

Freedom

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NOTES.

The Coming Tyranny.

"Minister of Labour"—that is the heading with which the *Daily Citizen* (May 30) announces its message of joy to the wage-slaves who, crushed by capitalism, have voted—some of them at least—for the Labour Party. This Minister of Labour, "with the status and emoluments of a Secretary of State," is to be endowed with powers that would make the most fanatical bureaucrat turn yellow with envy. The list is far too long to quote here, but a few extracts will be quite sufficient to show the spirit that is animating these Labour M.P.'s. The Ministry of Labour is to control the Labour Exchanges, Unemployment Insurance, the Emigration Information Office, and is to take over the administration of the Conciliation Act, the Railways Employment Act, etc., etc. "Further, for willing unemployables the Bill proposes to establish industrial training colonies; and for unwilling unemployables, wastrels, and vagrants industrial detention colonies." Can you imagine the "training colonies"—to knock you into better shape for being exploited? And, worse still, those "detention colonies" for those unhappy products of a rotten system—broken perhaps, on the wheel of Capitalism, and under the guardianship, may be, of Will Crooks, the flogging man! And against the land-grabbers, the financiers, and the whole gang of wealthy idlers who are responsible for poverty and degradation, *not one word!*

Law and Disorder.

The Free Speech agitation which has been carried on during the past few months must make us all feel how unending is the struggle needed to keep the few liberties we have to make life endurable. How much greater, then, is the courage and intelligence needed to conquer new ones! But the spirit of the great meeting in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, May 4, must have inspired many with the hope that the people will stand for their rights if the issue is clear. That, unfortunately, is seldom the case; because the politicians and the press unite, as a general rule, to confuse the minds of the masses. One thing every one must clearly recognise—that Governments never learn the wisdom of encouraging the people in the use of their freedom. We read of the advantage of liberty in many books; we recite poems invoking its grand spirit; we have known it eulogised in our copy-book headings; we even erect statues to it, as the great monumental lie in New York Harbour testifies. But when the people, in the name of freedom, voice their grievances, the rulers, alarmed and really contemptuous of those who place them in power, outrage the "divine goddess" in the name of law and (dis)order, and liberty is trampled under foot to save the prestige of this or that betrayer of the popular cause.

The Feeble-Minded v. Pernicious People.

The Society for the Infliction of Cruelty on the Poor, *alias* the Women's National Liberal Association, met on May 27 to discuss the Mental Deficiency Bill. It was a great gathering of "ladies," we are told, and Mrs. McKenna and a Mrs. Pinsent distinguished themselves by talking fulsome nonsense that amounts to criminality when the object of it all is understood. These women are backing this accursed Bill, and yet are obviously too mentally deficient to define what feeble-mindedness really means. They know nothing of mental science, and they care nothing for the lives of the unfortunates they would torment. They are all for punishing the degraded poor, but they breathe not a word against the degraded rich, whose evil influence is necessarily more far-reaching. But surely, if ever a case was spoiled by its own supporter, this happened when W. H. Dickinson, M.P., spoke as follows: "The feeble-minded are very nice people; they are quite harmless, generally of a very happy disposition, they are extremely lovable, they are sometimes

troublesome—even sane people are sometimes troublesome. They are generally irresponsible and weak-willed—I am afraid some sane people cannot claim exemption from that nomenclature." Just listen to that! "*Quite harmless*"; "*generally of a very happy disposition*"; "*they are extremely lovable*." Damned if you could say half of that for the people at Westminster who are preparing to torture them! But Mr. Dickinson forgot to mention one thing: *they are poor*, and therefore easy victims for the experiments of the morbidly minded, over-fed, and over-dressed creatures of the Women's National Liberal Association. My Lord Tomnoddy can drink away a fortune, contract loathsome diseases, and spread them as he lists. His privilege is to continue. The spirit of class-hatred is at the bottom of this Bill, and the pernicious people who are supporting it are the real danger to the community, and the mental and physical starvation of the poor is the price that must be paid to support the extravagant lives of these wretched wealthy "wasters."

Injustice and Indigestion.

Lecturing on "Diet and Dyspepsia," Dr. Josiah Oldfield said that many a man had been hanged as the result of the judge having a fit of indigestion. We do not doubt that such a thing has happened, but it is, after all, only a Gilbertian way of expressing the fallibility of a judge. And it is well to remember that their fallibility does not result merely from indigestion. It is a common human attribute that afflicts equally the judge, the lawmaker, or any ruling potentate with the "criminal," the crowd, and "the man in the street." On these grounds alone we may ask, what right has one man to judge and punish another? What right has one set of men to make laws for another set? The laws will be as "fallible" as the people they are supposed to keep "in order." In fact, the fallibility of man-made law, as well as the fact of judicial "errors of judgment," are things so patent now-a-days, that only a class interested in maintaining the law and its administration can find a good word to say for them. What a business! Take away all the mercenary elements, and how many men would sit in wigs in stuffy Courts to inflict misery and injustice on their unfortunate fellow creatures? How many able-bodied fellows from the wage-earning class would join the police, to run in harmless (relatively to the lawmakers, very harmless) fellow citizens? Indigestion, whatever it may have to answer for, is a comparatively insignificant cause of "Justices' injustice." It is the system that is responsible.

Woman's Burden.

We have heard a great deal of the White Man's Burden, but not half enough of the Burden of the Domestic Drudge! It is an excellent sign, therefore, to find this crying and widespread evil of domestic drudgery being attacked in a really practical spirit. The Central London branch of the Women's Labour League held their first conference on the housing question at the Hampstead Garden City Institute, on May 30. The demand for a self-contained home, with a sufficient water supply, a bathroom, a larder, and a scullery, is modest enough, surely; but with the suggestions for a constant hot water supply, with co-operative housekeeping and collective cooking, one begins to see a gleam of hope for that large army of "white slaves" who struggle in their poverty to keep a little decency and cleanliness in those wretched brick cubes that "philanthrophists" and the County Council offer them as their only escape from the rack-renting landlords of the slums. If only the Women's Freedom (?) League could break from this delusion of the vote, and join the Women's Labour League, and link themselves up with the Women's Trade Unions and the progressive elements in the Co-operative movement, surely we should see some substantial results, since we have had splendid proof of woman's organising capacity. Moreover, it would really be a breaking of the chains of domestic servitude without antagonising the sexes.

Woman's Freedom.

By LILY GAIR WILKINSON.

III.

WOMEN IN FREEDOM.

A free man or woman is one who can dispose of his or her person without let or hindrance, without reference to any master. If you, being a woman, resolved to be free in this social sense, to go out into the world as a woman in freedom, how would it fare with you?

For a time you might wander unhindered, elated by thoughts of liberty, but very soon you would find that you cannot dwell for ever on the heights. Let us suppose that you feel tired, and that you enter a tea-shop in default of a better place of rest. The shop looks sordid and dingy, and you shudder slightly as a vision of true repose comes to mind—something with green fields and running water and the scent of grass and flowers in it. But, alas! you are not free to that extent; here are no Elysian fields—here is London with its dreary grey buildings and endless discomfort. So you enter the shop. A pale, grim young woman comes up as you choose a seat, and asks what she will bring. You desire only rest, but once more you are reminded that you are not free to choose; rest of a kind you may have, but at the same time tea and buns will be forced upon you. You settle yourself in your uncomfortable corner, sip some of the nasty tea, taste a bun, and ruminate dubiously about your determination to be free. The grim young woman presently brings the bill for tea and cakes, and you realise in a flash that here again in the person of the shop-girl is a limitation of freedom—you are not free from *her*. To the extent that your needs have been satisfied by her service, to this extent your life is dependent upon that service. At this point where you and she have met in life, the one as receiver and the other as the giver of service, each is to a certain degree dependent upon the other.

And in a flash you recognise the social nature of freedom: how none stands alone in life, but the life of each is dependent upon the lives of others and affected by the lives of others; how the poor are dependent upon the rich, and the rich upon the poor; how the sick are affected by the healthy, and the healthy are affected—or infected—by the sick; how consumers are dependent on producers, and producers on consumers; how the learned are affected by the ignorant, and the ignorant by the learned; and so on throughout the whole range of human relations. And if your vision is clear enough, you realise that so long as one, even the least, of these human brothers and sisters is in bondage, there can be no true freedom for you.

As you pay the bill for tea and cakes, and bid the grim young woman good-day, you have a remembrance perhaps of the feasts in Morris's "News from Nowhere," when the bearers of food brought along with it, not bills, but roses and kind smiles and friendly words. Alas, again, for freedom!

If your resolve to be free is not quite ended by this illuminating experience in a tea-shop, surely your further experiences must end it soon. Even if circumstances favour you to-day, to-morrow must put an end to the dream. The sun shines perhaps, the breeze blows, clouds chase each other across the sky. You awake to it all, feeling glad and young and gay and free. You resolve to go out into country places where you may be in the companionship of free things—flowers and birds and dancing insects. For only one vivid, brilliant day you will be one of the free, you will live as all Nature is calling upon you to live, in idle enjoyment of the sunshine—freedom at least for a day!

But stop! What is that you hear? What is that monotonous beat? It is the clock ticking out the seconds which remain between breakfast and office hours. In half an hour you are due at the office. Now, then, be free for a day if you dare!

Then comes the overwhelming recollection of life as it is; the noise and the crush and the horror of the great city; the strife and labour and feverish competition; disease and death, suffering and starvation. And you see yourself among those who strive and push in the midst of this seething mass of millions of human beings, who hurry hither and thither in frantic efforts to maintain life in enmity with their fellows. You see yourself with nerves strained and brain exhausted, working hour after hour at the hateful machine, to be the human part of which you have sold your living body. For it is not worked by electric power alone, but by human power also.

Dare to be free for a day—and what then?

If you dare to be free for even one day, you will be thrust out by your fellows, another will take your place; the machine will still be served with its due of human energy; this great industrial activity which pollutes the air and obscures the sunlight will not be interrupted for one instant by the want of you—you will not be missed.

But you? The means of life will be gone for you; the price of your freedom will be poverty and death.

In that monster army of modern industrial life the penalty of

desertion is death. There is no way of living for you in the wild outside of it. The woods and the fields and the rivers and all the rich, beautiful country all belong to individuals of whom you know nothing and who know nothing of you, who care nothing for you. They will not permit you to take to your use so much earth as may fill a flower-pot—hands off! it is private property! Let the human body perish; the law allows it, and will even provide for you a pauper's grave. But let the sacred rights of private property be in the least degree violated, and the law in all its might is there to do vengeance and give protection to the proprietor.

No, the slave of the industrial system cannot be free for even one day. Turn back quickly to the city again and sell yourself once more into slavery before it is too late.

Here, too, everything belongs to individuals of whom you know nothing and who know nothing of you. All the tremendous machinery by which the few things needful and the many needless are being produced, and the buildings which contain the machinery, and the ground upon which the buildings stand—all belong to these unseen, unknown human beings in possession. And to sell yourself bodily for all the long beautiful hours of your precious days of youth to these possessors is your only means of life.

So once again, as you stand listening to the menace of the clock and wondering whether you will break free or trudge back to the office, you have a sudden revelation. You realise that while there are men and women who hold from others the means of life—the rich surface of the earth and the means of cultivating that richness—so long there will be no freedom for the others who possess none of it all. For possession by a few gives power to the few to control the lives of the millions who are dispossessed, and to bind them in lifelong bondage.

You have thus arrived at a great illumination through your vain striving after personal liberty.

There can be no freedom for single individuals—one here and one there cannot be free in a social sense; but men and women, being socially interdependent, can only be free together—as a *community*, that is. And further, there can be no freedom while there is private property which prevents all men and women having free access to the means of life; not one here and one there must be possessors, but all must possess together—in *common*, that is.

And this is Communism.

(To be concluded.)

Modern Wars and Capitalism.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

II.

THE GREAT FINANCIAL HOUSES.

All States—we saw in our previous article—as soon as the great industries and the huge trading concerns develop among their people, become unavoidably involved in wars. They are driven to them by their own manufacturers, and even by their own working classes, in order to conquer new markets—that is, new sources of easily obtained riches. Moreover, in every State there exists nowadays a class—a clique, I should say—infinite more powerful than the manufacturing class, and which also incites to war. It is composed of great financiers and rich bankers, who intervene in international relations, and who foment wars.

It happens nowadays in a very simple way.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages most of the large Republican cities of Italy ended by running up huge debts. When the period of decay of these cities had begun, owing to their continued endeavours to conquer rich Oriental markets, and the conquest of such markets had caused endless wars between the Republican cities themselves, they began to contract immense debts to their own rich Merchant Guilds. A like phenomenon is to be seen now in modern States, to which syndicates of bankers are willing to lend against a mortgage on their borrowers' future income.

Of course, it is principally the small States which are preyed upon. Bankers lend them money at 7, 8, and 10 per cent., and as a rule the loans are "realised" in such cases at no more than 80 per cent. of the borrowed sum. So that, after deducting commissions to banks and middlemen, the State very often does not receive even so much as three-quarters of the amount inscribed in its ledger.

On these swollen or "watered" sums the State that has contracted debts must in future provide both for interest and sinking fund. And when it does not do so at the appointed term, the bankers are quite willing to add the arrears of interest and sinking fund to the principal of the debt. The worse the finances of the indebted State grow, the more reckless the expenditure of its rulers, the more willingly are new loans offered

to it. Whereupon the bankers, after setting themselves up as a "Concert," combine to lay hands on certain taxes, certain duties, certain railway lines.

In this way the financiers ruined Egypt, and later on caused it to be practically annexed by England. The more foolish the expenditure of the Khedive, the more he was encouraged. It was annexation by small doses.* In the same way Turkey was ruined, in order to take her provinces little by little. The same means, we are told, were employed towards Greece, when a group of financiers egged her on to war with Turkey, in order to seize part of her revenues. And in the same way Japan was exploited by the great financial houses of England and the United States before and during her wars with China and Russia.

As to China, for several years she has been partitioned by a syndicate representing the great banks of England, France, Germany, and the United States. And since the Revolution in China, Russia and Japan demand to be allowed to take part in this syndicate. They want to profit by it in order to extend not only their spheres of exploitation, but also their territories. The partitioning of China, prepared by bankers, is thus on the order of the day.

In short, there is in the lending States a complete organisation, in which rulers, bankers, company promoters, concoctors of business schemes, and other interlopers, whom Zola has so well described in "L'Argent," join hands in order to exploit whole States. Thus, where simple folk believe they have discovered deep political reasons, there are only plots hatched by the filibusters of finance, who exploit everything: political and economical rivalry, national enmities, diplomatic traditions, and religious conflicts.

In all the wars of the last quarter of a century we can trace the work of the great financial houses. The conquest of Egypt and the Transvaal, the annexation of Tripoli, the occupation of Morocco, the partition of Persia, the massacres in Manchuria, the massacres and international looting in China during the Boxer riots, the wars of Japan—everywhere we find great banks at work. Everywhere financiers have had the casting vote. And if up till now a great European war has not burst out, it is simply because the great financiers hesitate. They do not quite know to which side the millions involved will cause the scales to turn; they do not know which horse to back with their millions.

As to the hundreds of thousands of human lives which the war would cost—what have the financiers to do with them? The mind of a financier works with columns of figures which balance each other. The consequences do not come within his province; he does not even possess the necessary imagination to bring human lives into his calculations.

* *

What an abominable world would be unveiled if only somebody took the trouble to study finance behind the scenes! We can guess it sufficiently, if only from the wee corner of the veil lifted by "Lysis" in his articles in *La Revue*, which appeared in 1908 in a volume entitled "Contre l'Oligarchie Financière en France" ("Against the Financial Oligarchy in France").

From this work we can, in fact, see how four or five large French banks—the Crédit Lyonnais, the Société Générale, the Comptoir National d'Escompte, and the Crédit Industriel et Commercial—have come to possess the complete monopoly of great financial operations in the French money market.

The greater part, about four-fifths, of French savings, amounting every year to nearly £80,000,000, is poured into these great banks; and when foreign States, both great and small, railway companies, towns, or industrial companies from the five continents of the globe present themselves in Paris to make a loan, they turn to these four or five great banking companies, which have virtually the monopoly of foreign loans, and have at their disposal the necessary machinery to boom them.

Needless to say that it was not the skill of the directors of these companies that created their lucrative position. It was the State, the French Government, in the first place, that protected and favoured these banks, and raised them to a privileged position which soon became a colossal monopoly. Whereupon the other States—the borrowing States—strengthened this monopoly. Thus, the Crédit Lyonnais, that monopolises the Russian loans, owes its privileged position to the financial agents of the Russian Government, and to the Tsar's Ministers of Finance.

The amount of business transacted every year by these four or five financial societies represents hundreds of millions of pounds. Thus, in two years, 1906 and 1907, they distributed in loans £300,000,000, of which £220,000,000 were in foreign loans ("Lysis," page 101). And when we learn that the "commission" of these companies for organising a foreign loan is usually 5 per cent. for the "syndicate of intermediaries" (*apporteurs*, through whose instrumentality the new loan is brought about), 5 per cent.

* At the time of the Egyptian "war," in 1882, H. M. Hyndman published in the *Nineteenth Century* an excellent article telling in full of this piece of robbery.

for the "guarantee syndicate," and from 7 to 10 per cent. for the syndicate or trust of the four or five banks we have just named, we see what immense sums go to these monopolists.

Thus, one single "intermediary" who "brought out" the loan of £50,000,000 contracted by the Russian Government in 1906 to crush the Revolution, actually received—so "Lysis" tells us in his just-mentioned book—a commission of 12,000,000 francs (£480,000).

We can, therefore, understand the occult influence on international politics exercised by the powerful directors of these financial societies, with their mysterious bookkeeping and with the plenary powers that certain directors exact and obtain from their shareholders—because they must be discreet when nearly half a million pounds have to be paid to Monsieur So-and-so, £10,000 to a certain Minister, and so many millions, besides the orders of the *Légion d'Honneur*, to the Press! There is not, says "Lysis," one single large newspaper in France that is not paid by the banks. This is clear. One can easily guess how much money was distributed in this way among the Press during the years 1906 and 1907, when a series of Russian State loans, railway loans, and loans for real estate banks were being prepared. How many "quill-drivers" waxed fat on the loans—we see it in "Lysis's" book. What a windfall, in fact! The Government of a great State at bay! A revolution to be crushed! Such luck is not to be met with every day!

No doubt everybody is more or less aware of that, and there is not a single politician, in Paris or elsewhere, who does not know the workings of all this jobbery, and who does not hear mentioned the names of the women and men who have received large sums after each loan, great or small, Russian or Brazilian. And each one, if he has the slightest knowledge of business, knows to what degree this organisation of great financial houses is a product of the State, an essential attribute of the State.

And it would be such a State—the powers and prerogatives of which our politicians are so careful not to lessen—that most of the social reformers expect to be the instrument for the emancipation of the masses! What nonsense!

Be it stupidity, ignorance, or imposture—it is equally unpardonable in people who believe themselves called to direct the fate of nations.

(To be continued.)

A NEW VENTURE.

Most encouraging proofs keep turning up to convince us that the weekly paper idea is far from dead. The best of it all is that it is just among the real vital section of the movement that the demand for the restart of the paper is loudest. I was surprised and interested to learn the other day how the *Anarchist* had penetrated into the mines in Scotland, while we already knew that it had done so in South Wales.

Those who have such a completely wrong view of things as to imagine that the attempt to run the *Anarchist* was a failure have indeed much to learn. It was the first step in a difficult task; it has cut the path part way to our goal; it has taken Anarchism into parts where it had never reached before. Our second effort will take it further; and this brings me to my subject.

It will be already known that many suggestions have been made as to the best method of restarting the weekly. Some said, Revive the *Anarchist*; others said, start a weekly edition of FREEDOM; and yet others advocated starting a new paper altogether.

At the Conference, as every one knows, it was decided to revive the name of the *Voice of Labour*, and to run the paper on somewhat the same lines as the *Anarchist*; but the point that was left open was the actual date of the first number and the methods of leading up to the start.

Every one, I believe, will agree that the right method has at last been hit upon. It is now our business to start right away working for the *Voice*, and here are the suggested lines of action:—

With the next number of FREEDOM a supplement will appear. This will be the forerunner of the weekly. It will be called the *Voice of Labour Bulletin*, and will be devoted to the propaganda and to distinctly propagandist articles.

Appearing monthly, to be sold with FREEDOM, it will in fact for the present become our "makeshift" for a weekly, and round it the movement for the *Voice of Labour* must be made to circulate. We can extend the circulation of FREEDOM with its supplement, and gather around it all those who want to hear the *Voice*.

Every reader of the supplement, we may be sure, will become a reader of the weekly, and success will be guaranteed before the big venture is started.

We Anarchists do not know failure and defeat, for we are right in the line of the progress of all things. Let us go on then in this great triumphant march. We shall see huge results for our work soon, and Anarchism is the only thing that the workers care for, but it must be explained. We can do it, we young men must do it, and best of all it can be done by a weekly paper.

Let us be comrades in our Anarchism, for it is the whole of life.

G. B.

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The State, the Vote, and Liberty.

Is it not true that people who really desire to resist the encroachment of the State, with its grinding tyranny, into the domains of social life which hitherto have been served by voluntary and co-operative activity, should inquire a little more seriously into the root causes of these evils: should, in fact, discuss and reconsider first principles?

Let us consider for a moment the confusion into which things are drifting at the present time, in spite of many hopeful signs. We have first and foremost the women's agitation for the vote, which is demanding energy, sacrifice, and money for a cause which will never bring one ray of liberty into the lives of the socially, economically, and sexually enslaved mass of woman-kind. Yet we see liberty-loving people, who could do so much useful work, driven by mere sentimentality into this struggle for the vote. True, they are at present in conflict with the Government, but only so that later on they may share in the very evil they suffer from now, and which, if they would seriously study the history of political institutions without prejudice, they would find is always an obstacle to the progress and well-being of the people, and, above all, to the liberty of the individual.

While it cannot be denied that those who regard the vote as a right of citizenship must eventually be logically compelled to accord it to women, it is nevertheless a fatal blunder for those who sincerely desire the emancipation of woman to desert the real struggle for freedom in favour of the vote, which is a delusion and a snare; in fact, a trick and a lie. For what does it imply but majority rule? And what is majority rule but the negation of freedom? Spencer, Buckle, Ibsen, Tolstoy, and a host of the greatest thinkers have proved over and over again that all progress is the work of minorities. And yet those who clamour for the vote for women talk of women's freedom! Because man has been fooled all these weary years, they also must be fooled or take their share in the fooling.

We as Anarchists have good reason to deplore this folly, not because we are opposed to equality, but because we are so much in favour of it that we would have it built on the impregnable rock of real economic freedom. That is the only true liberty for man or for woman. And we devoutly wish women could understand this. Stephen Pearl Andrews once stated his ideal of freedom in these terms:—

"A liberty which anybody else in the universe has a right to define is no liberty for me. A pursuit of happiness which some despot, or some oligarchy, or some tyrannical majority has the power to shape and prescribe for me, is not the pursuit of my happiness. Statesmen, politicians, religious dissenters, and reformers, who have hitherto sanctioned the principle of freedom, have not seen its full reach and expansion; hence they became reactionist conservatives and 'old fogies' when the whole truth is revealed to them."

Unless women can learn on what principles, or rather let us say on what conditions, true freedom is to be enjoyed, they will continue to be misled by this fetish of the ballot-box. But that is not the only evil. If they gain sufficient electoral power to make their influence felt, they will, not being Anarchists, vote for repressive measures, and so in turn become a menace to such liberties as we have left; just as the curse of man-made law is crushing us all to-day. Is it better, then, to be governed by women than men, or by a mixture of both evils? The Anarchist has the right to put this question, because, fighting as he does for full liberty for all, he is against all government.

In their conflict with the "law and order" of the State, the women have suffered the barbaric treatment of our police and prisons, treatment which makes the blood boil with indignation and disgust. But that is just the function of the State—to curtail liberty and to protect property. What Andrews said fifty years ago in America applies with full force to this present struggle. We quote specially from him, as he was then the most powerful champion of woman's freedom. He wrote as follows in answer to Horace Greeley:—

"The State is to you something other than what I have called it,—a mob,—because you believe that the heat of passion and the lust of gain may blind men in judging their own conduct, and not so in judging the conduct of others. If this is good for anything, as a principle, it must be of reciprocal and universal application. Let us take a case and try its operation. John Smith and Sally Smith, after years of miserable experience, and horrid example, too, as I should say, amicably conclude to separate, do separate, provide for their children by some appropriate arrangement which removes them from a daily scene of sickening and vitiating contest, and each unites with a new partner, and all the parties feel conscious that they have added infinitely to their happiness and well-being; but you, on your principle, that somebody else, who is not blinded because he has no interest in the matter, can decide better than they, interfere, and decide for them that they were led by a shade of passion which you define to be lust into their new relations; denounce them in your newspaper, and invoke the mob, and send them all packing to the calaboose. Very well, so far; but now for the next application.

"Upon the same principle, I can judge better than you can of the purity of your motives in this very act, and I determine that you were influenced by an undue desire to increase the popularity of your journal, by parading your zeal for the current morality of the day, and that such an example of the venality of the press is extremely vitiating to the public mind. My impartial position for judging authorises me to judge and to punish you for deviating from my judgment. Hence I resort to the mob, and burn down your printing-office, or throw your types into the ocean. Now, then, how is your mob any better than my mob,—except that yours is called 'the State'? Do you find it in the distinction you attempt to establish between freedom of utterance and freedom of action,—one of which is to be tolerated and the other not? That would only be to turn my vengeance from you personally to the passive instruments of your opinion,—the juries and prison-keepers."

This is a quite reasonable and logical statement which those who believe in Government cannot avoid accepting. So once again as Anarchists we put this question. At the present moment the Suffragettes are fighting for free speech and a free press. But a day may come when they, directly or indirectly, will hold the reins of power. And they will be attacked by the Anarchists for the evils (there will be plenty of them!) of their administration. Where, then, will be our right of free speech and a free press? We will no more trust Mrs. Pankhurst with power than we would trust McKenna or any other man. It can be said with perfect truth that the poison of drink has not made greater beasts of man than the poison of power.

It has often roused wonder that Marcus Aurelius, "one of the noblest figures in history," could twice have consented to the merciless persecution of the Christians. But he did—this man of peace and meditation! Again, Sir Thomas More, who in his "Utopia" stands strongly for the sacredness of conscience and the right of private judgment, was terrible in his sentences for religious opinions. But power was in his hands, and he used it! To come down to much smaller fry, the advocates of "the conquest of political power" have had some bitter experience, in France particularly, where Millerand and Briand have proved the "shocking examples," and where Clemenceau, the ex-Radical-Socialist is advocating militarism and reaction under the complete misnomer of "L'Homme Libre."

These men, little as they may be, showed the cloven hoof to some purpose when the occasion served. And what is easier than to call out the soldiers and the police and gain the plaudits of the frock-coated bourgeois and the smiles of fine ladies; for there is a perfect sex-equality in the ruling classes in their hatred of the *canaille*! No; it may be a sad conclusion, but there is no other. We have to abolish all rule of man over man—and woman over woman!—to gain that liberty which some people talk of so much and understand so little! As we said at the outset, the trouble is that so few will study the events of the past and the present in the light of any principle that might

prove a pole-star in their work for the future. If liberty is to be won—and it *must* be won, or the human race will decay and die—then the Trade Unions with their Labour Party, and the Suffragettes with their “Votes for Women” will have to reconsider the whole position. Let them sneer at Anarchists, if they will; let them (as they do) refuse to listen to our arguments; but let them rest assured they will never win liberty by compromising with its enemy—the State.

R. ROCKER'S VISIT TO CHICAGO.

Chicago, the mother of martyrs—and also of their murderers—has just received a notable visit from comrade Rocker, of East London in particular and the cosmos in general. Although, by force of circumstances which need not be explained to the experienced, comrade Rocker's addresses were delivered in secluded halls; and although they were further handicapped by being restricted to those who either through ordinary processes or by the inspiration of the Great Spirit were able to wrap themselves around the meaning of the Yiddish tongue—yet his remarks came to eager and devoted hearers, and for this reason would have borne fruit even without that threefold reinforcement which they received from the sincerity and eloquence and beauty of illustration for which our friend Rocker is justly famed.

Rocker reached Chicago on Saturday evening, May 3, coming in by a different depot to that at which the friends—and some strangers who were not friends—were eagerly awaiting him. He managed, however, to find his way to the home that had been assigned for his establishment; and the joy of those who had betaken themselves thither to mourn his non-appearance was all the more emphatic when they found that versatile brother already installed and wearing his usual imperturbable smile.

After a good night's rest, he held council with the local comrades on the Sunday morning; and at the conclusion of the pow-wow a party was made up to visit Waldheim Cemetery. It was the anniversary of the fateful May 4 of 1886, and some group pictures were taken on various sides of the Martyrs' monument, some of them showing in the foreground the adjacent but as yet unmarked grave of our beloved Voltairine de Cleyre, who wore out the last threads of her precarious physical existence by her arduous work in Chicago on behalf of the working-class insurrectos of Mexico.

On Sunday afternoon the comrades held a reception and love-feast at the house of brother Blum, our local Yiddish poet; and in the evening livened up a neighbouring hall with a grand banquet, at which Rocker gave an inspiring description of the European movement and conveyed to the American comrades the greeting and encouragement of their Old World co-workers. Response was made by Honoré Jaxon in a message of goodwill, which Rocker was asked to carry back from the freedom-lovers of America to their beloved comrades beyond the sea. The occasion wound up with general discussion and appropriate recitations, participated in by Jay Fox and other Nestors of the American movement.

On Monday evening, May 5, Rocker delivered his first public address, threading his remarks upon notable characters in literature, and showing their forecast of the now dawning day of true liberty. The hall was packed, although no public advertising had been indulged in; and the delight elicited by both the substance and the manner of the lecture caused the overflow of the hall on the following evening.

In this second public address Rocker centred his argument on the essentially international inspiration and character of all progress and culture, combatting the claims of the Neo-Nationalists that cohesion and intensity begotten by racial and national pride and “patriotism” constitute the natural progenitors of genius. He demonstrated, on the contrary, to the admiration even of many strongly feeling Jewish Nationalists who were present—and with a wealth of illustration drawn from all ages and countries—that the diametrically opposite position is the true one, the position that great and true culture and true greatness among men are created through the destroying rather than as a result of the conserving of lines of race and nationality. (Hurrah for the “Half-breeds”!)

The meatiness of these lectures, and the convincing and charming manner and language with which they were delivered, has led to an insistent demand that they be put in printed form in both Yiddish and English. In this way it will be possible to satisfy in some measure the regrets that are now being uttered on every side by those who, either through inability to comprehend the tongue in which they were spoken, or through the difficulties thrown by circumstance in the way of advertising Rocker's presence in the city, were deprived of the privilege of hearing him directly and personally. Comrades desiring to encourage or take advantage of this venture might send in name and address to the publication group, care of comrade Annie Livshis, whose home at 2038 Potomac Avenue, Chicago, was the scene of Voltairine de Cleyre's last and noblest efforts, and is now a centre of everything that is admirable and inspiring in the American movement.

H. J. J.

MINERS AND CONCILIATION.

On April 14 last, a number of men, twenty-four, engaged in a coal mine at Chopwell, Co. Durham, decided, owing to the dangerous nature of the roof in their working place, that to continue to work was tantamount to committing suicide. To prove to the management of the colliery that they were neither cowards nor malingers, they sent for the official in charge and told him in their opinion the place was unsafe. Naturally, any human being except a paid hack would have agreed that their judgment was right, seeing that they were the persons who risked their lives; but they were told that they must either work there or go home. Being men, not doormats for others to wipe their feet upon, they came home, the blue sky and sunshine being better to them than working in a dirty and dangerous coal mine.

A meeting of their Trade Union was called to hear a report of two of their fellows, known as local inspectors, who are elected to see that the manager of the mines puts into operation the so-called measures of safety that the House of Pretence has brought into being for the miners welfare (?). These persons having thoroughly examined the working-place, report that, in their opinion as practical miners, it was unsafe for life and limb. The scene changes, the Government Inspector (who the Labour Party clamoured for, and who is supposed to be impartial) comes upon the scene, the Trade Union having sent for him. To show how fair and impartial he was, he came to the colliery office and went down the mine with the manager of the colliery, while the men's inspectors, who only heard of him being there by accident, had to run off to be on the spot when he examined it. If inspection had been his mission to Chopwell, it would have been a common-sense policy to have stated there and then what his opinion was. But the well-paid machines of the Capitalist State do not do business along common-sense and logical lines, hence he gave no report. Time passed. The men and their dependents could have starved for aught any coal company or Government officials cared, and three weeks after we learn, through a question having been asked Mr. Forcible-Feeding McKenna, that in the opinion of the Government Inspector the workings were quite safe. How could his opinion have been otherwise? That is what he is paid for, and yet he had not been in the place that was affected as many minutes as the men who had to work there had been days. Surely that should satisfy the most ardent supporter of State Socialism as to what would be the condition of the working miner under the Nationalisation of Mines.

If the inspection farce was bad, worse was yet to follow. During the interval between the men downing tools and the news of how the Mines Inspector had “burked” things, other channels were being worked with a view to putting things straight. To comply with the rules of their Trade Union (Durham Miners' Association), notice of the men's action was forwarded to headquarters by the local secretary, in order that something should be done. At the end of a week, as there were no signs of that “something being done,” the whole of the men employed at the three collieries decided to hand in fourteen days' notice to cease work, without official sanction from the Executive Committee. Fancy in this year of grace 1913, a body of men who pride themselves on being progressive (some of whom call themselves Socialists) not tolerating this action of the men!

But just as surely as the policy of conciliation has shown its poisonous effects in other channels, so even here, after they had decided to work their legal fourteen days' notice, its wrecking policy came forth, and their notices were withdrawn. To keep their souls intact, they who only a week before had decided to work out their own salvation in this battle, decide to allow their Executive Committee to carry it through for them!

Two of the general agents of the Association came out to the colliery, after the notices were withdrawn and profits were again being made, to hear from the men affected their grievance, thence to proceed to the company's offices to get things straightened up somewhat. But they have not got to the company's offices yet, because (listen, ye conciliators) a bit of plain speaking was done by those who have to work in the mines for their living; these superior persons felt insulted, and left. And they have not returned. Nor have these men who took up a stand for their own judgment to be supreme on the question of safety, received any monetary benefit from headquarters. They have, however, received help from their own fellows.

Enough has surely been said now to show how this tragi-comedy pans out, and the final result was that these men had to return to work practically as they had left. But just in so far as “They never fail who die in a great cause,” so this struggle will not have been in vain. It points to the need for a policy based not upon the sands of conciliation, but upon the rock of revolution. Conscious effort must supersede the blind instinctive policy of depending upon others to do things that you can do yourself. And until that policy is acted upon, no good can come forth.

WILL LAWTHER.

We have received a report of a recent interesting debate between Mrs. L. G. Wilkinson and W. W. Craik, of the Central Labour College. The proposition was: “That industrial action alone will emancipate the workers.” Mrs. Wilkinson took the affirmative, and Mr. Craik the negative. Owing to pressure on our space, the report is crowded out; but a good report appears in the June number of the *Civil Service Socialist*.

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

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Italy.

The recent law on the legal status of the Italian railway men which took away their right to strike and fixed heavy punishment on any stoppage of service by concerted action of the men, compensated the railway workers by allowing them to send delegates to the mixed Committee when matters concerning the railway line and the personnel are discussed. This Committee was to be convoked twice yearly. But the directors of the railways did not do so for sixteen months, and when at last a meeting was called the men's delegates found that all the proposals which they had sent in due time had not been placed on the agenda, whilst the project of law on pensions for railway men and their widows, which they desired to discuss and amend, had already quietly been forwarded to Parliament by the directors. The majority of the delegates were so indignant at this trickery that they left the meeting. Two of the men's representatives wrote to the directors strongly protesting against their high-handed action. This letter furnished the directors with an opportunity of punishing these two employees. As the railways are State-owned, the matter was placed before the Minister, Sacchi, who, of course, upheld the directors. The railway men are furious against the Government and the directors, and are ready to vindicate their rights, if necessary, by a general strike. The curious thing is that the majority of the Italian railway men are Syndicalists, who from the beginning pointed out to their comrades that the new law had robbed them of the only real weapon, giving them in return a make-believe right of representation. Events have certainly confirmed their suspicions sooner than could be expected. The difficulty of the Italian railway men ought to give cause for reflection to those who always see in the State ownership of railways, mines, etc., the solution of economic troubles.

The Italian railway men's Union, the *Sindacato Ferrovieri Italiani*, has sent two proposals for the agenda of the coming Congress of the International Federation of Transport Workers, which will be held in August next in London. The first proposal is to transfer the Federation's headquarters from Berlin to Paris or London. The second calls upon the Federation to put into practice the methods of the class struggle, independent of the political parties and their tactics. These two propositions show that some of the organisations affiliated to the International Federation are far from satisfied with the International Secretariate in Berlin, which at the time of the great Transport Strike of 1911 showed a deplorable lack of foresight and a mania of opposing the direct action and revolutionary initiative of affiliated Unions. By Italy's proposal to transfer the seat of the Secretariate it is hoped to change this spirit of Parliamentary reformism into a more aggressive and class-conscious attitude.

The fact that the workers do not wish any longer to be dragged along by politicians, but are awakening to the necessity to fight for their economic emancipation by direct action, is in Italy very observable. The old *Confederazione General del Lavoro*, the Labour Confederation guided by Parliamentary politicians, is feeling the new current of opposition to its worn-out creed of reformism. Its membership has gone down by 63,000 as compared with 1912, when it still counted 320,000. This loss must be partly attributed to the creation of the new centre of Labour, the *Unione Sindacale Italiana*, which has drawn together all the revolutionary Syndicalist elements of the Italian working classes, whilst other Unions, like the railway men's Union, have left the old Confederation without entering the new organisation.

Our Anarchist comrades are redoubling their efforts in propaganda. The Communist Anarchist groups in Rome have decided to publish a weekly, *Il Pensiero Anarchico*; address: Casella postale 276, Rome.

Several other groups have united to bring out a paper at Ancona. It will be called *Volonta*, and its programme can be expressed by the three words: Revolution, Communism, Anarchism. Our comrade Malatesta is to be one of the chief editors.

The anti-militarist *La Pace*, at Genoa, which was founded in 1903, and had to struggle against persecution of all sorts, will re-appear and be supported by authors and artists of note.

France.

The First of May demonstrations in nearly all countries assumed a specially antimilitarist character in view of the war scare which has been hanging over Europe for the last few months. In France, where our comrades are making great efforts to defeat the reactionary plot of the Government to reintroduce the three years' military service, the First of May was an excellent occasion to make propaganda for antimilitarism. But the economic claims of the workers were not forgotten, and the French proletariat is concentrating its attention at present on obtaining by their own action the "English week," meaning to have a Saturday half-holiday. In all the May Day meetings and processions these points were kept in the foreground. With a few exceptions, the police did not interfere.

The great demonstration against the three years' service, organised by Socialists and Syndicalists, to be held on Sunday, May 25, at the Père Lachaise Cemetery, where forty-two years ago so many comrades of the Commune were shot down, has been prohibited by the Government. The authorities are well aware of the intense dislike with which their reversion to the three years' service is received by the peasants and workers. The riots of soldiers at Paris, Macon, Toul—"five minutes from the frontier," as a superior officer reproachfully reminded

his mutinous soldiers—are significant. They have been followed by more disorders in other places, and no severe punishments—the usual, stupid remedy all Governments employ—against manifestations of the people's will can suppress the fact that the French nation is opposed to throwing more money and young lives to the Moloch of militarism. Of the soldiers who took part in these demonstrations, those of Toul have been singled out for special punishment; fifteen are to be sent to the African disciplinary battalions, that nightmare of every French soldier.

The Government fastened the guilt of all that happened on the Confederation of Labour, that bugbear of Law and Order. The soldiers had sung the "Internationale," and appeals of the Confederation are said to have been found in the barracks; and, according to the authorities, that proves that the C. G. T. is at the bottom of the mutiny. It would be interesting for a Member of Parliament to ask the Minister of War in which way soldiers, young citizens of France, can express their opinion on a law which touches them so immediately? Is there anything but mutiny left? Even their fathers and mothers are prohibited from demonstrating their feelings in a Parisian cemetery—a place which above all reminds them of a short but glorious period, the Commune.

But, of course, Governments object to any opposition which has an element of efficaciousness in it. Parliamentary tittle-tattle is not objected to, as they know it means nothing; but the people must on no account be allowed to take a hand itself in the matter; direct action by the people is dangerous—and it is suppressed in all forms.

Later news in the French papers states that the unrest and disorders among the soldiers are spreading to other places.

Norway.

The centre of Norwegian Unions, the *Landesorganisation*, and the Union of Employers have decided to nominate a commission to elaborate a project of law on conciliation and arbitration in cases of labour conflicts. This has been done already by Trade Unions and employers in Denmark. In consequence of this step of the Norwegian workers and employers, the Norwegian Parliament has been asked to adjourn the Governmental project of law on the same subject till the mixed commission of employers and men has finished its work.

New Zealand.

Owing to the strike of the butchers in New Zealand, which is obstinately continued on both sides, the employers created a Union of blacklegs, and requested its recognition by the official Wages Board. The Board first refused to recognise the new Union, as the real Union of butchers long ago had deposited a request for recognition, and the law admits only one Union for each trade. Nevertheless, the blackleg Union started legal proceedings, and the trial case was decided in favour of the blacklegs. As a result, the conditions of labour and wages will be fixed in future by a mixed committee of employers and blacklegs, and their decisions will have the power of law. Several analogous organisations are at present being created, and the "country of social peace" gives a striking example of what State Socialism may lead to.

CORRESPONDENCE.

METHODS OF PROPAGANDA.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—In Comrade McAra's letter in the May FREEDOM dealing with methods of propaganda there is at least one important point which he seems to have overlooked. While agreeing with him on the importance of having plenty of speakers to propagate the principles of Anarchism, and push the sales of our pamphlets, books, etc., I do not agree with the proposition that the earnest and enthusiastic comrades who are not speakers should do nothing but contribute to the support of the fifty flying orators mentioned by McAra. One can accept our comrade's statement, that men who were prepared to devote their lives to the propagation of Anarchism would be able to subsist on the voluntary contributions of comrades and sympathisers. He has had a long and varied experience as a propagandist, and his opinion on this point certainly carries weight.

That the comrades who are not speakers want some outlet for their enthusiasm is beyond doubt. The sale and distribution of the weekly paper was one of the most important methods of propaganda for those comrades. We all know how necessary it is to get a speaker and hold a meeting, before our pamphlets and books can be sold; but even the most timid comrade can sell a paper, and when that paper deals with current topics treated from an Anarchist standpoint, and also contains a column or page devoted to advertising our literature, it is remarkable how soon people become interested in the Anarchist movement. Earnest comrades who are not speakers, and who adopt this line of activity and pursue it with persistence and energy, will be gladdened and heartened with the result of their efforts. The earnest man commands the respect of even his bitterest enemies, while the wishy-washy individual who is hot and cold by turns finds the result of his efforts commensurate with his half-hearted methods. It is this type of character who is always telling us that the time is not ripe for this, that, and the other thing.

Let the weekly paper start when it may, soon or late. It will only

be established by the determined and untiring efforts of those comrades who find in its sale and distribution, its editing, printing, and publishing, that line of activity which is in accord with their temperament, their taste, and their talents. It would be more honest if comrades who are temperamentally antagonistic to a weekly paper would say so, and drop their talk about the time not being ripe for its appearance.

One other point before closing. We all lament the paucity of speakers in the movement. Whether it is because of super-sensitiveness or a lack of fortitude, it is difficult to say; but it is certainly not because there is any scarcity of men of real ability, well qualified as far as knowledge and fluency is concerned to propagate the cause from platform or stool. Yet, somehow or other, they will not. A few hints from some comrade who has come through the "mill," showing how to overcome the initial difficulties which deter so many of our comrades from raising their voice in public, might be the means of encouraging those who are hiding their light under a bushel to come forth and let their light shine before men.—Fraternally yours,
Musselburgh.

ANDREW QUIGLEY.

ANARCHISTS AND ESPERANTO.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—I should like to remind comrades that there is one pamphlet that is of vital importance to our movement; it is not out of print, nor is it out of date. I refer to the one which is to be found on the FREEDOM list, "Anarchists and Esperanto." I need not occupy space by pointing out how widely, nay, universally spread, this beautiful, simple language has become. I have Anarchist comrades with whom I correspond in forty-seven countries, speaking over sixty languages. Only three of my comrades know English (and, even then, I do not know the English that one or two of them know) at all. I left school at thirteen years of age. After a fortnight's study I wrote to Spain, France, Portugal, China, Japan, and Hungary, and got replies from all. I have just said good-bye to a comrade (German), who cannot speak any English, who, however, has had a splendid holiday here by means of Esperanto, and *via* Esperanto has heard the contents of FREEDOM (by the way I shall not undertake the job again) under circumstances that, but for the language Esperanto, could not possibly have existed. Let us enter more completely into the international arena by means of this weapon.—Yours fraternally,
J. HOYLE.

BOOK NOTES.

Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth (How We Shall Bring about the Revolution). By Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget. Paper, 2s. 6d. net. Oxford: The New International Publishing Company.

This is an account of an imaginary Revolution which is supposed to take place in France, both of the authors being well known in the French Labour movement. They have certainly written a remarkably interesting book. The "Revolution" goes with a swing from start to finish, and every chapter shows signs of having been carefully thought out. The lessons of the Great Revolution and the Commune have been taken to heart, and the blunders of those times avoided. Of course, the authors have some very thin ice to skate on sometimes; but they manage to get across safely.

The "Revolution" begins in Paris with the shooting down of strikers connected with the building trade, this act being followed by a general strike of all Unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour. This paralysed the railways and postal services, the Government's attempt to start military services being frustrated by the employees carefully putting engines and machines out of action by taking away or destroying essential parts. Consequently, only the troops in Paris could be used against the strikers in the city. The workers in the large provincial towns, and also in the country districts, soon joined in the strike in such numbers that the General Strike became a general revolt. The Government soon adopted repressive measures, which simply fed the flame of revolt; and when the barracks in Paris were burnt out and the strikers had seized the stores of arms and ammunition at Vincennes, the army had no terrors for the workers, who were reinforced by wholesale desertions from the disaffected regiments. The revolutionists having gained the upper hand, they showed their hatred of the State and the politicians by clearing the Deputies out of the Chamber, and later on destroying all buildings which had been utilised by the representatives of law and order, this being done in the most thorough manner possible. With a simultaneous attack on the expropriators in the provinces, the Revolution is accomplished.

The fall of Capitalism necessitates a reorganisation of production and consumption, and here the authors show themselves as Communists. But the truth is that the difficulties in production and consumption that arise are solved by what one might describe as the application of common sense. There seems nothing improbable or forced about the matter.

Of course, a Revolution with wholesale expropriation could not take place in France without meeting with the fierce opposition of other European Powers, and the way in which the authors handle this question is rather unconvincing. But apart from this, the book is a bold attempt to foretell the course of a future Revolution, and shows

the authors' broad outlook. Especially noticeable is the elimination of authoritarian methods in their reorganisation of society; although they show they can be ruthless when dealing with those who would bring back the old régime.

The book is full of ideas for revolutionists, and the authors' optimism is very stimulating. Will Dyson contributes some typical cartoons.

Other Publications Received.

The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School. By Francisco Ferrer. Translated by Joseph McCabe. 6d. net. London: Watts and Co.—A short notice of this book appears under the heading "Propaganda Notes."

Profit-Sharing and Co-Partnership: a Fraud and a Failure? By Edward R. Pease. 1d. London: Fabian Society.—An exposure of the fraud of so-called Co-Partnership, and of its disastrous effect on the solidarity of the Labour movement.

The Tiger's Jaws: a Criticism of the Public Schools. By Rosa Markus. 10c. San Francisco: Progressive Educational League.

The Trial and Acquittal of Professor Carlo Ruata. London: National Anti-Vaccination League.

Perceptions of Robert Bowman Peck. 2s. 6d. net. London: Elkin Mathews.

Crimen y Criminales. Por Clarence S. Darrow. 10c. Barcelona: *Salud y Fuerza*, Provenza 177, principal 1a.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL (East London).—An interesting and instructive little book by Francisco Ferrer, entitled "The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School," has just been published by the Rationalist Press Association. It can be had at FREEDOM Office at 6d. and 9d. This book ought to be in the hands of every one who is a lover of children. It points out in plain and simple language the story of the Modern School from its inception to its tragic ending. It will do much to vindicate the fair name of Ferrer, which was subject to so much calumny and vituperation at the time of his memorable trial and brutal murder. It is the wish of Ferrer's successor that this particular book should be read widely, as it is, indirectly perhaps, one of the most damning indictments ever published of a Government for its clumsy and despotic methods. The International Modern School movement was inaugurated by Ferrer prior to his untimely death. It aims were to spread the ideal of international relationship between the rising generations of the world, to destroy credulity, and to bring about a happier future for mankind.

The children of this East London Modern School have taken these ideals to heart, and are waking up to the fact that they are of some importance to the day that is coming. On Empire Day many of the children "struck" against saluting the flag. This was done after a discussion amongst themselves. It was decided at first not to go to school, but it was thought cowardly not to face the issue and openly refuse to salute the flag; so they went and made their small protest against this fostering of hatred of other countries. There were one or two pettifogging victimisations meted out to these youthful strikers, but this merely serves to whet their appetites for further action.

It is quite a pleasing thought that the Modern School progresses steadily, in spite of the adverse criticisms of not a few of our comrades. We know our possibilities and our limitations, and we feel that less kicks and more ha'pence would greatly facilitate matters in bringing our school to a higher standard of usefulness.

On Sunday afternoons short lectures on various topics are delivered. Comrades Tom Brown and Arthur Hatfield and others of the Central Labour College have given the elder children short and simple scientific talks. We find the discussion afterwards exceedingly interesting, as it gives the youngsters a chance to "open out" and express their own ideas upon the various subjects. On Tuesday evenings a reading class is held. The book at present under observation is Morris's "News from Nowhere," which is proving a capital book for the young people. This brings me to our need for a library of suitable books. If comrades have any to dispose of, we will be pleased to receive them. On Thursday evenings there are physical drill and a fancy dancing class conducted by one of the younger element, Esther, who is to be congratulated on the ability of her pupils. I can assure the comrades that their exhibitions in the art of the "light fantastic" would make the veriest "pezzar" in the movement plank down his quota for the kiddies. A cricket team has also been formed, one that vows it can beat any of its size on the countryside! Ask Nellie! On Saturday afternoons Miss Roche conducts an E-peranto class, at which many of our children attend, and good results is the report.

All the kiddies wish to send their fraternal greetings to the grown-ups and wish them a happier day.

JIMMY DICK.
International Modern School, 146 Stepney Green, E.

MUSSELBURGH.—A start was made here with open-air propaganda on May 18, when G. Barrett, of Glasgow, lectured to a good-sized gathering on Fisher Row Links. Too little time had been given to properly advertising the meeting, the comrades only managing to get a small handbill printed and distributed one day before. However, they were well repaid for their efforts, as not only was the audience very attentive, but after Barrett finished a perfect concourse of questions was kept running for some time, particularly by members of the B.S.P. and I.L.P., which gave Barrett a splendid opportunity to expound and elaborate the different points with greater facility, an opportunity of which he did not fail to take advantage. One serious drawback caused by the hurry was the want of literature (we had only a few copies of FREEDOM). This will be remedied before our next attempt, as we intend to get a stock of pamphlets. Taking the rather disagreeable weather into account, and also the scratchiness of the meeting, it may fairly be said that it promises well for the future, if comrades can only be got to carry on the work. Two speakers would do, and others to sell literature. Who will volunteer? Barrett had intended to speak in

Edinburgh at night, but unfortunately caught a chill at Musselburgh, and reluctantly had to give up the idea.
G. R.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, April 27, the Glasgow Anarchist Communist Group held a meeting at the foot of Buchanan Street; comrades Angus McKay and Porter spoke to a large audience. On May 4 we joined the Labour Day demonstration. It was one of the worst of days from the weather standpoint. The procession started amidst a heavy downpour of rain, with thunder and lightning. Ten thousand marched to Glasgow Green, drenched; there would have been thirty thousand had it been a fine day. Glasgow has taken its May Day seriously; it was a day out for the Reds. No less than 135 Labour and Socialist organisations were represented. It was inspiring, and showed the people are awakening. We had nearly a thousand round our platform; our comrades Angus McKay, Leckie, Porter, Howie, and others were the speakers. There was a good sale of literature. This summer we intend to have a vigorous campaign in and around Glasgow.
A. B. HOWIE, Secretary.

PLEASE NOTE.

The Leicester Anarchists and Socialist Leaguers have arranged a picnic to Darley Dale (Derbyshire) on Bank Holiday, August 4th. To walk to Haddon Hall and Rowsley via Birchover and Robin Hood's Stride. They will be glad to meet any of their old friends (or any new ones) who will communicate with—A. GORRIE, 264, Gwendolen Road, Leicester.

The Centro de Estudos Sociaes, just recently founded in the city of Rio de Janeiro, requests editors of Anarchist papers published in the English language to send a copy of each issue to the following address: Centro de Estudos Sociaes, Caixa postal 1427, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

PAMPHLET PRINTING FUND.

The following amounts have been received:—Previously acknowledged, £6 15s.; W. M. Stroud 2s., F. S. 2s. 6d., L. Storione 6d., W. Y. Chyne 5s., R. Moore 2s., J. McCallister 1s., W. G. Orr 5s., J. Turner 5s., G. Ronner 6d., H. Glasse 2s. 6d., R. Gundersen 3s., Essex 1s. Per Bert Plattin (to May 25)—Chopwell Group, per W. Lawther, 5s. 6d.; Gateshead Group, per G. W. Tindale, 5s.; Miss M. McNeill 1s., B. Black 4s., F. Glanville 3s., J. S. Richfield 2s., C. Brewer 6d. Total to date £9 6s.

We still require money, and hope comrades will not cease their efforts to raise funds.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(April 29—June 3.)

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Communist Club, Room 2, 20 Islington, Liverpool.—Lectures Every Sunday Evening, 7.30 p.m. Discussion and Educational Classes, Tuesdays and Thursdays at 8 p.m. Admission Free. All Welcome. Anarchist Literature always on Sale.

BIRMINGHAM.—Comrades are informed that a Bookstall for the sale of Anarchist literature is now open every Saturday in Smithfield Market.

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