

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Malatesta.

Mr. McKenna's decision to refuse the deportation of our comrade Malatesta has restored to some extent both at home and abroad the shaken faith in English love of liberty and justice. To have vindicated the Right of Asylum from the machinations of the secret police, aided and abetted as they were by the judges, is a great point gained. But there is still a great struggle before us if we are to maintain no more than the ordinary idea of "justice" which the law pretends to guarantee. Magistrates, judges, and the political police are acting more and more as the paid instruments of reaction; and it is necessary that the English people should understand what their unbridled power inevitably leads to. It may be a long cry from the action of Inspector Powell to the outrages of an Azeff, but there is a connection between the two which can only be checked by a people jealous of its liberties and determined that freedom of speech and of press, and such public rights as have been dearly won by our forefathers, shall be maintained at all costs. The need of the moment is to watch that the nefarious intrigues of the Continental police do not take root here, and to this end we welcome the growing spirit of indignation of many courageous and broad-minded men and women who do not share Malatesta's opinions. Let every opinion be heard: that is the only true liberty.

Crowsley's Sentence.

After Malatesta, Crowsley! Here we have a brave young working man who acted as a sound and clear conscience directed. His distribution of the "Don't Shoot" leaflets to the soldiers is now generally admitted to have been an act of humanity that should have originated with the bishops and "the right reverends and wrong-reverends of every order," as Charles Dickens would have said. Well, with a fine courage, for which all Englishmen should admire him, Crowsley defended himself, refusing to have his liberty by signing an agreement not to repeat the "offence." He spoke plainly to judge and jury, as every man on trial for his liberty has a right to do. But such manliness incensed the judge, and all who heard the summing-up and sentence know that Crowsley is suffering imprisonment as much through the temper of the judge as for the offence with which he was charged. He will not fear his sentence—that we all know; but it is an injustice, and we rejoice to see the strong public demand for his release, in spite of the reduction of his term of imprisonment.

Insult to Injury.

To insult Anarchism and Anarchists is a procedure of such common usage with those who prefer prejudice to reason, that nothing of this kind astonishes us. When, however, Mr. Lloyd George tries to put us in the same boat with the Bonar Laws, the Carsons, and the whole tribe of black Conservatives generally, it is time to protest. We do not deny that Lloyd George may be a very sincere man—as politicians go. But he should remember that after all he has chosen politics as his profession, and it is no fault of ours that politics are universally regarded as a "dirty business," and that the dirty tricks played in this game sometimes cause him annoyance. However, he will allow us to remind him, and those who think with him, that we are opposed to all forms of government and to all statute law, because they have always been oppressive to mankind and a hindrance to progress. History proves it, and Mr. Lloyd George knows enough of history to know that this is true. Now, when he can prove the most hardened of Conservative legalists, the most reactionary of feudal landlords, the firmest believers in class-rule by government, coercion and brute force (Bonar Law, Carson, Londonderry) are the staunchest upholders of human liberty,

solidarity, and equality as advocated by the Anarchist—if he can prove this, we will admit his right to class us with them. If he cannot, he owes us an explanation.

More Confusion.

The *Star* (June 26) being very angry with Mr. Lansbury for his strong protest in the Commons on June 25, gives vent to some very high-sounding nonsense. "We ought to punish violence," it says, "with absolutely unflinching resolution, no matter what the aim, object, or motive of the violence may be." We cannot resist italicising these last words for fear they might be taken as an extract from Tolstoy; and, of course, we know the *Star* is a strong supporter of government. But if this Radical paper really meant what the words imply, what would it do with the brutes who forcibly feed women? With the police who baton peaceful citizens? With invading armies who destroy nations *by the order of governments*? These questions might be continued indefinitely, but to what purpose? None. Because we shall always be told by governmentals that governments exist for the protection and benefit of the community. Without them chaos, murder, pillage, arson and vice without end—everything in fact which exists at the present moment *under their rule*! And so they go on with their sanctified régime of violence, flogging men to make them humane, starving men to encourage them to fight terrible odds in the battle of life, giving them degrading labour to teach them to love work—all in the interest of the community, just as the inquisitors of old burnt their victims bodies to save their souls!

The Land for the People.

Is Feudalism in danger at last? Certainly the land question is coming once more to the front, and the growing alarm of the landlord class would seem to indicate that some radical change is approaching. How it could have been delayed so long will surely be a puzzle to future generations. The "sacred right of property" has never grown to be abused more grossly than in the greed of landlordism with its appropriation of "unearned increment." The *Sunday Observer* in a frenzy of fear says, "If that form of property is wrong, all other forms of property are equally wrong." We don't know about "equally"; they are wrong anyhow, and that is enough. Let the landlords go as quickly as possible; it will then be time to decide what is "equally wrong" between the other forms of property.

Lord Devonport's "Officialism."

As an "official," we presume Lord Devonport is to be considered as a public servant. At any rate, his position implies as much. But what has happened? Simply that the Port of London Authority is being run by the Shipping Federation in their own private interests as against those of the community, and, worst of all, against the great body of workers whose muscle and skill (and plenty of both are required) keep us supplied with so many necessities which we have to import because landlordism prevents their being produced at home. We still hope the men, whose courage and endurance is beyond all praise, will defeat the callous, despotic clique of exploiters, led by this man, who ought to be made to answer to the public for his misdeeds.

"WORKER'S FRIEND" GROUP.

A MEETING IN MEMORY OF OUR LATE COMRADE

Voltairine de Cleyre

Will be held at the

NEW KING'S HALL, 135 COMMERCIAL ROAD, E.,

ON FRIDAY, JULY 5, AT 8 P.M.

RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS.

By FRANK KITZ.

(Conclusion.)

There existed, however, in the League itself opposing elements which eventually led to its disruption. The merely negative policy of Anti-Parliamentarianism could be endured by the West End branches, of which Hammersmith was the strongest, and in which Morris's personality was dominant; but the East End comrades, confronted by a fierce struggle for existence and in the midst of gigantic Labour conflicts, drifted towards a definitely Anarchist attitude. A quantity of ink has been shed over the question of the split between the West and East End branches which caused the dissolution of the League; but the temperamental differences have always been ignored. Many of the West End members would have found a more suitable environment and method of exposition of their ideals within the ranks of the I.L.P. or the Fabian Society; and, as I have indicated, it was only Morris's personality which caused them to give a lip-service to opinions from which many of them have since seceded. They seemed to be afflicted with the timidity of anaemic respectability. After a deal of friction between the diverse elements, a climax was reached, occasioned by an article in the *Commonweal* by my co-editor, D. J. Nicoll, on the question of tactics. The publication of a second instalment of it was made a test question by the Hammersmith branch, and as he refused to withdraw it, they severed their connection with the League. As indicative of the attitude of this branch, before leaving this portion of the subject I may mention that at a meeting held in the East End (a Commune celebration, I think) the Hammersmith choir refused to render the whole of the "Carmagnole," and deleted the verse containing the line, "Their gods to hell may fly," as repugnant to West End respectability and Hammersmith orthodoxy.

The advanced sections migrated to the East End, and became for a time the London Socialist League, the *Commonweal* appearing as an Anarchist journal. The Walsall police plot and the condemnation of Fred Charles and others to long terms of penal servitude brought forth an indignant article in the *Commonweal*, to which the police replied by seizing the paper and arresting the editor and writer of the article. It would need greater space than is at my disposal to give a complete narrative of all the circumstances which led up to a course of police persecution and prosecutions directed against the English Anarchists. When in 1881 I had charge of the defence of Most, I was assured by some of the Radical Club delegates to the Defence Committee (rebels of the Sunday-morning-club-visitor type) that no Government would dare to prosecute Englishmen for free expression; and the English Press, whilst chortling over the almost exclusively foreign character of the Socialist movement of that time, said Englishmen would never imbibe the doctrines of foreign revolutionaries. The absence of repressive measures against English movements was due to their innocuous nature and the passivity of the Anglo-Saxon—in short, it is not necessary to muzzle sheep.

However, the capitalist Governments have forced the pace. From the prosecution of aliens and the restriction of the right of asylum, they proceed quite naturally to incarcerate Englishmen for expressing opinions hostile to the established order, and have introduced Russian methods in their police prosecutions. We are about to see the most brutal features of American labour disputes imitated here by the international exploiters—Pinkertons and hired auxiliary police. It is to be hoped that the organised working men will be prepared to give a good account of these vermin. And so the logic of events is driving the English working class forward on the path towards social revolution.

Those whom the gods seek to destroy they first make mad. So runs the ancient proverb; and as an old man at one time somewhat despondent of the success of the revolutionary cause, I thank our masters for their recent persecution as supplying the needed stimulus to the movement for the overthrow of the present system.

I have related in these reminiscences the growth of the Socialist revival from the nucleus of a handful of poor men, without literature and with scarcely any speakers or meeting-places, up to the present development of the Socialist and Anarchist movements in this country. I have been asked to mention the names of some of those who played a part in those early days. Some have joined the great majority. Where all co-operated for the cause, it would be invidious to mention one or two names. The purpose of writing these recollections will have been served if it shows to those who have entered the movement later, especially our younger comrades, what a few can do against almost insuperable odds. The reader will have followed the evolution of the movement I have described from Parliamentary Socialism to Anti-Parliamentary, and onward to Anarchism; and in bringing these reminiscences to a close it may not be out of place, whilst dealing with the Anarchist position, to give some of the personal and general reasons which have caused the severance from Parliamentary Socialist agitation and repudiation of its methods and objects.

In the past, like many others, I would have preferred the line of least resistance as a path towards the goal of common ownership of the means of life, if Parliamentary methods had presented a feasible

possibility of arriving at that consummation alone, viz., the administration of things and not of persons. But as the spectacle of a wealthy prelacy preaching the doctrines of lowliness and poverty, no less than the lies, slander, and blackguardism of their hindmost supporters, the Christian Evidence Society, made me an antagonist of Christianity; so likewise have the persecuting, despotic methods of the State Socialists within their nascent organisations shown me what would happen to minorities under their majority rule. They have displayed a bitter spirit of persecution, misrepresentation, and abuse towards those who, whilst in agreement with them as to the common ownership of the means of life, differ upon the question of tactics and method of agitation. Their nebulous attitude and even dalliance with Christianity, their display of Jingoism in reference to the questions of armaments and patriotism, and their bolstering up of the State in its inquisitorial and Puritanical interference with the liberty of the individual, even if we had not the pronouncements of Webb and Shaw to guide us, would make us alive to the danger of State Socialism. In a pamphlet entitled "*Socialism v. Anarchy*," issued by A. M. Simons, of the *International Socialist Review*, in Chicago, after the death of President McKinley, being a report of an address delivered against the Anarchists, there occur several statements which, as they resemble the stock arguments used against us by Socialist opponents, may be summarised here. He denies that Socialists desire "a further extension of the powers of Government," and states further that "they are seeking to educate the people to use their ballots to the end that the workers may become the rulers in the present State, and then use the governmental machinery to abolish exploitation and oppression. This is the only movement that antagonises Anarchy at every turn." We are then assured that there is nothing in the philosophy of Anarchy at variance with Capitalism, and hence the reason why we are petted by the capitalists. I have thought over this "petting," from Pere la Chaise, Waldheim, Montjuich, and the hecatombs of victims of Russian despotism, who only wanted to use their ballots, to the ballot-box stuffing and the bludgeoning and shooting of those under the American Eagle, who also sought to use their ballots to abolish exploitation.

The disillusionment of Anarchists and Direct Actionists as to the efficacy of Parliamentary methods has been mainly the work of Governments themselves. They have shown that they do not intend the political machine to be used in the manner so fondly dreamed of by the State Socialists. They will allow a minority to participate in the work of tinkering at legislation (*vide* Lloyd George), but the possibility of a Socialist majority would be met by provoking a conflict or gerrymandering the constituencies. Let the *Standard* speak. Alluding to the common ownership resolution passed at a Trades Union Congress some years ago, that organ of the classes then said:—"Assuming for a moment that the majority of the electors in the United Kingdom were bent upon such spoliation as the Congress proposes, assume that they seriously set themselves to put the will of the people into law, even then the battle would not have been won or lost. The strength of the propertied classes is not to be measured by the counting of noses, and the promoters of the Social Revolution would find themselves confronted by sterner arguments than platform rhetoric or Parliamentary divisions. Only by force can such changes be effected, and in these days force does not lie in numbers." Others have discovered the truth of this last sentence, and may utilise its lesson; but it was written against the political aspirations of the State Socialists. Whether it be a Republic, a Monarchy, or an Autocracy, force is its final expression.

We have borne the brunt of the attacks of the propertied classes, and our list of martyrs in the cause of human freedom is not recruited by the armchair Socialists or the pedants who cling to an exploded political shibboleth. Doubtless they will come in as "experts" and want to direct the coming storm. In such a case we may remember their past "services," and reward them in such measure as they deserve.

The chief of the tactical differences between the Anarchist and the Socialist position is in regard to religion. As I have shown, the Socialists have temporised with Christianity because of the belated adhesion of a few clerics to a mild version of Christian Socialism. We know that a creed rehabilitated at the expense of the workers' movement would close the door of knowledge to the people, especially the children, in order to bolster up their superstitious creed.

Our comrades are imprisoned for anti-militarist propaganda, while the Jingo Socialists (!) pocket fees for writing articles in favour of patriotism and the increase of armaments for the columns of capitalist papers which are notoriously bitter and virulent enemies of the working class. And when these same gentlemen tell us that the Government of the future will be "a gigantic statistical information bureau," we are not especially enthused.

If force alone will effect a change, we will approach the coming conflict with the full determination to end political domination and the exploitation of man by man; and bearing in mind the lessons learnt from the mistakes of past revolts, the extinction of human slavery will be our battle-cry in "the last grand fight to face."

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 GENERAL STRIKE.

The General Strike is no longer the chimerical idea of the revolutionary propagandist. Its growth in many countries has been of a stormy character; but, in spite of all opposition, its value as one of the most powerful and efficient weapons in the hands of the working class has been demonstrated beyond all dispute. Its chief enemies have not been the ignorance and sloth of the workers, nor even the power and the perfectly natural fear and hatred of the capitalists and the organisation of violence upon which their Governments and the whole system of monopoly of land and wealth depends, but the politicians who essay to lead the Labour movement, and the weak and timid and sometimes interested officials of organised Labour, who imagined that in some undefined way they would be able to regulate the terms and conditions of labour while the present system of society remained intact.

The General Strike movement spread from land to land. Its path has not been adorned by the laurels of victory all the way; but its failures have indicated a more intelligent and more successful use of the weapon in following efforts. The General Strike has been employed for many purposes and in many countries. It has actually been adopted by its bitterest foes, the Socialist politicians, for the extension of the franchise, and is now advocated generally by them as a method of enforcing their political demands. An international strike is also acknowledged by many of them to be the most practical method of preventing or ending wars between nations.

Trade Union officials have been obliged to agree to its use for the purpose of securing their own "recognition" by employers. They saw that it conferred distinction and authority upon them, and, as the heads of powerful combinations of workmen, the reputation of Napoleonic ability became very pleasant to them, especially to some of those officials who had feared and fought the idea most of all. But the workers realised that the General Strike was specially adaptable to the circumstances of their time. They discovered the truth which many patient revolutionary propagandists had been trying to instil into their minds, namely, that by the solidarity of all sections of workers the whole machinery of society could be brought to a standstill, and they would be in a position to dictate terms to the very class which had hitherto held them at their mercy. Of course, this is only a small part of the lesson which the General Strike teaches, but even that much has been of great practical value.

The General Strike has been only partially and imperfectly applied. It has, however, been a means of resisting and reducing tyranny, of increasing wages, shortening the hours of labour, and securing improvements in the general conditions of labour. It has also secured the recognition of the workers' Unions, rescued its advocates and other martyrs from jail, compelled political reform, and many other things of that kind. Above all, it has proved that the workers are not at the mercy of the politicians; that they may help themselves when they make up their minds to act on their own behalf. It has educated the whole community in economics. It has forced the Labour question and the "condition of the people" question into the very forefront, while it has also led to the fuller discussion and comprehension of revolutionary ideas, and a more general and radical indictment of present social conditions. The General Strike is meaningless if it is divorced from revolutionary criticism and purpose.

The recognition of the necessity of the General Strike by the workers has been due to the fact that they realise that Labour sectionally is practically helpless in the hands of rich and unscrupulous men, either when at work or on strike. If factories are closed, coal mines shut down, railways or docks almost unused, while it is done sectionally it merely enables the capitalists to make fortunes from the enhanced prices of commodities, especially when notice is given that an opportunity of that kind is being provided for them. In the meantime the working class, particularly the women and children, starve and suffer, while the wealthy classes are well fed and quite comfortable, except for the fear of a social revolution. Obviously, this is not satisfactory, but it is due to the sectional tactics employed.

Notice of a coming strike should never be given to the exploiting class; but the funds of the Unions should be used for the provision of supplies of the necessities of life, such as flour, milk, cheese, tea, and sugar, for at least the first week or two of a real General Strike. Of course, when the necessity of social expropriation is generally understood, then both the methods and objects of the General Strike may make such forethought unnecessary. But, as witness the suffering in South Wales last year and the distress in the East of London during the past month, some such efforts are at present indispensable. The armed forces of the Government will convoy food to the rich. It is also possible for the strikers to permit the supply of food to their own class, besides the sick and the young.

One thing is clear: the General Strike must not become the plaything of the Labour leader; it must always be the workers' own weapon. To do the leaders justice, they generally very earnestly and vigorously oppose the General Strike; but, in view of what has happened during the past six months, all power of officials to declare a General Strike should be challenged. The workers themselves will know when the moment for revolt arrives, and do not need much

advocacy of the sympathetic strike. They should decide the moment and the issues of the fight, and the best service officials of Labour organisations can render to their members is to work in sympathy and harmony with them. There is no man capable of bearing single-handed the responsibility of the coming stupendous uprising of Labour. Already many men have realised the serious responsibility they have drawn upon themselves by an assumption of authority in these great social struggles, and have exhibited timidity or weakness in coming to grips with the employers. Various "settlements" have been marred by this fact; so much so, indeed, that the anxiety to escape from responsibility in circumstances which in one instance, at least, almost resembled a state of civil war, was so strong that many people inferred treachery as the cause of the failure of the leaders.

The orthodox leader is all for negotiation, arbitration, conciliation, and small and slow remedial measures. He would for ever use the hand-bucket to extinguish the flames of the burning building. He believes that the antagonism of interest between the wage-slaves and their masters can be modified or regulated satisfactorily by agreements and rules, and that no attack upon the economic structure is necessary. Sometimes his comfortable personal position renders him incapable of realising the keenness of the struggle for existence as the worker feels it; and frequently the precarious and disagreeable lot of the worker is to the Union official no more than a name—he has forgotten its reality; to him it is "discontent" and "unrest." But to the workers it is a dreadful fact: poverty and tyranny come right home to them. When pent-up feelings of resentment join with those of hope and courage, and they feel that the moment for action has arrived, the workers should strike, and strike hard. Theirs is the responsibility, and when they enter upon a struggle of the magnitude of a General Strike, their force should not be frittered away on trivial points such as the principle of "recognition" or a minimum wage.

More than once recently has there been every sign of a step nearer the solidarity of Labour. Trade would have joined with trade, labourer with mechanic, seaman with railwayman; but the responsible officials stood in the way. Such obstacles must be removed, or disaster will follow in critical struggles.

The politicians are very fond of pointing to the suffering endured during a strike. We will not deny it; but if the workers fight for some real benefit, their sufferings will not be in vain. We may remind the politicians that the workers have already sacrificed and suffered considerably in rushing after political will-o'-the-wisps. Like the dog in *Æsop's* fable, they have dropped the substance for the shadow; but, worse than he, they have fallen into the political stream, and been socially and economically drowned.

Political reforms come and go, but poverty and misery remain all the time. The General Strike is a blow aimed at the very root of the evil. Of course, it is not so nice as discussing the reform of the House of Lords or the licensing question; and the phrases used in dead earnest about the robbery of Labour, sweating, and starvation are not so pretty and luxuriously rotund as the phrases of the political platform. But the question is vital and the blow struck is at the man who is on the back of Labour.

Then we are threatened with all kinds of direful happenings when the great strike of all trades and industries occurs. Society will rise up, and down will go the great army of Labour. So we are told. But who will do this dreadful work? The Army. But who is certain of this? How can thought and feeling be disciplined and controlled in times like these? The prosecutions and imprisonments for publishing and distributing the "Don't Shoot" leaflets to soldiers is an admission that the latter are not invulnerable to reason and sentiment. What if, when ordered to repress a General Strike, the soldiers went on strike too? What would the rich do then to suppress it? We need not attempt to answer these questions. Force and bloodshed do not come from the people's side. The General Strike is essentially peaceful and reasonable in its nature, even when social expropriation follows in its natural and proper succession; and we may be sure that an educated and revolutionary proletariat which has fully realised the meaning of solidarity will be quite capable of dealing with the problems of defence and reconstruction. G.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION.

On June 23 a brief cablegram reached us from *Regeneracion*, Los Angeles, stating that Ricardo Flores Magon and his brother Enrique Flores Magon had been sentenced for violating the neutrality laws of the United States by carrying on an agitation against President Madero in Mexico. All Governments are hypocritical, but this prosecution by the United States Government is a glaring instance of it, as everybody in Mexico knows that the American authorities are assisting Madero as much as they possibly can, so as to save themselves from the odium of intervention, which American and foreign financiers are urging on them.

The imprisonment of these men will not check the fight for land and liberty, but will seriously handicap the publication of *Regeneracion*, which has been such a stimulus to the real revolutionists.

We hope the American workers will raise a strong protest against this violation of neutrality on the part of their Government.

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Syndicalism and Anarchism.

We are asked on many sides: "What is Syndicalism? What are its relations to Anarchism?"—and we shall do our best to answer these questions. True, they were answered in our columns a few months ago by one of our friends ("Anarchist Methods in Revolutionary Syndicalism," FREEDOM, November, 1911); but it is always interesting to return to this important subject, and to examine it under its different aspects.

Syndicalism is, in fact, only a new name for tactics long since resorted to with profit by the British workers—that of a *direct struggle of Labour against Capital* on the economic field. Such a struggle was their favourite weapon; and in the above-mentioned FREEDOM article it was pointed out that already in the first half of the nineteenth century the British workers, even "without possessing the vote, obtained great economic advantages, created a powerful trade organisation, and even forced the governing classes to recognise their claims (1869-76) in Labour legislation, including an extended political franchise."

Direct struggle on the economic field thus proved to be an efficient weapon for obtaining both economic results and some political concessions.

This idea was so strong in England that already in 1830-31 Robert Owen tried to found a great "National Trades' Union" and an international organisation of Labour, for the direct struggle against Capital. Only the ferocious prosecutions of the British Government compelled him to abandon this idea.

Then came the Chartist movement, which took advantage of the widely spread and powerful, partly secret organisations of Labour, to obtain some substantial political concessions. And the British workers received their first political lesson: they soon saw that though they heartily supported the political agitation, this agitation gave them no economic advantages save those which they themselves imposed upon their masters and their legislators by strikes and revolts. They saw how fallacious it was to trust to Parliament for any serious improvement of their conditions.

* *

The French working men came to exactly the same conclusion. The Revolution of 1848, which gave France a Republic, convinced them of the utter inefficacy of political agitation, and even of political victories, for achieving any vital change in the conditions of Labour, if the working men themselves were not prepared to impose them upon the rich by their own direct action.

It also gave them another lesson. The French workmen saw how utterly helpless were their intellectual leaders when they had to find out the new forms which industrial production ought to take in society, so as to give Labour its due and put an end to the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists. Both in the Luxembourg Commission, which sat for this particular purpose in April, May, and June, 1848, and in the Chamber elected in 1849, where there sat over a hundred "Social Democratic" Deputies, the workers saw this helplessness of the leaders. They thus understood that the working men themselves had to work out the main lines which the Social Revolution had to take, in order to be practical and fruitful.

* *

Direct struggle of Labour against Capital, and the necessity for the workmen themselves to work out the new forms which an organisation without capitalist exploitation should take—these, then, were the two great lessons that the workers had learned,

especially in the two countries most advanced in their industrial development.

Consequently, when in 1864-66 the old idea of Robert Owen was at last realised, and an international organisation of Labour was started, the new organisation embodied these two fundamental principles. When the International Working Men's Association was founded at London by representatives of British Trade Unionists and French working men—chiefly followers of Proudhon—who had come to the second International Exhibition, the Association loudly proclaimed that *the emancipation of the workers must be their own work*; and that henceforth they intended to fight the capitalists by means of *big strikes*, fought with international support.

Thus, the first two acts of the International, which produced a tremendous sensation in Europe and inspired a salutary fear in the middle classes, were two great strikes: one at Paris, supported by the English Trade Unions, and another at Geneva, in the building trade, supported by British and French workers.

Worse than that. The working men at the Congresses of the International were no longer discussing the trash with which nations are amused by their rulers in the representative institutions. They discussed the fundamental question of a revolutionary reconstruction of society, and launched the idea which has since proved so fruitful—the idea of a General Strike. As to the political form which a society reorganised by a social revolution might take, the Latin Federations of the International openly parted with the idea of a centralised State. They distinctly pronounced themselves in favour of an organisation based on the federation of free Communes and agricultural territories, getting rid of capitalist exploitation, and federating to constitute larger territorial and national units.

The two main principles of modern Syndicalism—"direct action," as they say now, and the elaboration of new forms of social life based on the federation of the Labour Unions—these two principles were at the outset the leading principles of the International Working Men's Association.

* *

However, already then there were within the Association two different currents concerning political action which divided the workers of different nations: the Latin current and the German current.

The Frenchmen in the International were chiefly followers of Proudhon, and Proudhon's leading idea was:—

Get rid of the present bourgeois State organisation, and put in its place your own organisation of *Labour Unions*, which will themselves organise all that is substantial in society. The production of all that is needed for life, the equitable exchange of all the products of human labour, and the distribution and consumption of what has been produced—it is you, working men, who must organise it. And if you *do* organise it, then you will see that very little will remain for the State. Production of all that is needed, an equitable exchange of produce, and its equitable consumption—these are *Labour problems*, which you alone can solve. And if you solve them—What remains to your present rulers and to their hierarchy of functionaries which constitutes the State? Nothing that you yourselves could not organise.

But among the French founders of the International there were also men who had fought for the Republic and the Commune. They understood that political action must not be ignored: that it is not a matter of indifference to the proletarians whether they are under a Monarchy, a Republic, or a Commune. They knew by their own experience that the triumph of the Conservatives, or the Imperialists, means a *backward movement in all directions* and an enormous expenditure of energy by the workers to fight the aggressive capitalist policy (such as the Taff Vale or the Osborne decisions, which we have had lately). *They were not indifferent to politics*; but they refused to see in electoral agitation, in electoral successes, and in the seesaw of political parties an instrument for the emancipation of Labour.

Accordingly, the French, the Italian, and the Spanish workers agreed to put in the statutes these words: "*All political action must be subordinated to the economic.*"

As to the English workers, there were among them a number of Chartists who had lived for political struggles. And the Germans had not yet had the experience of two Republics as had the Frenchmen. They laid faith in the coming Parliament of the future German Empire. Even Lassalle had paid—it is now known—a tribute to some faith in a Socialist Emperor of that United Germany which he saw coming.

Consequently, neither the English nor the Germans would part entirely with Parliamentary action; they still had faith in it, and they put in the English and German text of the same

statutes: "All political action must be subordinated to the economic AS A MEANS."

The old idea of trusting to bourgeois Parliaments had thus reappeared!

* *

The result was that when Germany had triumphed over France in the war of 1870-71, when France lay helpless after a crushing defeat, and 35,000 of the Paris proletarians, the flower of the French workers, had been murdered by the bourgeois armies after the fall of the Commune, when the International Working Men's Association was forbidden in France—Marx and Engels and their supporters tried to introduce the old political action into the life of the International, in the shape of the *Labour candidature*.

Thereupon a cleavage took place in the International, which hitherto had inspired such enthusiastic hopes in the proletarians and such terror in the rich.

The Latin Federations—Italy, Spain, the Jura, and Eastern Belgium (France was represented by a few refugees only)—refused to accept the new course. They then constituted their own Federated Union, and since that time these Federations inclined more and more towards Revolutionary Unionism (later on Syndicalism) and towards Anarchism; while Germany took the lead in the development of a political Social Democratic Party—the more so as Bismarck had introduced universal suffrage for the elections to the Parliament of the German Empire, constituted by the victorious war.

* *

Forty years have now passed since that division took place in the International, and we can judge its results. We shall analyse them more in detail in a next issue. But already here we can point out the striking sterility of all that was done during these forty years by those who pinned their faith to what they described as the Conquest of Power in the present middle-class State.

Instead of conquering that State, as they believed they would, *they have been conquered by the bourgeois State*. They are its tools: they serve to maintain the power of the upper and middle classes over the workers. They are the docile tools of Church and State, of Capitalism and Monopoly.

And all over Europe and America we see growing a new movement, a new force in the Labour movement; a force which reverts to the old principles of the International: Direct Action, direct struggle of Labour against Capital; and the workers recognising that it is *they* who have to free themselves—not the Parliaments to free them.

Of course, this is not Anarchism. We go further. We say that the workers will never attain their emancipation if they do not abandon the fallacy of the State. We say that they must throw overboard the fallacy of centralisation and hierarchy, and the fallacy of State-nominated functionaries maintaining Law and Order—the Law made by the rich against the poor, and the Order which means submission of the poor to the rich.

But during all these forty years the Anarchists have worked in common with those workers who took their emancipation in their own hands and who resorted to the direct struggle as a means of preparing for the final struggle of exploited Labour against the hitherto triumphant rule of Capital. For the last forty years the Anarchists have combatted those who amused the workers with resultless electoral agitation. And they have worked all the time to awaken amongst the toiling masses a desire to work out those principles upon which the trade organisations could take possession of the docks, the railways, the mines, the factories, the land, and the stores, and work them in the interest, no more of a few capitalists, but of society as a whole.*

Many episodes of this action of ours were given in the aforementioned FREEDOM article of November, 1911. But we hope to return once more to this interesting subject.

Death of Voltairine de Cleyre.

As we go to press, news reaches us of the death of our much-beloved American comrade, Voltairine de Cleyre. We hope to publish a short biographical sketch in our next issue.

The *Worker's Friend* Group have arranged a Memorial Meeting for Friday evening next, July 5, at the New King's Hall, 135 Commercial Road, E.

* In this connection we recommend those of our readers who understand French to read the recently published book by Jouhaux and Pouget, "Comment nous ferons la Révolution" ("How we Shall Make the Revolution"), with a preface by Kropotkin. They will see from it how a number of French workers understand the coming Syndicalist revolution.

ERRICO MALATESTA.

Our friend and comrade Malatesta is in prison in Free England. He is not sentenced for his political opinions, but as a common criminal, because he denounced a man as a political spy, an agent of that international spy organisation which was created at the Rome Conference for the protection of crowned heads and kings of Capital. When this international brotherhood of secret police and spies was established, it must be said with regret, the democracy of Europe was blind to the danger, and did not protest enough against this new form of international persecution paid for by the peoples' taxes.

Once organised, this international spy gang started its activity of agents-provocateurs in Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and other countries. A series of crimes was perpetrated, with all the appearance of being revolutionary and Anarchist acts, for the purpose of compromising the principle of liberty and social emancipation. The social and private life of honest champions of freedom and international solidarity was rendered unbearable; their correspondence and connections were closely watched and followed. A black list of militants was kept by the international spies and communicated to employers, who, frightened, nearly always acted on the advice of the police and dismissed their revolutionary workers.

But the international police especially concentrated their energy against those of our comrades who, like Malatesta, are always to the front in every Socialist and every revolutionary movement, and cannot be crushed by any form of persecution. Few persons in contemporary history have aroused such deep love and admiration on the part of comrades and friends as Malatesta, and such resentment and hatred on the part of the international spies.

From his early youth, at the beginning of the "seventies," when Malatesta and his noble and generous friend Cafiero espoused the cause of the people's political and social emancipation, and renounced the privileges of their positions, the life of Malatesta has been one of incessant persecution, imprisonment, exile and deportation. Any other man would have been broken in spirit, embittered and discouraged. But not so Malatesta! With his wonderful capacity for clear abstraction and generalisation, with his unfailing kindness to the weak and suffering, he seems never to have had the time to think of his own troubles; and now on the threshold of his sixtieth year he is as enthusiastic for his ideals, as full of sympathy for toiling humanity, as he was in his youth; and everyone who comes in contact with him cannot fail to feel respect for the purity and unselfishness of his character.

Those who met Malatesta at the Congresses of the International in the "seventies," or were present at his lectures, or have studied his pamphlets and innumerable articles in our press, have been always struck by the clearness of his conception, and the simplicity and lucidity of his exposition. For these reasons his "Talk between Two Workers," "Anarchy," and other writings have been translated into all languages, and read by the workers of all countries. Those who enjoy the privilege of his personal friendship know his modesty and generosity; they know how Malatesta is always ready to help, to give his last penny, even his clothes, to those in need; they know also how ready he is always to forgive and forget all personal attacks. When false comrades appropriated the money he had destined for propaganda, or when an Individualist shot him at a meeting for criticising Individualist Anarchism, we know how Malatesta refused to prosecute in either case.

It would take too much space here to describe fully the career of Malatesta as an agitator and propagandist. Imprisoned in Italy in his youth; imprisoned in France, and subsequently expelled; prosecuted under Crispi's laws against "malfattori" (criminals); again imprisoned in Italy, as the editor of *Agitazione*; his deportation to and escape from the small island Lampedusa; his exile from Switzerland for assisting at the Italian Anarchist Congress at Lugano; his actual imprisonment under the British law—these are some of the bare facts in the life of this modern knight-errant fighting for the liberty and social emancipation of the victims of exploitation and oppression. In spite of the calumnies and insinuations of international spies, of prosecutions and condemnations, the English democracy has recognised the pure devotion of Malatesta's life for a high ideal, and has energetically taken up the cause of this champion of international solidarity and brotherhood. The English people have refused to be an ally in the machinations of international police spies, and have insisted on their right to extend hospitality to Malatesta and all victims of political oppression.

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PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

When strikes for better conditions of life take place, we are often told how much better off the workers are nowadays than in previous times. But the following comparison of the position of the workers in the Middle Ages and at the present time, which we have taken from Professor Thorold Rogers's "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," is so complete an answer to this statement, that we reproduce it in full.

"The life of our ancestors, though laborious, was not without its hopes. All the necessities of life in ordinary years, when there was no dearth, were abundant and cheap, and even in dear years, the margin of wages, or profits, over the bare wants of life was considerable enough to fill up the void, even though the labourer had to subsist for a time on some cheaper food than wheaten bread. Meat was plentiful; poultry found everywhere; eggs cheapest of all. The poorest and meanest man had no absolute and insurmountable impediment put on his career, if he would seize his opportunity and make use of it.

"I am well aware that in many particulars he was far behind his descendants in the conveniences and comforts of life. His diet, as I have allowed, was coarse, though plentiful, and during great part of the year was unwholesome. It took three centuries before the Dutch, who were for a long time the centre of economical civilization, were able to discover and adopt those succulent and healthful roots which have given health to man by banishing the loathsome diseases of the middle ages, and have rendered it possible to improve the breeds of cattle. I am well aware that such medical skill is now at the service of the poorest as princes and prelates desired, but were entirely without, in the middle ages. I am quite familiar, as we all are, with the victories which human ingenuity has acquired over nature, and how man's skill has forced into his service the most common and the most unlikely agencies. I know that four grains of wheat or barley, or any other grain, are produced by modern tillage where one was with difficulty raised before; that the ox has been selected, bred, and fed from 400 lbs. or less to 1,200 or more; that sheep which once yielded a pound of wool precariously now produce seven or nine pounds; that the powerful cart-horse has taken the place of the wretched and stunted pony of the old English breed, and that all other animals which are destined to the service of man have been selected, till there seems nothing to desire in their shape, size and utility. I see in all directions that human toil has been supplemented, and sometimes superseded, by mechanical agencies, which genius has invented and patience has elaborated. I know that many of our fellow countrymen have exchanged squalid habitations and uncleanly practices for houses built by the newest lights of sanitary science, and for fastidious cleanliness. I am alive to the fact that what were once the luxuries of the very few have often become the habitual comforts of the many, and that enterprise has scoured the earth in order to make these and newer luxuries abundant and cheap. I know that owing to the spread of knowledge, the adaptation of industry, the energy of invention, and the extension of trade, the population of England and Wales is tenfold what it was six centuries ago; that trim gardens, magnificent mansions, noble parks, rows of handsome houses, vast and splendid cities, occupy sites which were covered by squalid hovels or frequented by wild boars, curlews, and bitterns, or were marshy fens and wild moors. I can see without being reminded that the most lofty and subtle pleasures, those of literature, are now common and profuse, and that the world of civilisation is so strong that there seems no possible danger of its becoming destroyed by a new incursion of barbarians, not even of those barbarians whom it creates. The inhabitants of this country, at least those whom the historian and the politician think worth instructing and consulting, enjoy the refined pleasure of criticising, and, as many of them believe, conducting in no small degree the affairs of their own country, and even of other peoples, and have got far away from the time when the Englishman believed it his interest to support his sovereign's dream of foreign conquest, because in this way, as he fondly fancied, he could lighten his own burdens at home. I do not need to be told that the wealth of London is such, that a single block of buildings pays a higher rent to its fortunate owner than was derived from the whole customs of the port in the days of the Plantagenets and Tudors; that in a few hours a loan could be raised in London sufficient to equip and provision an army more numerous than all the men-at-arms were in mediæval Europe, and this probably without deranging the course of trade or materially interfering with the functions of credit. And I suspect that when we are invited to consider all these things and more of the same nature, as the prodigious strength of modern governments, the boundless resources of modern societies, the enormous accumulations of inherited opulence, the priceless collections of art and letters, the ceaseless activity of enterprise, and the ever increasing discoveries of science, it is fancied that a complete answer is given to those who entertain misgivings, because they believe that there is a reverse to the picture, another side to the shield, which those triumphant eulogies on modern progress would have us conceal or forget. But I am convinced that modern civilisation will be judged, not by what it has done, but by what it has left undone; not by what it has remedied, but by what it has failed to heal, or at least to have relieved; not by its successes, but by its shortcomings. It may be that the progress of some has been more than counterbalanced by the distresses and sorrows of many, that the opulence and strength of modern times mocks the poverty and misery which are bound up with and surround them, and

there is an uneasy and increasing consciousness that the other side hates and threatens.

"It may be well the case, and there is every reason to fear it is the case, that there is collected a population in our great towns which equals in amount the whole of those who lived in England and Wales six centuries ago; but whose condition is more destitute, whose homes are more squalid, whose means are more uncertain, whose prospects are more hopeless than those of the poorest serfs of the middle ages and the meanest drudges of the mediæval cities. The arm of the law is strong enough to keep them under, and society has no reason to fear their despair; but I refuse to accept the superficial answer, that a man is an admirer of the good old times because he insists that the vaunts of civilisation should be examined along with, and not apart from, its failures. It is not possible to give the solution of one problem, the growth of opulence, and to refuse all attention to the other problem, the growth of penury.

"I do not assert that my researches into the economical history of England will throw a clear light on these complex and contradictory phenomena; but I am convinced that till we learn how it was that this society has grown and been collected, and how wealth has been distributed between labourer, capitalist employer, and those who enter on the rest of the inheritance which labour has earned, we shall only be dealing with the most superficial elements and the least important problems of social life; we shall be offered remedies which are more dangerous than the disease; we shall be invited to adopt as a complete solution of a profound difficulty, that which would make the confusion more inextricable, and the prospect of unravelling it more hopelessly remote, if we accepted it without reserve, examination, or anxiety."

THE SAN DIEGO OUTRAGES.

The following extract from a letter to us by Emma Goldman throws some more light on the treatment accorded to her and Ben Reitman:—

"I understand that the event of San Diego has been wired across, so you know what has happened there. It certainly was one of the most terrible things in America, a situation which did not prevail even before the Civil War. Of course the fight for free speech in San Diego is not the first, as you know I have been compelled to fight for every chance of free expression during the last twenty-three years; also the concerted fight on the part of the I. W. W., which has been going on for the last two years, has always been victorious in a number of cities. In San Diego it has reached the climax, because the city is isolated and consists largely of wealthy real estate people, retired bankers and army men. Never in the history of the United States have such brutality and savagery been perpetrated as during the last three months, nor yet has anything similar happened as that which happened to Reitman and myself. It was a deliberate conspiracy on the part of the so-called patriots, with the connivance of the police. Evidently afraid to kidnap Reitman in my presence, they lured me out of the room, and then six men with loaded revolvers closed in on him, bound and gagged him, and drove him out of town in an automobile. Reitman has written a detailed account in *Mother Earth*, which will appear in our current issue, so you will be able to judge for yourself of the things which may happen in a free country; but as our grandmothers used to say, 'There is a silver lining to every cloud.' Certainly if the 'Vigilantes' had gone about it in a deliberate way to defeat their own ends, they could not have done better than by the reception they have given us. The Press of the entire country is full of condemnation for San Diego—even the authorities of California have begun to act; and altogether the situation has received publicity which was worth all the horror and shock that we received. Needless to say, we are not yet through with San Diego, and are pushing the matter to the best of our ability.

"Our tour, which started in a very dull and wretched manner, barely making it possible for us to cover expenses, took a sudden turn when we got to Denver, and has kept up marvellously ever since.

"I am sending you a lot of clippings, and also a copy of an article which was extensively published throughout the country. Will be glad if you can make use of it in *FREEDOM*, as it is certainly well for the English comrades to realise the conditions in America. I believe we have good reason to congratulate ourselves with the result of our work, although it has meant pain and sorrow and suffering; but there is a tremendous awakening, and while Anarchism is being brutally condemned and attacked by the reactionary press, there still are a large number of daily papers which are beginning to realise that Anarchism is not merely the result of a "cracked brain," but is a deep and vital issue. Besides that, our propaganda on behalf of Direct Action and the General Strike is gaining ground more and more. Already it has brought the Lawrence, Mass., strike to a success, and is being discussed and written about within the last few months more than it ever has been before. Of course, the same is happening in England and everywhere in the world, as the air is surcharged with revolutionary ideas."

One of the above-mentioned clippings is an article in the *San Diego Union* of May 20. It is too long to reproduce in full, but the comment on the action of the Governor of the State in sending the Attorney-General to San Diego is typical of the rest of the article:—

"What the Attorney-General can accomplish in San Diego cannot be definitely predicted. It is possible that as the Governor hopes 'a

solution of the problem confronting San Diego may be found,' and if thereafter from this knowledge and experience the Attorney-General can advise in such manner that other cities may be protected, San Diego will feel that her example and methods of dealing with the 'problem' have not been offered and exerted in vain. And since the Governor is eager to 'do anything necessary to provide requisite statutes' whereby the 'problem' may be more easily solved hereafter, it is suggested that he get busy at once framing statutes for adequate punishment of I. W. W.'s and other Anarchists who insult the American flag, who assault cities en masse for the purpose of filling the jails on trivial misdemeanour charges, hoping to bankrupt the taxpayers by compelling them to pay for keeping them in jail; who conspire to violate city ordinances; who preach sedition and treason from soap boxes in the public streets, and who otherwise conduct themselves with the deliberate intention of annoying the citizens, disturbing the peace of the community, and provoking the people to riot with the intention of calling down the wrath of the Governor of the State upon the harassed and harried community. A few statutes covering these phases of the 'problem that confronts San Diego' will go towards solving that problem; but it is doubtful if even Governor Johnson, wise and willing as he is, can solve it any more effectually than San Diego has solved it for herself."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

United States.

Though the 25,000 textile workers in the woollen mills of Lawrence, Mass., triumphed in the recent strike over their employers, who were forced to increase the starvation wages of their hands, the owners have neither forgotten nor forgiven their defeat. Not only has a part of their profit to go into the pockets of the workers, but the strike revealed to the public the horrors of slavery and child exploitation in their mills. On whom to revenge themselves?

Joseph Ettor and Arthur Giovannitti, the two Syndicalist propagandists of the Industrial Workers of the World, who had led the workers through the long weeks of struggle to victory, were chosen as the scapegoats by the humiliated and infuriated masters. A woman among the strikers was shot by a policeman. Though this was witnessed by several persons, nevertheless Ettor and Giovannitti were arrested for complicity in this murder of a striker! It seems hardly possible that such a ridiculous charge can bring our comrades into danger, but the Labour history of the United States has too many examples of the brazen effrontery of the capitalists when they are determined to carry terror into the hearts of the awakening proletariat. Did not Spies, Parsons, and their comrades fall as victims of such a plot? And are the juries, judges, and police now less willing to give a helping hand to a capitalist conspiracy?

Thanks to the enormous interest taken by millions of workers in the defence of Haywood and his comrades, these men were saved from the fate which organised capital had prepared for them. Unless an equally strenuous effort is made by the friends of Labour and liberty, Ettor and Giovannitti will pay with their lives for having dared to rouse and lead Labour to victory against Capital. An Ettor-Giovannitti Defence Committee has been formed at 9, Mason Street, Lawrence, Mass., which has issued an appeal for assistance in raising a strong protest against the intended outrage.

Italy.

After the condemnation of Maria Rygier, the editor of *Agitatore*, the trial began before the Volterra tribunal of the militant comrades who had led the strikes in the mines and factories of the island of Elba and Piombino. The Public Prosecutor had demanded a total of ninety-one years' imprisonment for the forty-six accused; but twenty-five of them were acquitted, six were condemned for incitement to crime to seven and a half months' each, whilst the others, accused of violence and insulting officials, received sentences varying from nine to fifteen months.

Whether it is strikes, anti-Militarism, or Anarchism, it is all alike to the capitalists and Governments, who go hand in hand in suppressing any form of revolt against Capital and the State. In this case again the law proved itself the docile servant of the propertied classes. Though the total of eighteen years is far below that demanded by the Public Prosecutor, nevertheless the sentences are a cruel and vindictive act of the Government against the leaders of a strike in which the workers stood up heroically for their cause.

France.

The Socialist Minister Millerand has presented his country and "comrades" with a new Bill which leaves every existing Bill against Anarchists far behind it. According to this law, every young man who has ever been sentenced for anti-militarism or strike troubles will be sent to the regiments in Africa. This means that the most intelligent, the most daring and generous youth of France will have to choose between the hell of the African regiments or desertion to foreign countries. In their mad desire to suppress the revolutionary propaganda, the Government does not shrink from the most despotic measures, though it would deprive the country of the best of its youth, who would without hesitation prefer exile for life to death under slow torture in Africa. And yet the same ministers lament the depopulation of France, and means and measures are devised to increase the

population—on the understanding that it is a submissive, docile population. If it is thinking, daring, revolutionary—then to hell with it in the African battalions!

Our militant comrades have a bad time with their Radical and Socialist Ministers. Prosecutions and condemnations are following one upon the other. Recently the manager of the *Voix du Peuple*, the organ of the Confederation of Labour, was condemned to three months and a fine of 500 francs. A writer in *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, for having approved the desertion of soldiers destined for Morocco, will be prosecuted. And numbers of comrades are in or on the threshold of prison for having dared to express their opinions on the social conditions of life.

The seamen's strike at Havre was accompanied by short sympathetic strikes in all the ports of France. In Marseilles the seamen decided, however, to put forward their own claims and not to resume work till they were gained. The Government offered arbitration, which was accepted; but the shipowners refused, so that traffic at Havre and Marseilles is still suspended. In the meantime several seamen have been arrested, accused of having attacked the liberty of work for others or of having deserted their ships. In the blessed name of liberty, blacklegs must be protected and strikers prevented from striking!

THE MALATESTA PROTESTS.

The protest meetings in Trafalgar Square on June 9 and 30 were splendid manifestations of public feeling as to the injustice of the sentence on our comrade. Few of us expected such large meetings, and after the Home Secretary had decided not to act on the recommendation for deportation, some comrades feared for the success of the second meeting; but it was almost as large as the first. All the speakers bore tribute to Malatesta's integrity and lovable character, and agreed in denouncing the scandalous intervention of the political police. It is to be hoped that the publicity given to this case will be the means of checking their activities for some time to come.

We are asked by the Committee to state that owing to the very heavy expenses of this agitation, there is a serious deficit to face; and they appeal to all comrades to render immediate help. Money can be sent to FREEDOM Office, or direct to J. F. Tanner, 13 Beadon Road, Hammersmith, London, W.

Postcards addressed to the Home Secretary, protesting against the sentence, have been issued by the Committee, and can be obtained of J. F. Tanner, as above.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

GLASGOW.—Several meetings have been held each week in and around Glasgow by comrades McKay, Porter, Barrett, and McGuire. In getting out the *Anarchist* there is a great deal of work for the few who continually peg away at it, so those who have not yet put their shoulder to the wheel have ample opportunity now to expend all their accumulated energy in making the weekly paper a lasting success. We appeal to all who can to assist in propaganda.

On Sunday, June 16, a successful demonstration was held on the Green, to protest against Malatesta's sentence. Representatives from several Trade Unions and Socialist bodies joined us in expressing indignation at the tyrannical action of the Government, and demanding the release of our comrade. A collection of 15s. was taken for the Malatesta fund.

Group meetings will now be held on Tuesdays at 74 Buchanan Street; but there is something to be done every night. Assistance is required also for outdoor propaganda.

A. F.

BIRMINGHAM.—Comrades here do not show much enthusiasm. However, perhaps they will come forward during the winter season. If there are any comrades in Brum who will help in arranging a series of indoor lectures, I shall be pleased to hear from them.

R. V. H.

LONDON.

FERRER SCHOOL, 99 Charlotte Street, W. (enter Bedford Passage).—We had a jolly time at the excursion to Epping Forest. Small in numbers, but large in spirit. Our numbers at school are steadily on the increase. Mat is hoping to have the room filled to overflowing ere long. We have had several interesting lectures on various subjects, and the youngsters are taking quite an active part in the affairs of the school.

DICK JAMES.

FERRER SCHOOL, New King's Hall, 135 Commercial Road, E.—Sunday, June 23, was the opening day of this school. The attendance of 60 children and about 30 adults proves it was wanted, and is likely to be a success. Comrade Kavanagh opened the school with a few remarks and stories that interested all present. He was followed by our comrade A. Cook (Central Labour College), who gave a very interesting and instructive address on the "Story of the Mine," explaining to the children the nature of coal and how the miners have to work to get it, and also their difficulties and dangers. Some very intelligent questions were asked and answered. The most pleasant feature of the afternoon was the ready way our "kids" volunteered to sing and recite. We appeal to all English comrades and sympathisers in the East End to bring or send their children to the above address every Sunday at 3.30.

M.

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

Sudden Death of G. H. Exall.

We regret to announce the sudden death of our comrade George Exall. For some months past he had suffered from kidney disease, which affected his sight. Thinking he had recovered, he went to Glasgow to assist, as a compositor, in the launching of the *Anarchist*; but after a week or two he had another attack, and had to return to London. Although apparently in better health, a sudden relapse took place on June 17, and he died the next morning.

Quiet, unassuming, and devoted as a friend and comrade, he will be missed by those who knew him. He was always willing to give a helping hand at FREEDOM Office, sometimes at much personal inconvenience. He was only forty years of age, and leaves a widow and three children, with whom we sympathise in their loss.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(May 31—July 3.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—Anon £2, H. Glaspe 5s 3d, M. N. £1.

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