

Freedom

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NOTES.

The Murder of Ferrer.

The murder of Francisco Ferrer by the Spanish Government has roused the indignation of the progressive elements throughout the civilised world. It has shown that amongst advanced sections of the peoples an *international conscience* is really growing. It has shown also that the Governments, whether monarchical or republican, are equally international in their attempts to suppress the manifestation of popular indignation. They have tolerated it where it was dangerous to do otherwise. But the events of the past few days demonstrate clearly enough the brutal forces held in readiness by every Government to decimate the people when the privileges of the ruling classes are endangered. Note also the hopeless futility of political tactics in Parliament. Those of the Labour Party who had the case of Ferrer sincerely at heart had to raise their voices *outside* Parliament for them to have any effect. However, if the storm of popular indignation has caused the downfall of the assassin Maura, that at least is something to be thankful for. But in spite of a Liberal ministry, the Spanish people have still their struggle before them. It is easy to denounce the murderers of Ferrer. Who would not—except the English Jingo press? But only a revolution can help Spain to gain even such liberties as we possess. Should this fail, is she to be left to her fate, as is the long-suffering unhappy Russian people, and as the unfortunate Finns soon will be—all for the sake of upholding the bloodiest tyranny in the interests of international finance?

The Fight for Right-of-Way.

Mr. David Relf writes to *Reynolds's* calling public attention to the condition under which the Footpaths Preservation Society has to struggle against judge-made laws in its defence of one of the most cherished rights of the English people. But first let us quote his words in describing the work this society accomplishes:—"Within the last six weeks or so," he says, "the society has dealt with no less than 240 cases of the obstruction of footpaths, bridle-ways, or cart roads, encroachments on roadside wastes, and enclosure of common lands and village greens. The cases are spread over practically every county in England and Wales." "The chicanery of the law," as Mr. Lloyd George truly calls it, has helped the judges to greatly hinder the work of the society, so that, as the writer says, "it would appear to be impossible to prove the existence of a single right-of-way not set out by Act of Parliament throughout the vast estates owned by the Duke of Sutherland," because of the law of entail. We have frequently referred to the excellent and beneficial results of the work carried on by voluntary societies of this kind, and it is really worthy of the attention of thoughtful persons to observe how the law is continually obstructing such work, which of course it dislikes, while we see plainly the advantage to the people of even the *unconscious* direct action taken by the society. "We could not live without the law," we are told. The marvel is how we manage to live with it. But, after all, the majority of us only vegetate.

The Virtues of the Voter.

A correspondent of the *Morning Leader*, writing on October 21, gave the readers of that paper a little sketch of Bermondsey and the people who dwell in that poor but (at election time) much-petted borough. The writer is full of praise for the virtues of the poor wage-slaves of Bermondsey. When the political candidate is seeking the votes of the "free and independent electors," he and those who are playing the game are loud in their admiration of all the good qualities the poor possess. It is so in this case, for he says: "Go into the obscurer streets, where the workers live, and you will find yourself face to face with the very essence of London." True enough, no doubt.

But should we be told they are still the "essence" if they should take it into their heads one day to revolt against a life lived where there is "nothing to break its monotony, except here and there the tall chimney of a factory," as the writer tells us? Then these good people would become the "mob," all their virtues would disappear, and, instead of the petting of the politicians, they would be faced with the batons and the bayonets of the hirelings of the law-makers, who are certainly not the "essence," whatever else they may be. If, however, the people are so good, they might reasonably ask: "Why do you wish us to elect governors? We can arrange our own affairs, and much better without your interference." Instead of this, they elect a person who can only be described as the essence of chicanery. And Bermondsey sinks once again into its "patience and content."

The Fruit of the Capitalist System.

According to the *Daily News*, Mr. J. A. Macdonald, a member of the Imperial Press Conference, has written in the *Toronto Globe*, giving his impressions of the life he saw in England. It is plain speaking, and for that reason useful. He says frankly that the deepest impression he had was from the "bloodless, mirthless, hopeless face of the common crowd." In Sheffield he saw such human wreckage that he writes: "Certainly no delegate to the Imperial Press Conference had ever seen the like in any white country overseas, or even imagined it possible within the limits of human nature." "It's hell," said one Canadian editor, and that seems to have been the final conclusion of them all. It may be these delegates would not have been so taken by surprise if they had studied our industrial history of the eighteenth century. We are not told if they asked who had made this "hell"; but we will tell them. *The capitalist system made it*, as it has made it in New York and Chicago, and will soon have made it in Montreal and Toronto. Let Mr. Macdonald read of the orgies of exploitation that crushed the very bones of the men, women and children in the first half of the last century, and he will not wonder at the wreckage left to us as the fruit of the capitalist's methods of making a fortune. He has only further to read how the land has been stolen from the people to wonder how it is a revolution has not yet swept away this nightmare of misery that "staggered all the delegates."

The Limitations of Democracy.

"Gracchus," writing in *Reynolds's* (October 24), has some strange and even perplexing things to say about Democracy. Many people, he avers, profess to be disillusioned with it. They have been too ideal, he says, although to tell the truth we have never noticed it. The disillusionment, however, we can quite understand. After all, it has produced little enough to comfort those who had put their hopes in it in any quarter of the globe. And no wonder if "Gracchus's" definitions stand good. He says, "Democracy is not a policy; it is only an empty form of government." It is the will of the majority, but it "offers no guarantee that the will of the majority will be good or wise." In that case we suggest it would be better to live by such wisdom as each of us may possess, especially as "Gracchus" promises not much better results of government by a minority. Altogether it is a dismal prospect, and it cannot be wondered at if people ask why we need to be hindered, coerced, and robbed by a State that blunders in every step it takes—a government, in fact, that is more fallible than the people it insists on ruling. Further, "Gracchus" tells us if the people of this country are sufficiently roused, "they can make their will prevail on any subject whatever within the scope of human capacity." Let us rouse them, then, and they will be able to accomplish for themselves that which government ever fails to do.

THE MARTYRDOM OF FRANCISCO FERRER.

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MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

II.

THE INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

If Anarchism, like all other revolutionary movements, originated among the people during the tumult of strife, and not in a scientist's study, it is important, nevertheless, to know the position it occupies among the various currents of scientific and philosophic thought that exist at the present time. What is its attitude in respect to these divers currents? To which of them does it turn for support? Which method of research does it make use of in order to prove its conclusions? In other words, to what school of Philosophy of Law does Anarchy belong? With what current of modern science does it show most affinity?

In view of the infatuation for metaphysical economics which we have recently seen in Socialist circles, this question presents considerable interest. I will therefore try to reply to it as briefly and simply as possible, avoiding all difficult terms when they can be avoided.

The intellectual movement of the nineteenth century originated from the works written by Scotch and French philosophers in the middle and towards the end of the preceding century.

The awakening of thought which took place in those times stimulated these thinkers with the desire of encompassing all human knowledge in a general system—a System of Nature. Putting aside the scholastic and metaphysical views of the Middle Ages, they had the courage to conceive all Nature—the universe of stars, our solar system, our globe, the development of plants, of animals, and of human society on its surface—as a series of facts to be studied in the same way as natural sciences are.

Making use of the true scientific method, the inductive-deductive method, they undertook the study of all facts presented to us by Nature—whether belonging to the world of stars or of animals, or to that of beliefs or human institutions—absolutely in the same way as a naturalist would study questions of physical science. They began by collecting facts, and when they ventured upon generalisations, they resorted to induction. They sometimes made hypotheses, but they attributed no more importance to these suppositions than Darwin³ attributed to his hypothesis concerning the origin of new species by means of natural selection in the struggle for existence, or that Mendeléeff⁴ attributes to his "periodic law." They looked upon them as suppositions affording a temporary explanation ("working hypotheses") and facilitating the grouping of facts, as well as their subsequent study; but these suppositions were not accepted before they were confirmed by applying them to a multitude of facts, and explained in a theoretical, deductive way; and they were not considered as natural "laws"—that is, *proved* generalisations—so long as they had not been carefully verified, and until the *causes* of their constant exactitude had been explained.

* *

When the centre of the philosophic movement was transferred from Scotland and England to France, the French philosophers, with that perception of system which belongs to the French thinkers, began to construct all human sciences, both natural and historical, on a general plan and on the same principles. They

³ Darwin, Charles (1809-1882), the most renowned naturalist of our own times. Science owes to him that he proved the variability of the species of plants and animals by such a rich mass of facts that the whole science of organic beings (Biology) felt the effect of his work. Lamarck had already maintained in 1801-9 the variability of species and the descent of all species of plants and animals from some common ancestors. Darwin worked out this hypothesis on a scientific basis, and endeavoured to show that, given the immense number of individual variations which continually appear in every species, natural selection in the struggle for life (or the survival of the fittest) would be quite sufficient to explain the gradual development of all the existing species of plants and animals, including man, and to account for the wonderful accommodation of most of them to their surroundings from the action alone of natural causes, without the intervention of a guiding power. His theories were admirably explained in a very simple form by Huxley ("Lectures to Working Men"). His two chief works are "Origin of Species," 1859, and "Descent of Man," 1871.

⁴ Mendeléeff, a remarkable Russian chemist (1834-1907), best known for his discovery of the "Periodic Law of Elements." It is known that all the bodies which we find on the earth's surface, whether living or dead matter, are composed of some 80 or 90 different bodies, which cannot be decomposed, and therefore are named *elements*. These enter among themselves into an infinite number of combinations. These *elements*, Mendeléeff discovered, if we write them down in the order of the increasing complexity of their molecules, can be disposed in a table containing eight vertical columns and twelve horizontal lines. It appears, then, that all the elements placed in each column will have some chemical properties in common; so also all the elements inscribed in each horizontal row—the energy of the chemical properties increasing in each row as you go from Column 1 to Column 8. This suggests the idea (1) that the molecule of each element is probably a complex system of still smaller molecules (or rather atoms) in continual movement round each other—like the planets Jupiter or Saturn, with their several moons; and (2) that in the structure of these systems there is a certain *periodicity*, i.e., a repetition of some scheme of structure. This discovery has immensely helped the development of chemistry.

attempted to construct "*generalised knowledge*"—that is, the philosophy of the Universe and its life—upon a strictly scientific basis. They consequently put aside all metaphysical constructions of the preceding philosophers, and explained all phenomena by the action of those same physical forces (that is to say, mechanical actions and reactions) that sufficed them to explain the origin and the evolution of the terrestrial globe.

It is said that when Napoleon I. remarked to Laplace⁵ that in his "Exposition of the System of the Universe" the name of God was nowhere to be found, Laplace answered: "I nowhere felt the need of that hypothesis." But Laplace did more. He never resorted either to the grand metaphysical words behind which lie the incomprehension or the obscure semi-comprehension of phenomena, together with the inability to consider facts in their concrete form, as measurable quantities. Laplace dispensed with Metaphysics as well as with the hypothesis of a Creator; and although his "Exposition of the System of the Universe" contains no mathematical calculations and was written in a style comprehensible to all educated readers, mathematicians could later on express each separate thought of that work in mathematical equations—that is to say, as conditions of equality between two or more given quantities. So exactly had Laplace thought out every detail of his work.

* *

What Laplace did for the celestial mechanics, the French philosophers of the eighteenth century did also for the study of most phenomena of life, as well as for those of the human understanding and feeling (psychology). They gave up the metaphysics that prevailed in the works of their predecessors and in those of the German philosopher, Kant.

It is known, indeed, that Kant, for instance, explained man's moral feeling by saying that it represents "a categorical imperative," and that a particular principle of behaviour is obligatory "if we conceive it as a law capable of universal application." But every word in this definition represents something nebulous and incomprehensible ("imperative" and "categorical," "law," "universal"!) instead of material facts, known to us all, and of which he attempted to give the explanation.

The French Encyclopaedists⁶ could not be content with such "grand words" by way of "explanations." Like their Scotch and English predecessors, when they wanted to explain whence man obtained his conception of good and evil, they did not insert, as Goethe said, "a little word where the ideas were wanting." They studied man himself; and, like Hutcheson (1725), and later on Adam Smith in his best work, "The Origin of Moral Feeling," they found that the moral sentiment of man derives its origin from a feeling of pity and of sympathy which we feel towards those who suffer; that it springs from our capacity of identifying ourselves with others; so much so that we almost feel physical pain when we see a child beaten in our presence, and our nature revolts at such behaviour.

Beginning with such observations as these and with well-known facts, the Encyclopaedists arrived at broad generalisations. By this method they really *explained* moral feeling, which is a complex fact, by showing from which simpler facts it originates. But they never put, instead of known and *comprehensible facts*, *incomprehensible* and nebulous words, which explained absolutely nothing—such words as "imperative" and "categorical," or "universal law."

The advantage of the latter method is obvious. Instead of looking for an "inspiration from on high," instead of seeking for a supernatural origin, placed outside of humanity, for the moral sense, they said: "Here is your human feeling of pity and sympathy, inherited by man at his very origin, which man has confirmed by his observations of his fellow creatures, and perfected little by little by his experience of social life."

* *

We thus see that the thinkers of the eighteenth century did not change their method when they passed from the stars and physical bodies to the world of chemical reactions, or from the physical and chemical world to the life of plants and animals, to the development of economical and political forms of society, and finally, to the evolution of the moral sense, the religions, and so on. The method remained the same. To all branches of science they applied the *inductive method*. And neither in the study of religions, nor in the analysis of the moral sense and in that of

⁵ Laplace, Pierre (1749-1827), one of the greatest astronomers and mathematicians of all ages. His chief works are: "Exposition of a System of the Universe," in which he explained the probable, purely physical origin of our solar system out of a mass of incandescent gaseous matter; and "Treatise of Celestial Mechanics." He solved all problems of astronomy purely by a physical analysis.

⁶ The Encyclopaedists.—This is the name given to the founders of, the contributors to, and the publishers of the great French "Encyclopaedia" (1751). The most prominent among them were D'Alembert and Diderot. This work was of immense importance for the philosophical development of Europe, because not only was it an endeavour to give the whole of the knowledge of the day in Mathematics, Natural Sciences, History, Art and Literature, all treated in an impartial way; but it also was the organ of all the thinkers of that time for the advanced, irreligious, rationalist thought of France in the eighteenth century. The name of Encyclopaedists is also extended to all those who shared their ideas.

thought altogether, did they find a single case in which this method failed, or in which another method was necessary. Nowhere did they find themselves compelled to have recourse to metaphysical conceptions (immortal soul, "imperative and categorical laws" inspired by a superior being, etc.), or to any sort of purely dialectic method. And consequently they endeavoured to explain the whole of the universe and all its phenomena in the same way, as naturalists.

During those memorable years of awakening of scientific thought, the Encyclopaedists built their monumental "Encyclopaedia." Laplace published his "System of the Universe," and Holbach his "System of Nature." Lavoisier⁷ asserted the indestructibility of matter, and consequently of energy and movement. Lomonósov⁸, inspired by Bayle, sketched already at that time his mechanical theory of heat; Lamarck⁹ explained the origin of the infinitely varied species of plants and animals by adaptation to their divers surroundings; Diderot gave an explanation of moral feeling, of moral customs, of primitive and religious institutions, without having recourse to inspiration from above; Rousseau endeavoured to explain the birth of political institutions following upon a social contract—that is to say, by an act of human will. In short, there was not a sphere which they did not study by means of facts, by the same method of scientific induction and deduction verified by facts.

Of course, more than one error was committed in that great and bold attempt. There, where knowledge was wanting, erroneous and unconfirmed suppositions were sometimes made. But a new method had been applied to the whole of human knowledge, and, thanks to this new method, the errors themselves were easily recognised and corrected later on. By this means the nineteenth century received the inheritance of a powerful instrument of research that allowed us to build our whole conception of the universe on a scientific basis, and to cast away the prejudices that obscured it, as well as the nebulous words that meant nothing, but, from fear of religious prosecution, were thrust in everywhere in order to get rid of difficult questions.

(To be continued.)

EVOLUTION OF ANARCHISM.

By W. TCHERKESOFF.

III.—NEGATION OF STATE. POLITICAL REASONS.

If the State by its economic action ruins the people and develops the social parasitism of a large bureaucracy, by its political and social functions it hampers the individual and collective initiative, intellectual as well as social. Even the most advanced democratic States have their official morality and their standard conceptions of a citizen's duty. From very childhood this State morality, with its obedience to the established order, is inculcated in the children's mind. The barbarity of militarism and of police oppression, with its spy system, capitalist and bureaucratic parasitism are held up to the children in schools as the most sacred institutions for the safeguarding of the community. Emperors, ministers and generals are urging on young soldiers the duty of absolute obedience, to kill and shoot anybody, even their fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers—a monstrosity never practised even among wild beasts. Everywhere the rule of the majority is preached, and the submission of the minority as the foundation of social justice.

It is true that democracy, by successive struggles and revolutions, has conquered the right of the minority to think and believe without being exterminated as the Albigenes or Camisardes, or burned by the Inquisition as Giordano Bruno and thousands of heretics.

Nevertheless, till now every innovator, every advanced newly-created party, as, for instance, the Anarchist Party, is always more or less persecuted. Even in the most liberal countries, as England and France, peaceful philosophers, if they are daring thinkers, are often boycotted and ridiculed, and left without support often during their whole lifetime.

And we all know that the progress of humanity is due to the

initiative and daring of self-sacrificing individuals and enthusiastic minorities.

As the contemporary State is an outcome of conquest, it scarcely ever corresponds to one nationality, but includes several dominated by one nationality more numerous, brutal or warlike than the others.

Exceptions are the United States and Switzerland, the first having no dominating nationalities, but being a newly created, powerful democracy of settlers from all nationalities, not living in separate territories but intermixed. The second, Switzerland, comprises four nationalities (German, French, Italian, Romain), in their respective territories enjoying full autonomy. All other States oppress more or less the smaller nationalities. The Poles in Germany, the Czechs, Slavonians, Italians, and Roumanians in Austria, the Irish in England, the Poles, Finns and Georgians in Russia—all are examples well known by everybody.

Even in States homogenous at first sight, as France, Italy and Spain, there are always local traditions and aspirations of autonomy of town or province, which are crushed in the name of the State by the central government. The splendid uprising of the Parisian people in 1871, with its device, "la Commune Autonome," and a free federation of the 36,000 Communes of France, is the best expression of popular aspirations to free the nation from the tutelage and oppression of the State and centralised government.

If general considerations bring us to the complete negation of the State as a form of a future Communist society, the existing system of oppression of small nationalities and autonomous communes and provinces by the centralised government obliges us Anarchists to consider our attitude towards the State as Revolutionists.

In the economic struggle we are obliged to go with the workers together in strikes and other ways for the partial amelioration of their existing conditions. Certainly the eight-hour day, old-age pension, sanitary inspection, and other Labour legislation, from our point of view, are not only not Socialism but simply palliatives, and even as such not very effective in appeasing the acute misery of the productive classes. But unfortunately the great masses of producers do not fight under the banner of Social Revolution. Nevertheless, our comrades are always in the first ranks of the economic battle, knowing perfectly well that even the smallest concession can be wrested from the governing classes only by struggle and agitation, and that on the other side this very fight will lead to the spreading of Socialism and the revolutionary spirit.

So in political life it is the duty of us Anarchists to help in every way, in the struggle for autonomy, the small nationalities, provinces and communes.

It has been said very often that a community or small nation will be organised on the same principle of authority as a large State. As proof of this assertion, Athens, which poisoned Socrates, and Geneva, which burned Servetus—both victims of oppression—are often quoted.

Nevertheless, our revolutionary principle obliges us to help in any attempt of communes and small nations to break the power and control of contemporary kingdoms, the Czardoms, empires, and centralised republics, with their millions of soldiers, police and bureaucrats, the disciplined and obedient tools of oppression in the hands of a central power.

As in the economic struggle the organised workers have more chance to impose their claims on an individual employer than on a union of employers or a trust, so in political life it is easier for a revolutionary democracy to make its influence felt on the governing classes of an autonomous commune or a small republic than in a huge centralised empire as Germany or Russia.

Besides, history shows that the greatest progress was always accomplished by autonomous communities and small nationalities. Science and art, industry and navigation in ancient Greece were flourishing most at the time of the existence of the numerous small independent federated republics. We see the same in modern history. Italian arts and sciences had reached their highest development at the time of the Renaissance in the numerous small flourishing and independent republics.

At present also, if we compare what is done for instance for popular education or the economic and political amelioration of the working classes and peasantry in the autonomous small republics and states on the one side, and in the large empires of militarism and bureaucracy on the other side, we find that 22 autonomous cantons of Switzerland, 45 States of North America, nine provinces of Canada, and the young Confederation of Australia and New Zealand, with a population of 90,000,000, have 1,210 colleges, universities, and professional high schools, with 267,300 students in all, an average of 228 students in each

(Continued on page 86.)

⁹ Lamarck, Jean Baptiste (1744-1820), French naturalist. He made an attempt at giving a complete classification of both the animals and plants. Having constructed a complete system, which was based on the variability of the animal and vegetable species ("Philosophie Zoologique"), he must be considered as the chief forerunner of Darwin. He explained the variation of organisms by their capacity to accommodate themselves to their surroundings, as also by their use or disuse of their different organs.

⁷ Lavoisier, Antoine (1743-1794), great French founder of chemistry. Was the first to decompose water into its component elements, oxygen and hydrogen. Studied the theory of burning, of heat, and of fermentation. Was the first to prove the indestructibility of matter by experiment. Chief work: "Traité élémentaire de Chimie."

⁸ Lomonósov, Mikhail (1711-1765), Russian writer in most varied branches. Author of odes, a Russian grammar, works of history, and several important works on physics, mineralogy, chemistry, and physical geography. In one of these last (on the Arctic regions) he expressed very definitely the mechanical theory of heat.

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THE CONTINUATION OF FERRER'S WORK.

Why did Ferrer's educational work rouse such sympathies in all of us? It is because his efforts tended to raise education from its present barren level—which makes school more like one of the habitual diseases of the infant age than anything else—to the bright heights of the regions of science, freedom and beauty. We cannot yet realise our aims of freedom and plenty for all on a large scale in actual life; we realise part of it in our minds by freeing ourselves from current prejudice and thinking for ourselves. But in the meanwhile nearly all children are handed over to routine educators, who cram them with catechism, patriotism and a minimum of indifferent knowledge with a maximum of waste of time on useless trifles. Instead of growing to be young people with unprejudiced minds, a desire for knowledge, and the love of freedom and the beautiful, they are eager only to get away from compulsory education, and, which is worse, they are saturated with all the current falsehoods about religion and property, the means to get on in life by pushing and crouching and so on; hence it requires all the efforts of propagandists to rescue a few of them from sinking into the abyss of vulgarity which absorbs nearly all of them. The usual pedagogues never leave this low level of a minimum in education; reforms consist in still further reducing this minimum, or condensing it like pills for the children to swallow more easily.

These methods are but part of a well-calculated system, which carries out that principle of a bare minimum for the people as a sure means of perpetuating the present division of rich and poor. Whenever one hears of "popular prices," articles "for the masses," "for the democracy," etc., a stroke of this reactionary business is done.

Ferrer and the *Escuela Moderna*, at last, by making the education they gave large and rich, by bringing the children in contact with the best there is in science and art, by treating them as human beings on the road from ignorance and dependence to knowledge and freedom—and not as geese to be merely stuffed, or as criminals under an iron rule—by these methods, at last, they were endeavouring to make the coming generation friends and comrades, and not—as present education makes them—beforehand enemies of the progressive elements of their time.

The importance of these efforts cannot be overrated even in countries where, to all external appearance, education is so much more advanced than it is in Spain. Education is neglected everywhere, because it is everywhere the interest of the privileged classes to keep it on a minimum level as far as the people is concerned. It is the forerunner and complement of militarism—the children's minds are levelled, uniformed, disciplined, rebels are singled out and crushed, the maxims of obedience, selfish ambition, etc., safely inoculated; all leave school ready for a life of submission and resignation, hoping to advance in life over the shoulders of their fellows, believing in the stability and righteousness of all established institutions, property, the State, the Church, before all—soldiers could not do better! The practical monopoly of education which reactionary elements have held for all ages is the real secret of the continuation of the system of "voluntary servitude" under which we suffer; for if this submission was not voluntary—I mean, instinctive, acquired by education and habits—with nearly all, force alone could never uphold a system under which the many are deprived of all for the benefit of the few.

This baneful monopoly dates back to the most primitive ages, when clever persons, combining traditional and newly gathered

knowledge, by and by formed the sorcerers' and priests' castes, exploiting their accidental superiority over their ignorant fellow men, and perpetuating it by excluding others from their sources of information. Education became a monopoly of the rich and powerful and their willing instruments, the priests and State functionaries. This principle, like so many others dating from the same dark ages, is still in force; a minimum of instruction is doled out to the people to-day to make them fit for work, but it is given with reluctance, and the privilege of real education is jealously guarded for the rich and those who will become their tools to rule the masses; and yet poor, scanty education is to the brain what insufficient food, unhealthy surroundings are to other parts of the body. A man stunted in childhood, when the brain develops, never gets real mental independence, and his efforts towards it are beset with difficulties which those who were educated under favourable conditions hardly can imagine. Thus education, the means to shape the brains of the coming generation, is the inmost rampart of the stronghold from which privilege rules and exploits the people to-day the same as ages ago; and Ferrer, trying to scale that rampart, offering large and rich education to all, was a dangerous rebel in the eyes of all governments and all capitalists—and so he was coolly and deliberately murdered.

He will be revenged, if his work is continued, nay, is extended over the whole earth, to every town and village where his murderers, king and ministers, were held up to execration. There will be streets and places named after him in a hundred French and Italian towns, soon also in Spain, after the downfall of the expiring monarchy. Well and good, but let there be Ferrer schools, *Escuelas modernas* in all these towns and villages where the best instincts of people of all descriptions were roused by his death. Reply to the statesmen and priests who murdered the first who stormed their monopoly of mis-education, of non-education of the people, by another simultaneous effort in favour of real education. Education, starting from the idea that children must have the best of the best; that science and art are not luxuries of the rich, but that each human intellect must be helped on the road to try to approach them; that children are to become free men and women and not pliable, submissive beings. Such education as Ferrer gave is needed everywhere, here and now, not in a society of the future which, without a large growth of real education, will be difficult to obtain and to maintain. How is this to be done? By voluntary co-operation, which is the way of direct action in this case. Co-operation built itself up by the side of commercialism; free co-operative modern schools can be set up by the side of the State and priest ruled schools of to-day. A thousand Ferrers shall arise for the one they murdered; new generations will then no longer be enslaved almost from the cradle, and the economic and political obstacles in our way will be thrown aside some day by the will of men who know what freedom means.

N.

WALDHEIM MEMORIA.

November's gloomy shades again
Make drear our Northern sky;
In Waldheim withered leaves lie deep,
Where our brave comrades lie.

Within our minds no gloomy thoughts
Arise on this proud morn;
No withered hope our vision dims,
But faith anew is born.

Our grand ideal flamed o'er earth,
And pierced the toilers' gloom,
When proud Columbia in her fear
Shrieked out their awful doom.

Grim gibbet, cell, nor outlaw ban,
Nor Hell, nor soldiers' shell,
Can ever Freedom's light dull down,
Or break its glorious spell.

Dead Comrades? No! Death comes not near
Their high and spotless fame;
They live wherever men hold dear
Fair Freedom's glorious name.

Paisley.

J. S. MASON.

MEMORIAL HALL FERRER PROTEST MEETING.

A splendid meeting was held here on Thursday, October 21. Kropotkin's speech has been printed verbatim, and copies can be had from FREEDOM Office on payment of postage.

FRANCISCO FERRER.

MURDERED OCTOBER 13, 1909.

He strove to spread the light in darkest Spain,
To teach the child to love and seek the Truth,
To liberate the unfolding mind of youth
That Church and State by crafty lies enchain.
Lest their dominion o'er the toilers wane,
Lest Tyranny be foiled by spirits freed,
The vile oppressors planned this bloody deed—
And by their licensed murderers he was slain.

Another victim of the tyrants' laws;
Another crime by soldier, priest and king;
Another blow at human liberty!
Comrades of Spain in Freedom's deathless Cause!
From every land your brothers' protests ring:
What shall your answer to this outrage be?

T. S.

My Last Chat with Ferrer.

BY ONE WHO KNEW HIM.

It is almost impossible to write or to speak of a loved friend when the wound of his death is still fresh in our heart, and our eyes full of tears. But, in spite of all, I feel it my duty to consecrate some lines to the martyr's memory.

The last long chat I had with him was in "Mas Germinal," near Mongat, on July 3, viz., some days before the general strike protesting against the war, which strike ended in an unexpected manner.

I had received a letter inviting me to spend a day with him. I well remember him. It seems as though I see him now at the Mongat station waiting for me. It was ten o'clock. He was wearing a simple linen suit and a straw hat, like an ordinary farmer. He received me with his accustomed amiability, and embraced me very affectionately. On the road to "Mas Germinal" he spoke to me about his stay at his brother's.

"You know," he said, "that my dear niece died, and on account of her illness I am here. I intended to stay in London some months more in order to improve my knowledge of the English language, and search for something good and useful for our schools. In England there are many thinkers, and although their writings are intended for their own people, we can use them by making a few explanations in the translations of them. When we reach home, I will show you a book I have already read, and I should like to publish it. Have the kindness to translate it into Spanish, if you consider it in accordance with our aims. The passages marked with blue pencil, and others with ink, you may take out; they touch upon religious matters, and our books are for laic teaching."

The good man who politely begged for my opinion and my help, was helping me by giving me that work of translation!

The "dangerous" book, which I had not time to finish before I left Barcelona, was "The Children's Book of Moral Lessons," by Gould; printed at a publishing firm in Fleet Street, London. English people should know the book so that they may be able to judge the "terrible evil" the educationist Ferrer was doing in the land of Maria Santissima.

On arriving at the farm "Mas Germinal," I met Mrs. Ferrer, also wearing the plain country dress, and managing the house; in the garden I encountered Ferrer's brother bending over his beloved soil, gathering his strawberries to carry to Barcelona market early next morning; his wife was also busily employed. Everybody producing something, and I wondered if the martyr was really rich.

The house was a modest one, built in the old-fashioned Spanish style; and the furniture was certainly neither choice nor expensive.

The happiness of those people, who, instead of living in the stupid manner of the *riches coillons*, preferred to be useful to their fellows by enlightening their minds—I marvel now that it could be destroyed, and in the name of justice!

Before dinner we chatted incessantly about "our" schools—as he called them—encouraging me to take charge of a small one, to make my initiation or *début*, because I had never made special pedagogic studies.

"Don't worry about those trifles," he said to me kindly; "the aims of the modern teacher ought to be to teach the child how to use his brains; to form from every child a being with

his own will, able to know by his own conscience what is wrong and what is right. We do not intend to make lawyers or physicians; we desire only to give the first instruction, free, absolutely free, of religious and some social prejudices. It is a fact," he continued, "a thousand times proved, that the greatest educationists were not professional teachers. You are still young, and maybe some day you will become one of my best collaborators," he finished, smilingly, putting his hand affectionately on my shoulder.

Our unfortunate friend, indeed, is a proof of the truth of his opinions, because he was in his country one of the pioneers of the mode of instruction in the future.

At dinner-time on the table was a big dish containing rice and chicken—chickens are cheap in the Spanish country—and Ferrer said to me laughingly, "Let me help you well, because there are no more dishes besides this one."

The conversation during dinner was chiefly carried on by his brother José, about the farm, potatoes, onions, etc. Then I understood quite well the origin of the saying of their friends. Francisco's friends said, "He is a fanatic about his schools"; José's friends said, "He is a fanatic about his ground and his potatoes." Certainly they were two fanatics, but their fanaticism could never be like that of the capitalists and priests, who only desire money and power.

Nevertheless, one brother has been dispossessed of his farm, and the other martyred by the blind vengeance of priest and capitalist.

In the afternoon we went to the cultivated piece of land, and again the conversation turned on "our" schools. Ah! this noble fanatic, always thinking of the welfare of others.

"I have an idea," he said suddenly, taking me by the arm, "merely a dream, even Soledad—Mrs. Ferrer—does not know it. You know," he added, "that I intend to extend my publishing business, and to establish in Barcelona another 'Modern School,' better than that which was closed years ago, furnished with the most modern material and with a staff who have improved their knowledge in Paris. Afterwards, and *this* is my dream, I should like to build here a country house, where the teachers of our schools could enjoy their last years. Do you think the place is nice? Look at these beautiful views, the trees, the sea, and over all plenty of sun. It is only a dream," he said sadly; "I do not know if it will be possible or not. One finds so many difficulties in carrying out educational work in a country where the priests are in power!"

At five o'clock we entered the cottage to take tea, an English tea, which reminded me of my first stay in this country last year.

The brother José and his wife were in Australia for many years, and therefore they speak English like natives. Mrs. Ferrer—Soledad—was trying to compete with me in my broken pronunciation of English, and they were all very much amused at our efforts.

When about six o'clock my regretted friend and I reached Mongat station, he pointed out to me a man of repulsive appearance on the platform, and in a low voice, and smiling, said to me, "That is 'my man'"—this was the name he gave to the secret policemen ordered by the Government to follow him everywhere when in Spain. "Do you not think it is a funny affair? Happily, this one is very lazy, and he does not like to disturb himself to follow me up to 'Mas Germinal.' Only when I go to Barcelona, he accompanies me."

The train arrived; we shook hands, and I entered a second-class car of the Spanish "tortoise railway." The train departed. Once more my feelings of admiration and love for that noble man increased. In his private life and in his public affairs he was the same. He *practised* his ideals. No wonder he lost his life for them!

This is the "terrible criminal" who, according to Maura's Cabinet, was at that time arranging the burning of the convents and the profanation of the graves.

One of the most frequent, and at the same time unjust, charges made against him by the Jesuits and the rotten Catalonian capitalists of the so-called "Liga Regionalista," is that in the laic schools dangerous doctrines were taught against the "pure" society, home life, order, holy jingoism, and so on.

I was in one of the best Rationalist schools in Barcelona for some months, serving what one may call my "apprenticeship" at the modern teaching; therefore I am able to testify that not a word was said there which the most strict and severe judge, if

honourable, could call law-breaking. No incitement to violent methods, no insults against the priests. Nothing, absolutely nothing which was not perfectly within the limits of justice and truth.

In arithmetic, Rationalist teachers must not say that 2 and 2 make 6, like a Catholic teacher can do by the Holy Spirit.

In history, one cannot tell the children that the "Holy Inquisition" was by the order of a capricious God on behalf of his glory.

In astronomy, a Rationalist teacher is not allowed to say that the world was made for the sake of fat priests to control our consciences.

In morals, if a Rationalist teacher will do his duty, he ought to deny that good deeds must be done for fear of being roasted in hell, or to gain a place in some paradise where nobody works and nobody is poor; but explain that one must do right for right's sake.

In reading, if there is a word the teacher thinks the children do not understand, he asks for the meaning and explains it if necessary, in order to avoid reading without knowing the real meaning of the words or phrases.

In natural history, botany, physics, etc., Rationalist teaching requires that truth must be given in a plain and simple manner.

Regarding religious affairs and the glory (?) of brothers killing each other, as now in Morocco, for the benefit of a mining company in which are some Spanish aristocrats mixed with a lot of Madrid's butchers as shareholders—in Ferrer's schools no approbation was given to those matters, because at home everybody may teach his children as he wishes concerning his own ideas. In the Catholic or official schools in Spain, theology and the blind approval of the stupid wishes of the priests and the tyrants who are in power is the chief, if not the only purpose of that "teaching," or, in other words, of that "darkening of brains."

The Jesuits, the Catalonian capitalists of the "Liga," Maura and his friends, I am almost sure know as well as I what kind of instruction was given in the schools which caused the murder of the noble founder and supporter; but they were anxious to crush Ferrer at any cost, because his schools might destroy the power of that black confederation of tyrants. Therefore they were, and are, trying to confound the educationist Ferrer with the "Apaches" who have been given the very much calumniated name of Anarchist.

Truth will shine some day, and those who now approve the murder of Ferrer, because they did not know him personally or his work, will be the first to render homage to this martyr of modern civilisation. The man whose death can cause tears even to those who only knew him by his work and good deeds, and can arouse an almost international protest against the murderers, certainly was not an "Apache."

Rest in peace, beloved friend; thy memory will always live in my heart and in the hearts of all those who in any way fight for freedom.

RENATO RUGIERES.

London, October, 1909.

(Continued from page 83.)

college. The huge empires of Russia, Germany, Austria and France, with a population of 294,000,000, have 184 universities, etc., with 186,200 students in all, with an average of 1,011 students in each college.

Apart from the fact that the autonomous countries possess over a thousand colleges and universities more than the large military empires, those educational establishments are so distributed all over the country that they are accessible even to the rural populations, whilst in those centralised States they are only in the large centres and accessible for the aristocracy and capitalist class.

Besides, the United States of America possess alone 6,896 free libraries, with 54,420,000 volumes.

* * * * *

As in the economic struggle we inaugurated and propagated direct revolutionary action of the workers against legality and compromise preached by Social Democrats and Radical-Socialists, so, in political life our duty is to help every revolt against the existing order. Our object must always be to act against the State, its order and its laws, by direct and revolutionary action, as in the struggle against capitalism and exploitation by Revolutionary Syndicalism and the General Strike.

(To be continued.)

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

THE INTERNATIONAL PROTEST.

Ferrer's will, dictated during the night preceding his murder, begins thus: "I protest before all with all possible energy against the unexpected situation in which I am placed by the penalty inflicted upon me, and declare myself convinced that ere very long my innocence shall be publicly recognised." A few hours later he was shot; a few hours later again the earth began to ring for days with cries of indignation of all peoples; no one officially connected with Spain, in not a few localities no priest, dared to show his head; and these spontaneous outbursts of what we may call the world's heart went on until the infamous Maura Cabinet slunk away, and a supposed Liberal Cabinet seems to some to give guarantees that the horrors of Montjuich will not be repeated in this form. The result is small, piteously small, but the world likes to be deceived. It would not believe in the possibility of Ferrer's execution, and the efforts of so many to rouse the general feelings before it was too late were not efficiently seconded. Too late—this terrible lesson remains and poisons the joy we feel over so many generous acts and words all over the globe, over this first act of *international direct action of all nations*.

Such a variety of protests was never seen, and one of its reasons was that Ferrer's work appealed to so many spheres of human progress. He was an educator but also a Freethinker; a friend of all workers' movements, of all phases of Anarchist thought and action, and of that coming Spanish revolution, whatever form it may take, the prelude of which were the recent events in Catalonia. He was a whole man, and we see that such men are wanted, that sympathies go towards them, and confidence is instinctively withheld from one-sided men, who grasp but small parts of the problems of the coming struggle. It is far from me to proclaim the superiority of such men; all I mean to say is that too specialised propaganda, useful as it is to make converts one by one, is not sufficient to meet the demands of revolutionary situations; and if we were all of us, the unknown comrades, in much closer contact than we are with all progressive aspirations around us, our ideas would appeal to an infinitely larger number of people, as did those of Ferrer, who so marvellously understood how to spread the light round him in all spheres wherever he went. Many are disgusted with politicians, and crave to see honest men; but where shall they look for them? Syndicalists are absorbed by the daily struggle, and become hard, one-sided class leaders. Tolstoy, whose intelligence pierces all the evils of statecraft, is the dark enemy of human joy and happiness and of all forms of revolt, though revolt is naturally inborn in man. Ferrer, though yet insufficiently known, just became the upholder of a free and full life, and all hearts flew to him when State and priests decided his destruction. He was what Anarchists are very well in theory, but too little in practice—a synthesis of all free aspirations, of Anarchy realised as far as it is possible in the world in which we live—and the instinctive sympathies he evoked everywhere are the best symptoms for the bright future of our ideas.

But when all nations, feeling but one for the moment in the generous impulse to help the 1,200 prisoners of Montjuich and put a stop to their assassination, wish to act to that effect, who bars their way, refuses the slightest help, and has the people trampled upon by police and dragoons if they stir in the streets? Their own Governments do this, anxious only to protect the Embassies and their emblems, envying in all probability their colleague Maura, who is master of the life or death of 1,200 rebels. No wonder, for those who get to the top in the Governmental career are a natural selection of the most cruel, heartless and callous people, who are warranted safe against any humane feelings. And diplomacy, a body where these requirements are coupled with personal insignificance and dressing and dancing qualities, is the fine flower of Government to whom the relations of the nations are entrusted. The Ferrer movement showed at one flash how obsolete and absurd this system is. In the early ages, when tribes had continuous feuds, embassies worked for temporary peace, and diplomacy may have been of some use at that time. But to-day the nations want to be friends with each other; the Governments only keep up the fiction that they are enemies and cannot have any relations except through their intermediary. Of course, international relations have sprung up in a thousand ways; no nation lives without continuous intercourse with most others; but so much more Governments and diplomacy maintain their preposterous pretensions and do all they can to keep the nations separated and hostile to each other. Thus, when we are unexpectedly confronted with the Montjuich horrors or with White Terror in Russia, every effort to make the Governments, the alleged servants of the people, bestir themselves, is hopeless. Whether Liberal, Radical or Conservative, they feel in the first place solidary with all other Governments against their common enemy: the friends of freedom in each country.

The nations are as yet inexperienced in this direct action to make their will efficient, to which their heart impels them. The Ferrer movement was a splendid beginning in this new struggle to help one another over Custom barriers and State-fostered prejudice. Various were the means resorted to. Parliamentary protest played a miserable rôle, snubbed everywhere by the mouthpieces of the Foreign Offices to whom assassination in their neighbour's house is of no interest whatever. Meetings and articles did their work, but the daily Press did

their best to thwart the movement. It is not forgotten how, in our days of the highest perfection of reporting on useless subjects, a false report on the Court-martial was widely spread and created confusion in the very last days before Ferrer's death when hours were costly, and many would have stirred if they had known the truth before. Street demonstrations were more powerful; in Paris they were of an elementary strength, and the people took the right of public procession, hitherto denied to them, at one bold stroke. General strikes of twenty-four hours' duration happened in Rome and other Italian towns, and in Trieste. They were welcome, but they did not go to the core of the question: to find a way to exercise direct pressure on Spain. By the way, the school children leaving the schools in Trieste was a touching and hopeful tribute of the young to Ferrer the educator, the victim of the priests and the State, those perpetual enemies of light.

More direct means were the boycott of Spanish ships, the refusal to handle Spanish merchandise in seaports, a movement beginning in Marseilles and Cette, and suspended only temporarily, to begin afresh if any further executions take place in Montjuich—and in the meantime it will have been better prepared, and fought to the bitter end if necessary. Quite new means were resorted to in Rome and other Italian towns. In the latter, priests and churches were attacked; in Rome the idea was mooted to seize the Vatican and to get hold of the Pope, the cardinals and the Jesuits, to keep them as hostages to prevent further murder in Spain being done at their instigation or with their tacit connivance. Nothing was perhaps done in this matter, and the practical realisation might have been difficult, but somehow the idea sprang up, and it is there now and it has come to stay, I think. Further excesses of the priests, no matter where they happen, will find the Italians awake, who will try to seize the hydra at the neck. But it is useless to make forecasts; so many new things happened during these days—the first days since 1848 that the nations seemed to have awakened again—that future movements are sure to bring more gigantic surprises.

When the news reached Paris, early in the afternoon of October 13, a Wednesday, special editions of *L'Humanité* and *La Guerre Sociale* called upon the people: All to the Spanish Embassy, at nine to-night. Large masses went there, and would have left again after giving voice to their indignation, when they were assaulted with furious charges of fists and swords of the "central brigades" of police and mounted guards. These "central brigades" are the scum of the police; those fit for no other work but excelling by brutality, are kept in special barracks, with nothing else to do but to wait until they are, on the occasion of meetings, demonstrations, etc., let loose like wild dogs on the people. This time it happened that they met with unexpected difficulties. The street lights went out suddenly, shots were fired, a policeman killed; light barricades began to be constructed to prevent the advance of cavalry; three motor-buses, set on fire, would have been a more serious obstacle, etc.; in short, the battle was a draw, the police had not been victorious, but had savagely behaved where they could do so safely.

Hervé's paper, *La Guerre Sociale*, the Antimilitarist and Socialist weekly, did grand work in those days. It was once more—the first time had been during the second postal strike—for six days transformed into a daily two-page paper. This is an excellent idea, worthy of imitation everywhere. A daily paper in ordinary times is a burden to an advanced movement; it is bound to sink to the level of ordinary routine journalism, or it has not sufficient circulation and exhausts all financial resources. But to improvise it out of nothing in stirring times, dealing but with the question of the moment, and cried over the town by hundreds of distributors—this is really a means to be heard by the population of the largest city. *La Guerre Sociale* and *L'Humanité* replied to the police assaults of Wednesday by declaring: On Sunday next we mean to be a hundred thousand, and we mean to march through the streets of Paris—come what may. This was a new start for Paris, where the police, Republic or not, is used to assault and break up the smallest procession in the street. The press looked at it with scorn and sneers; the police threatened violence; but the intention was firmly kept, and on Saturday night only Briand intervened, and seeing that to stop the procession would really mean civil war in this case, he acquiesced, and it was made public that the procession would not be interfered with, but must not go nearer the Embassy than a given distance. This was accepted, and now some Socialist busybodies had the bad taste to want to bar the streets themselves in the direction of the Embassy, and in general to play some role in leading and directing the procession as "men of confidence," as they styled themselves for the occasion. They drew up rules, etc., but all this remains on paper. When 50,000 Parisian workers and Revolutionists are on the streets they either make a revolution or they know how to walk straight on, and have no need of these flies on the wheel, the "confidence men," who in reality were conspicuous by their absence, the best thing they could do. The Government did not trust the people, and endless files of dragoons, cuirassiers, infantry, municipal guards, and police marched beside the procession or lined the streets. The manifestants took no notice of them; for two hours and a half the immense mass moved slowly forward, singing all the time "*L'Internationale*," or crying and hooting: *Conspuez Alphonse! A mort l'assassin! Hou, hou, la calotte!* (the priests). *Vive l'Anarchie! Vive la Sociale!* etc. All this happened for the first time in the streets of Paris in a peaceful way, without interference, and the sullen, furious looks of the police showed that they looked upon it as a second defeat; the cavalry, stolid peasants probably, looked unmoved; from the infantry a few sympathetic glances were

noticed here and there by optimists. Some of the police later on had their revenge by chasing about the Sunday crowd in the Tuileries Gardens with drawn swords, and wounding a boy.

To have thus enforced the right of public procession is another act of *Direct Action*, but here and anywhere *Direct Action* is first based on the initiative and energy of a few men. Such men are to-day found everywhere; the simultaneous Ferrer demonstrations all over the globe are the proof of this. There is a lull in the movement just now; the fact that the so-called Liberals knew nothing better than to make General Weyler, of Cuba fame, Governor-General of Catalonia, shows that it is necessary to continue to watch, not to be too late again, as in the case of poor Francisco Ferrer, who lived and worked for the cause of human freedom, and whose death has yet given this wonderful impulse to our cause.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

LIVERPOOL INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL.

On September 26 Comrade Tom Beavan delivered a fine address to our young comrades on "The Spirit of Unrest," showing the spirit of unrest among scientists, sociologists and all people whose minds are healthy. Comparisons were shown from aviators to Barcelona riots, with the obvious moral that contentment meant inaction. The school was closed on October 3 owing to the I.L.P. needing the room. It was thought that if we did not receive a little more financial support our school would most assuredly go under. However, on October 17, a "Friend of Ferrer" volunteered to pay the rent of the room, which has been a burden on the school. The young comrades were delighted when it was announced.

Mat Kavanagh addressed the children on the 10th and 17th. On the latter date Mat dealt with the "Murder of Ferrer," and he was frequently applauded by the children. This is certainly an unusual occurrence with children to applaud in the midst of an address, as they are generally apt to appear indifferent to any shaft of speech which the speaker wishes to drive home. During this meeting, which was certainly a revival of our school, our comrades decided to change the name of the school to the International Modern School in commemoration of Ferrer's execution. On October 24 we had Sydney Woollen, from the International Freethought Society, who delivered a lecture on "Changes," dealing in a simple manner with evolution. Our friend was bombarded with questions, which were not so easily answered as one would think.

I beg to announce the death of our little comrade, Jimmie Mason, a bright little chappie, who died October 23. We extend our heartfelt sympathy to his family in their bereavement. Jimmie was regular in attendance at our meetings, and his presence will sadly be missed by his big and little comrades alike.

We have published a pamphlet, "Martyrdom of Francisco Ferrer," 1d., which can be had at wholesale prices from FREEDOM Office, or from the undersigned at the International Club, 9 Spekeland Buildings, 22 Canning Place, Liverpool.

Picnic Fund.—M. 5s.; deficit 17s.

J. H. DICK.

NEWCASTLE COMMUNIST CLUB.

We held two demonstrations on October 31, in connection with the various I.L.P. and S.D.P. branches of Newcastle and Gateshead, to protest against the murder of Ferrer and the imprisonment of his co-workers. The meetings were very successful, and the following resolution was carried unanimously at both meetings:—"That this meeting protests against the murder of Ferrer by the Spanish Government, and the imprisonment of those persons who have been his co-workers in educational reform, and we sympathise with them in their distress; at the same time calling upon the Government of Spain to release them, and to institute civil courts in place of trial by court-martial." The meeting in the morning on the Sandhill was carried out without interruption, except by a band belonging to a mission. A collection resulted in 14s. 2d., which has been sent on to Comrade Ward, along with the collection which was taken in the evening. The evening meeting was also a success, and the collection amounted to 8s. 5½d. There were five speakers, the chairman at each meeting being a member of the Communist Club.

D. C. THOMPSON.

LEICESTER.

Kean reached us on October 7, and bad weather preventing any meeting, an enjoyable social evening was passed at a comrade's house. On Friday Kean addressed a large crowd of unemployed in the Market Square, and spoke effectively on *Direct Action*. In the evening Kean spoke on "Money as an Obstacle to Exchange." An interesting discussion followed. On the Sunday morning, spite of other meetings, Kean held a good audience; subject, "Knowledge and Belief." In the evening another big crowd came to hear Kean on "What is Anarchism?" Some opposition from S.D.P. members, some of whom went so far as to agree with Anarchism, but maintained we must first pass through State Socialism! Discussion continued till after 11 p.m. Monday evening, October 11, was given over to a recital of Ibsen's "Enemy of the People," which was very much appreciated. Other lectures from Kean were on "Unemployment, its Cause and its

Remedies," "The Murder of Ferrer," and "State Socialism and Anarchism." These finished a most successful course, and as we have some helpful workers here it has been decided to form a group, and to invite Comrade Kaplan to give some lectures. D. JENNETT.

WOOLWICH.

W. R. Pain writes:—On Sunday, October 10, in the morning at Beresford Square, held a good meeting. Subject, "Anarchy and the Ten Commandments," showing the contradiction in present society between precept and practice. On Sunday, 17th, assisted by Comrade Goulding, a meeting was held at Deptford Broadway; subject, "The Folly of Voting." It was pointed out that while nine out of ten of the Bills sent up are consigned to the waste paper basket of the House of Lords, both Houses manage to keep the workers in suspense between poverty and fear.

Secretaries needing lectures can write to FREEDOM Office.

BATTERSEA FREEDOM SOCIETY.

On September 27 there was a large crowd expecting to hear C. Kean, but he failed to appear. So our Comrade Underwood addressed the meeting. He gave an interesting account of Whiteway Colony (Kean having been connected with it). On October 4 and 11 he also addressed the meeting. October 18 we had Frank Kitz and also Ray, who both gave stirring addresses on "Freedom," being frequently applauded.

WALTHAMSTOW.

Some splendid meetings have been held here during the months of August, September, and beginning of October. Rain unfortunately stopped us holding any meetings for the last two weeks. Good audiences have been waiting for us to open our meetings, and to listen to the able addresses delivered by our Comrades Ponder and Barrett. As elsewhere, the State Socialists have been upset by the exposure of the fallacy of the workers expecting any benefit from Parliamentary action, plenty of questions being put, which were ably answered by our comrades. Fairly good sales of literature. Now the winter is coming on, we are making efforts to get an indoor place, so that we shall be able to carry on lectures during the winter months.

W. FANNER.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- Réformes, Révolution.* By Jean Grave. 363 pp. 3f. 50c. Paris: P. V. Stock, 155 Rue Saint-Honoré.
- Militarism and Revolution.* By Guy A. Aldred. 1d. London: Bakunin Press, 35 Stanlake Road, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Anarchistische Moral.* Von Peter Kropotkin. 15 pfg. Berlin: Freier Arbeiter, Oranienstr. 15.
- Unsere Heimat: Antimilitaristische Szenen und Dialogue.* Von Pierre Ramus. Paris: Dr. Tumarinson, 2 Rue de la Bastille, II.
- Degeneración de la Especie Humana.* By Paul Robin. 10c. Barcelona: Salud y Fuerza, Tapineria 27 y 29.
- Free Press Anthology.* Compiled by Theodore Schroeder. \$2 post-paid. New York: Truth Seeker Company, 62 Vesey Street.
- Socialism Explained.* By Val. McEntee. 1d. London: The Author, 9 Stainforth Road, Walthamstow.
- The Significance of Indian Nationalism.* By H. M. Howsin. 1s. net. London: A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet Street, E.C.
- Annual Report of the Humanitarian League.* London: 53 Chancery Lane, E.C.
- The Flogging of Vagrants.* By Joseph Collinson. 2d. London: Humanitarian League, 53 Chancery Lane, E.C.

All readers interested in "La Vie Naturelle," and the anti-scientific propaganda of Henri Zisly, can obtain his publications from 14 Rue Jean Robert, Paris, XVIII.

GUY ALDRED'S IMPRISONMENT.

We have received the following amounts on behalf of Mrs. Aldred, which will be handed to her. Further amounts received will be acknowledged in these columns:—M. M. Dale 2s. 6d., Anon. 2s. 6d., E. M. 10s., Comp. 1s.

C. H. KEAN'S LECTURES (Newcastle-on-Tyne).

- November 11—I.L.P. Club, 7.30, "Stirner's 'Ego and Its Own.'"
- " 13—Socialist Society, "Anarchism."
- " 14—Communist Club, 7.30, "The Philosophy of Nietzsche."
- " 15—Westfield Hall, Gateshead, "Knowledge and Belief."
- " 17—The Café, Newgate Street, "The Chicago Martyrs."
- " 18—I.L.P. Club, 7.30, "The Quintessence of Ibsen."

Canning Town Anarchist Communist Group.

Commencing on November 7, meetings will be held on Sunday evenings at the "Rose of Denmark," George Street (near Tidal Basin), Canning Town. Commence at 7.15.

Portraits of Ferrer.

- "New Age" Photos. 1s., postage 2d.
Post Cards 1d. each, 1½d. post free.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(October 4—November 4.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—G. Davison 10s, H. Glasse 7s 6d, A Sympathiser 10s. Other acknowledgments crowded out.

MOTHER EARTH.

Published by EMMA GOLDMAN.

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