*. After describing the awful conditions which caused the strike, and the unprovoked shooting down of the strikers, Kropotkin says:—

"All testimonies which I have before me, and not one of which was contested by the Minister of Interior in his speech before the Duma, show that there was not the slightest attack made upon the soldiers—none of them received even a scratch. On the contrary, the men in the front rows of the crowd were peacefully parleying with the mining engineer, Tulchinsky. He was quite in sympathy with the strikers and fully confirms their peaceful attitude. He himself escaped death only because several strikers standing in front of him were killed, and they all fell on the ground in a heap. Two more volleys were fired, one into the heap, and another into those who fled after the first volley.

"As to the hero of this slaughter, the Gendarmes Captain, it appears now he belongs exactly to that class of men who are the favourites of the present rulers of Russia. In the years 1906-1907, Treschenko, then a subaltern police officer at Nijny-Novgorod, won his palms by sending no less than eighty workmen of the industrial centres of that province to be hanged by the Courts Martial. Now he reappears in the Lena goldfields, with a higher grade and with rights of life and death over hundreds of men. And when the Minister of Interior was interrogated in the Duma on the doings of that man, his reply was: 'Workmen have been shot before on similar occasions, and they will continue to be shot.'

"Comrades and Friends,—This slaughter of your brothers in Russia is not an isolated case. It only surpasses the others by the number of victims. Terrorising the workmen by periodical massacres is part of the present methods of the Government of Russia. 'Slaughtered they have been—slaughtered they will be,' is our rulers' reply to the revolted conscience of the country.

"In the name of the solidarity of Labour all over the world, I appeal to you. Brand these murderers in the face. And whenever you are asked to give them your support, be it only by giving them some portion of your work, remember that every one of the present rulers of Russia has traces of the blood of the Russian people on his hands.

"All over Russia and Siberia, the workmen, under the menace of imprisonment and exile, are making now twenty-four hours' and two days' strikes, to protest against the Lena massacre. They protest, they fight against all odds. Any word, any token of sympathy, coming from you, will show them that all over the world the toilers are one family; that they are inspired by one common feeling towards those for whom the slaughter of two hundred workmen counts for nothing in their race for power and wealth."

CORRESPONDENCE.

FORCE OR REASON?

(To the Editor of *FREEDOM*.)

SIR,—Is not the agitation against the Russian Government on behalf of Miss Malecka an ironic commentary on our English ways? We need to look at home. The road to violence is a swift road downwards. It is terribly steep when a Government takes to violence against its political opponents. First it was the women. They were inconvenient. They are now in jail. The Government has fallen to acquiesce in forcible feeding and sentences of hard labour. Then came Tom Mann. Now is the turn of Malatesta.

I suggest to the governing classes that force is no remedy. The only remedy is to right the admitted wrongs. This needs courage. Will the present Government be courageous? Upon its courage rests its destiny. To the workers I would say, do not wait until the turn comes of the group or section to which you belong. For its turn will surely come, if we accept calmly the violence applied to others. It is not so that the liberties of England have been won.

Do we stand for liberty? Then let us stand together for freedom of thought, freedom of utterance, freedom of action. It will not avail us to answer we are not Suffragists, Syndicalists, Anarchists. It matters not in whatever person Freedom is assailed, we need to rally to her defence if we would ourselves be free. But there is a higher call to secure and build up the liberties of our race. We may need to forego our own freedom. The call is loud to-day to each one of us to think fearlessly, to utter our thought clearly, to act when the hour of action sounds.—Faithfully yours,

17, Rectory Place, Woolwich.

C. H. GRINLING.

ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal.—*Century Dictionary*.

"THE ANARCHIST."

The Anarchist weekly is now a fact. May Day this year brought with it another note of joy and confidence in the struggle. Our comrades at Glasgow overcame all their difficulties, even at the very moment when they seemed insurmountable; and our bright and vigorous weekly journal appeared on the scene to perform its share of the work which lies before us all. Comrade Barrett, the editor, is to be congratulated upon the tone and the get-up of the paper. Every number seems to improve, and it will play a great and prominent part in the struggle for liberty and labour emancipation. It pulsates with the life-blood of the people. No quackery or hired opinion desecrates its pages. Its writers say what they mean, and mean what they say. Already its reception proves that it meets a distinct "want." Everybody is pleased with it. Workers buy it readily and read it with interest. We hope that all the readers of *FREEDOM* will subscribe for it. It may be received by post for 6d. 6d. per annum. (In the U.S.A. \$1.50) Order it from your newsagent if you do not become an annual subscriber. Our recommendation is necessary only to those who have not yet seen the paper. There is no question of its great and lasting success if all our comrades join in strengthening the hands of the Glasgow Group at the present time.

We hope *The Anarchist* will become a powerful influence for good in the workers' movement in this country. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to do our best to make the initial success small in comparison with the greater results which we may easily attain. Long life to our young comrade!

C.

THE REVINDICATION OF FERRER.

It may be of interest to our readers to know that Lorenzo Portet, Francisco Ferrer's successor, has at last received all the publications and the "Casa Editorial" of the Modern School. The restitution of this property does not by any means efface the dastardly condemnation and murder of Ferrer in 1909; but it serves its purpose in enabling his successor to carry on the work of Ferrer, and incidentally in self-condemning the Spanish Government. It is important to note that although the text books have been returned, the use of them in the Modern Schools is still prohibited. It quite evident the Spanish Government intend to put a stop to the education of the children on what we might term the Ferrer lines.

Another sore point to the Government was the fact that the Trade Union schools were gradually adopting the text-books of the Modern School.

The hope of our struggle lies in the education of the children. Governments with all their attendant parasites—politicians, priests and parsons—know this only too well; and I insist that it is our bounden duty, may I say, to free the children from all superstitions and give them a wider scope in the use of their thinking faculties.

DICK JAMES.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

GLASGOW.—Propaganda has made good progress this month with comrades Porter, Barrett, McKay, Leckie, and McGuire as speakers, and we hope to continue each week. There is a special demand for literature in Airdrie, where Porter and others are making themselves known. Muirhead has also arranged meetings at Darvel. The meeting places are Jail Square, Peel Street, Paisley, Clydebank, Maryhill, and Parkhead, so this should extend the opportunities of selling literature, *FREEDOM*, and *The Anarchist*; but there is still plenty to be done by those who are able and willing to assist.

A meeting to protest against the treatment of comrade Malatesta is to be held here, therefore we appeal to all comrades and sympathisers in and around Glasgow to join us. Group meets on Tuesdays.

A. F.

BIRMINGHAM.—We are trying very hard to form a group here, trusting to have great help from *The Anarchist*. Sold four quires first week, two quires second and third week. Also one quire *FREEDOM*s and a few pamphlets. Every prospect of a speedy sale at the Labor Press, John Bright Street, of *FREEDOM*, *Anarchist*, and pamphlets. The great trouble here is the difficulty in getting those who say they are Anarchists to do anything for the cause. However, when they see we are really in earnest, and are determined to succeed, probably they will rally to our help. Comrade Harvey will be very pleased to hear from any helpers or sympathisers or those in need of information, at 60 Hartledon Road, Harborne.

HALIFAX.—On Sunday, May 12, the Halifax comrades had a visit from comrade Pollock, of Huddersfield. Meetings were held at the Grand Theatre in the morning, and at Savile Park in the afternoon. *The Anarchist*, *FREEDOM*, and pamphlets were pushed by local supporters.

J. H.

MANCHESTER.—Some very good work was done in April, but now has come a period of apathy. There is splendid scope in this city for Anarchist propaganda, but somehow it seems almost impossible to keep a group

together for long. Still, there are one or two who keep literature sales going, and the seed thus sown is bound to bear fruit some day. O. K.

LONDON.

MARYLEBONE.—Though deprived of the services of our best speakers, who helped to organise the tailors' strike, the younger members of the group have worked well to keep the cause alive in this part of the world. Have had several good meetings and the demand for literature is increasing, the police still keeping up their huge joke round Marble Arch by threatening our comrades with all kinds of mysterious goings on "when we get you inside the station." Have managed so far to evade that pleasant ceremony, though still selling literature there. We think there are a lot of men round our meetings who sympathise with our ideas. If so, they are invited to come forward and join the group, which is not over strong at present, speakers especially being needed. Comrades who would like to help the movement, but for private reasons do not wish to identify themselves with open propaganda, will find several ways of doing so. There is still plenty of room in our cash box, which hinders us in the propagation of our ideas to a very large extent. Now, comrades, roll up and communicate with W. Bainsfair, 56 Malden Road, Kentish Town, N.

FERRER SCHOOL.—The above school opened at 99 Charlotte Street, W. (entrance Bedford Passage) on May 5. We had few children but many adults. Mat Kavanagh gave an interesting address on "Ghosts." This subject never fails to arouse the curiosity of the youngsters. The following two Sundays comrade Cook, a South Wales miner, gave interesting accounts of the way in which mines are worked. The description of the boys' hardships in the mine was vividly given by our comrade. The attention of the youngsters was soon arrested during these graphic accounts, and if we continue to have such admirable lectures we bid fair to progress. Although few in number, we intend to make a bold struggle to keep our school in fighting trim.

I regret that our school in Liverpool was not re-opened, but we intend to make amends during our sojourn in London. It is pleasing to note that the East End comrades intend opening a school at the New King's Hall, 135 Commercial Road, E., on June 9. DICK JAMES.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(April 30—May 30.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—R. J. A. £1, H. Glasse 5s 6d, R. Peddie 2s.
FREEDOM Subscriptions.—H. F. Miller 1s 6d, J. Joffe 1s 6d, F. H. 1s, H. Block (8 subs) 12s 4d, W. J. N. 1s 6d, M. Brodman 1s 6d, P. Fijlstra 1s 6d, M. Farland 1s 6d, G. Senior 1s 6d.
Portuguese Strikers.—R. J. A. £1, Essex 1s.
Mexican Revolution Fund.—Essex 2s.
Subs. for "The Anarchist."—F. Ratz (3 subs) £1 10s, A. Ross 3s.

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