

Freedom

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NOTES.

Politics and Corruption.

Just as swamps breed fevers, so politics breed corruption. Some of us may remember how John Burns, before he became—well, what he is, denounced the “lobbying” of “that sinister figure,” the late Alfred Beit. Now the *New York World* is publishing disclosures of the “lobbying” tactics of the National Association of Manufacturers at Washington and Albany. Colonel Mulhall, for ten years a paid lobbyist, is telling the tale of all the frightful corruption in which he played an active part. One notable point is how the employers controlled committees on labour and the judiciary. And from this may be learned another lesson as to what advantages the workers may expect from political action. They may learn how even “labour legislation” can be circumvented or checked with red-tape, and what huge sums will be expended to accomplish this end. And this is only the first line of defence of the master class. Behind loom still darker shadows of mischief. The corrupting of the officials of Trade Unions, the organising of bogus plots, and, lastly, the use of Pinkertons and thugs to shoot down strikers in the interest of “free labour.” There has, we are told, been no such “muck-raking” since the revelation of corrupt police conditions in New York. But does not one form of corruption breed another? And if wealthy magnates and high officials can do these things, why not the police and others whose position affords them the opportunity? The fact is, society is diseased, and these are but the symptoms of the deep-seated evil of capitalist exploitation, for which the only cure is the Social Revolution. Let us all work together, then, to bring that about as speedily as possible.

Insult to Injury.

Lord Aberconway must be a difficult man to please. Presiding at a meeting of Messrs. John Brown and Co., Limited, at Sheffield, he announced that the firm could only pay $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the total profit for the year being only £327,000, and he regretted that the efforts of the directors had not been generally backed up by the diligence of the workmen. The men didn't give full time; they took the increase of wages, and gave less work; in short, they were not getting as much out of the workmen as they were entitled to. Well, we really don't know what they are “entitled to,” these unfortunate recipients of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.! We are pretty sure, however, that the near future will offer them a solution which will dispense with all the annoyance of “lazy workmen” and profits of £327,000!

Religion and Reform.

Another voice, that of the Rev. Dr. Estlin Carpenter, declared at the Inter-Denominational Conference on “Industrial Unrest” that there were “5,000,000 workers earning less than twenty shillings a week.” Again, “how the wives and families of farm labourers in Oxfordshire were to be provided for on a wage of 15s. per week was a problem he could not solve.” Nor can we. Perhaps, however, Lord Aberconway could give us a hint, as he evidently has some economic troubles of his own! Under it all, Dr. Carpenter tells us, the heroism of the poor is remarkable. That is true. They are the heroes that bear the huge burden placed on them by the class to which Lord Aberconway belongs. And their reward is 15s. per week! Of course, it is very nice for reverend gentlemen to speak of the poor as heroes, but it is not a heroism that they show any signs of emulating. The number of parsons who die wealthy is a contradiction of the ethics they preach from the pulpit.

Eugenics and Faddists.

The first “Eugenic wedding” took place at Manchester (Massachusetts) recently. There was nothing of any interest in it except that it gave the reporters a fine chance. The lady and gentleman both declared themselves, on medical authority, as physically fit; and so ended the first chapter. The continuation we shall probably never know, as the question of affectional affinity, compatibility of temperament, and such like important matters affecting the rearing of offspring did not, apparently, count. The faddists in America will just worship this latest craze, and the women will go mad over the sterilising of “niggers.” They will say nothing at the shameful spectacle of wealthy American women marrying titled imbeciles with broken fortunes. Yet Theognis, the Greek poet, who lived 550 B.C., must have seen the evil influence of wealth in marriage when he wrote the following lines (quoted by Darwin in “The Descent of Man,” p. 43):—

“With kine and horses, Kurnus! we proceed
By reasonable rules, and choose a breed
For profit and increase, at any price;
Of a sound stock, without defect or vice.
But, in the daily matches that we make,
The price is everything: for money's sake,
Men marry: women are in marriage given.
The churl or ruffian, that in wealth has thriven,
May match his offspring with the proudest race:
Thus everything is mix'd, noble and base!
If then in outward manner, form, and mind,
You find us a degraded, motley kind,
Wonder no more, my friend! the cause is plain,
And to lament the consequence is vain.”

The Roguery of the Rich.

Since the divine right of kings was abolished, royal power in England has been checked, though we need not delude ourselves that it is non-existent. To-day, however, it is the rich who can do no wrong. Occasionally the police, for the sake of appearances, may drop on a swell gambling den, or fine a big nob for exceeding the speed limit. But the fines don't trouble the rich. At the present moment there are trials going on that expose a condition of things which must make any sane individual feel what a blessing it would be for themselves—and others—if these wealthy people could only be poor again—and useful and honest! What an end it would make of the abominable corruption the rich are spreading not only amongst themselves, but also amongst the hirelings who surround them. Will Eugenists please note this point? Another straw which tells in the same direction is a piece of news from Paris. It appears a fortune of £120,000 was left by a M. Preterre to his wife. In the administration of the estate this sum “completely disappeared.” The police, we read, are convinced “that the misappropriators of the property constitute a remarkably well organised band, whose members are people in a high rank of society.” No doubt these “misappropriators”—a different class from the burglar and pickpocket—are very nice people in their way. But the fact is that these “misappropriations” have been going on for so many centuries, and have swallowed up such vast masses of the workers' wealth, that an era of *expropriation* has become necessary for the general well-being.

THE “VOICE OF LABOUR” SUPPLEMENT.

We greatly regret that the serious illness of our comrade George Barrett has prevented the appearance this month of the Supplement we had hoped to issue. We are happy to state he is on the road to recovery, and we trust later to be able to carry out the plan of the Supplement with which he had identified himself.

Modern Wars and Capitalism.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

III.

WAR AND INDUSTRY.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that industrial rivalries and the desire of acquiring new markets for the export of home-made products are the chief cause of wars in modern times. Let us now see how in modern industry the States create a class of men interested in turning nations into armies, ever ready to hurl themselves at one another.

There are now, as we know, immense industries giving work to millions of men, and existing for the sole purpose of producing war material. It is, therefore, entirely to the advantage of these manufacturers, and of those who lend them the necessary capital, to prepare for war, and to fan the fear that war is ever on the eve of breaking out.

We need not concern ourselves with the small fry—with the makers of worthless firearms, trumpery swords, and revolvers that always miss fire, such as are to be found in Birmingham, Liège, etc. These are not of much account, although the trade in these firearms, carried on by exporters who speculate in "Colonial" wars, has already attained a certain importance. We know, for example, that English merchants supplied firearms to the Matabele when they were about to rise against the English, who were forcing them into serfdom. Later on, there were French manufacturers, and even well-known English ones, who made their fortunes by supplying firearms, cannons, and ammunition to the Boers. And even now we hear of quantities of firearms imported by English merchants into Arabia, which some day will cause risings among the Arabian tribes, bring about the plundering of a few British merchants, and consequently British "intervention to re-establish order," to be followed sooner or later by "annexation."

However, such facts need not be multiplied. Bourgeois patriotism is already well known, and far more serious cases have been witnessed recently. Thus, during the war between Russia and Japan, English gold was supplied to the Japanese (at a very high rate of interest), in order that they might destroy Russia's nascent sea-power in the Pacific, which gave umbrage to England. But at the very same time the English colliery companies sold 300,000 tons of coal at a very high price to Russia, to enable her to send Rojdestvensky's fleet to the East. Two birds were killed with one stone: the owners of the Welsh collieries made a good business out of it; the shareholders and the directors of the Welsh colliery companies, taken from the nobility, the clergy, and the House of Commons—every self-respecting company has representatives of these three classes on its board of directors—increased their fortunes; and, on the other hand, the Lombard Street financiers placed money at 9 or 10 per cent. in the Japanese loan, and mortgaged a substantial part of the income of their "dear allies" as a security for the debt.

These are but a few facts among thousands of others of the same kind. In fact, we should be apprised of fine things done by the ruling classes if the bourgeois did not know how to keep their secrets! Let us, then, pass on to the next category of facts.

* *

We know that all great States have favoured, besides their own arsenals, the establishment of huge private factories, where guns, armour-plates for ironclads of lesser size, shells, gunpowder, cartridges, etc., are manufactured. Large sums are spent by all States in the construction of these auxiliary factories, where the most skilled workmen and engineers are to be found gathered together, ready to fabricate engines of destruction on a great scale in case of a war.

Now, it is perfectly evident that the direct advantage of those capitalists who have invested their capital in such concerns lies in keeping up rumours of war in order to persuade us that armaments are necessary, and even spreading panic if need be. In fact, they do so.

If the chances of a European war sometimes grow less, if the ruling classes—though themselves interested as shareholders in great factories of this kind (Anzin, Krupp, Armstrong, etc.), and in great railway companies, coal mines, etc.—require pressing in order to make them sound the war-trumpet, they are compelled to do so by Jingo opinion fabricated by means of newspapers, and even by preparations made for insurrections.*

In fact, does not that prostitute, the Press, prepare men's minds for new wars? Does it not hasten on those wars that are likely to break out? And in this way does it not compel the

Governments to double, to treble their armaments? For example, did we not see in England, during the ten years preceding the Boer War, the great Press, and especially the illustrated papers, artfully preparing the people's minds for the necessity of a war, in order to "arouse patriotism"? To this end no stone was left unturned. With much noise they published novels about the next war, in which we were told how the English, beaten at first, made a supreme effort, and ended by destroying the German fleet and establishing themselves in Rotterdam. An English nobleman spent large sums of money that a patriotic play might be acted all over England. The play was too stupid to pay, even in second-rate theatres, but its production played into the hands of those money-makers and politicians who intrigued with Rhodes in Africa that they might seize the Transvaal gold mines and compel the black natives to work in them.

Forgetting the past, these self-styled "patriots" even went as far as reviving the cult of England's sworn enemy, Napoleon I., and since then the work in this direction has never ceased. In 1904-5 they almost succeeded in driving France, governed at that time by Clemenceau and Delcassé, into a war against Germany—the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Conservative Government, Lord Lansdowne, having promised to support the French armies with an army of 50,000 men, to be sent to the Continent. Delcassé, having attached undue importance to this ridiculous proposal, very nearly launched France into a disastrous war.

In general, the more we advance with our bourgeois State civilisation, the more the Press, ceasing to be the expression of what may be called public opinion, applies itself to manufacturing warlike opinion by the most infamous means. The Press, in all great States, is controlled by two or three financial syndicates, which manufacture the public opinion needed for the promotion of their enterprises. They own the large newspapers, and the lesser ones are of no account. They are to be bought at such low prices!

* *

But this is not all. The gangrene spreads far deeper.

Modern wars no longer consist of a mere massacre of hundreds of thousands of men in a few great battles: a massacre of which those who have not followed the details of the great battles during the last war in Manchuria and the atrocious details of the siege and defence of Port Arthur have absolutely no idea. Yet the three great historical battles—Gravelotte, Potomac, Borodino (near Moscow)—each lasting three days, and in which there were respectively 90,000, 100,000, and 110,000 men killed and wounded on both sides,—these battles were child's play in comparison to modern warfare, as we saw it in Manchuria.

To-day, great battles are fought on a front, not of five to ten miles as before, but of thirty-five to forty miles; they no longer last three days, as was the case in the just-named great battles, but seven days (Lao-Yang) and ten days (Mukden); and the losses are 100,000 and 150,000 men on each side.

The ravages caused by shells, thrown with accuracy of aim at a distance of three, four, or five miles, by batteries the position of which cannot be made out, as they use smokeless powder, are unimaginable. The guns are not fired haphazard any more. The position occupied by the enemy is divided mentally into squares two-thirds of a mile wide, and the fire from all the batteries is concentrated on each square successively, in order to destroy everything to be found there.

When the fire from several hundred pieces of ordnance is concentrated on such a square, there is no space of ten square yards that has not been struck by a shell, not a bush that has not been cut down by the howling monsters sent nobody knows whence. Seven or eight days of this terrible fire drives the soldiers to madness; and when the attacking columns, after having been repelled eight to ten times in succession, nevertheless gain ground by a few yards every time, and finally reach the enemy's trenches, a hand-to-hand struggle begins. After having hurled hand-grenades and pieces of pyroxyline at one another (two pieces of pyroxyline tied together with a string were used by the Japanese as a sling), Russian and Japanese soldiers rolled in the trenches of Port Arthur like wild beasts, striking each other with the butt-end of their rifles and with their knives, and tearing each other's flesh with their teeth.

The working classes of the West know nothing of this terrible return to the most atrocious savagery which modern warfare brings forth; and the middle class who know it take care not to tell them.

We were told that smokeless powder would render wars impossible, to which we replied that this was sentimental nonsense. We now know that with the return of modern warfare to the hand-grenade, the sling, and the bayonet, war has returned to the most barbarous aspects of olden days.

* *

However, modern wars do not only consist of massacres, of massacre brought to the pitch of rage—of a return to savagery. They also cause the destruction of human labour on a colossal scale, and we continually feel the effect of this destruction

* These lines were written and published in the *Temps Nouveaux* in the Summer of 1912. The striking revelations of Liebknecht, concerning the ways in which rumours of coming wars are spread in the Press by the owners of armament factories, and national hatred fostered in order to increase the orders for war material, have come since to illustrate on a grand scale this dominant feature of the present-day industry.

time of peace by the increase of misery among the poor, running parallel with the enrichment of the rich.

Every war destroys a formidable amount of all sorts of goods, including not only the so-called war material, but also things most necessary to everyday life and to society as a whole: bread, meat, vegetables, food of all kind, beasts of burden, leather, coal, metal, clothing, and so on. This represents the useful labour of millions of men during decades; and all this is wasted, burnt, gutted in a few months. Even in time of peace it is wasted, in anticipation of coming wars.

As this war material, these metals, and these stores must be prepared beforehand, the mere possibility of a new war brings about in all our industries shocks and crises that every one of us feels. You, I, all of us, we feel their effect in the smallest details of our life. The bread we eat, the coal we burn, the railway ticket we buy, the price of each article depends on rumours relating to the likelihood of war at an early date—rumours propagated by speculators on a rise in the prices of all this produce.

The great industrial crises which we have lately lived through were certainly due—as we shall see in our next issue—to the anticipation of wars.

(To be continued.)

Woman's Freedom.

By LILY GAIR WILKINSON.

(Continued from last month.)

If ever men and women attain these essentials of freedom, the life of human beings will be a Communistic life, and the most terrible impediments to a full and true human development may thus be overcome.

How, then, will it fare especially with women?

Women will have the same freedom as men, because they will be able to dispose of their lives as they choose.

In Communism there will no longer be any need for women to sell themselves as wives, as wage-earners, or as prostitutes. When there is no more monopoly of land and other means of producing wealth, each woman as well as each man will be able to produce enough, without undue stress of labour, for her own simple needs, so that she may have not only sufficient food, clothing, and shelter, but also enjoyment of the best that the world can give—sunlight, fresh air, and access to the beautiful places of the country.

Now, when such freedom as this is possible for all, what sane woman will sell herself to work for wages? And when such freedom is possible, what woman will sell herself for any man's pleasure when she may give herself for love?

Love is always free. Bodies may be bought and sold; that is the most terrible shame of our present society, where the world is turned into a great market and all things have their price. But love cannot be bought and sold along with a woman's body, because it is always beyond price and free. Our moralists talk of "free love" as if it were some wild proposition, something excessively outrageous and indecent. Marriage is respectable because it is a bond and a law; but love, free love, is wholly disreputable! The truth is that marriage as a bond and a law is quite superfluous, except as a property regulation having nothing to do with love.

But love itself is always free. Though men and women have endured, and do endure, and may forever endure, the most shameful slavery and barter of all sacred things on earth, still there is always this one sacred thing which cannot be enslaved, which is not to be bartered away. Show me the love that is not free!

When women can give their love in freedom without fear of want and painful lifelong drudgery, then that home-life which is so cruelly outraged to-day will become a living and wonderful reality, at least for those who by nature may desire such a life. When men and women give themselves freely to each other, and not for a price, then begins the life of true companionship in which is possible that perfect development which is the result of freedom.

For love, great as it is, is not the whole of life. It is rather the basis upon which is built up a life of full and glorious experience of all the joys of earth. The joys of the care and companionship of children, the joys of home and the daily round of homely doings, garden joys, field joys, joys of exploration and adventure, joys of congenial work; these many joys of life, and that indescribable animal joy which we call the very "joy of life" itself—all these are only truly known when life is permeated by love.

Such a life is rare indeed at present, but for free men and women there will be no difficulty in its attainment.

And then there will be no need to talk of "preserving the sanctity of the home" by means of law and domestic tyranny. The home will preserve itself in all sanctity, because with its

happy child-life, and its life of happy grown men and women, and its life of aged men and women at peace, it will be the most beautiful and desirable of habitations.

To-day the sanctity of the home is violated, not by those unrestrained passions upon which the novelists grow fat, but because men, and also many women, find themselves forced to spend their days outside of their homes. The home has become merely a place to eat and sleep in.

How is home life to be even tolerable, much less desirable, under these conditions?

As things are, the workers do not work for themselves; they work for other men and women who are their masters. And labour is enforced, or slave labour, because for the millions the alternative to working for a master is starvation. Under these circumstances those who work do not choose what their work shall be; they produce what they are ordered to produce. The result is an enormous mass of merchandise, in great part superfluous, and even objectionable or harmful. This mass of merchandise is produced by a mechanical method so complex, unhealthy, and abhorrent, that it cannot be supposed in sanity that free men and women would agree to take part in it. Such a monstrosity as the modern industrial system could only be maintained, in fact, by slave-labour.

If the slaves prove capable of freeing themselves from the property laws, which make the master and servant relationship possible, no doubt they will also be capable of freeing themselves from the altogether monstrous system of production in which the lives of the workers are now wasted.

And the only alternative, it seems to me, will be to return to a simpler and more wholesome kind of life, in which physical needs will be provided for rather by handicrafts and agriculture than by the complex machinery system of labour in crowded cities. Workers might then return home again.

If this is ever to be attained, it is obvious that women must play a most important part in its attainment. The home must always be in great part for the child, and the being most nearly connected for the child is surely its mother. Therefore, there is truth in that worn-out phrase, "Woman's sphere is the home." But that is only desirable and quite wholesome when *man's sphere is the home also*. For men and women as male and female are not made to live apart, but together in love and companionship. But women, by their function as mothers, will naturally take the lead in making home-life in a free society all that it may be for the very fullest enjoyment of life.

To-day those women of the privileged class who are striving for so-called emancipation demand entrance for women into all those tortuous paths of life which men have cut out for themselves. They demand that women should have legal permission to follow any profession which men follow, as lawyers, doctors, parsons, stockbrokers, and so forth; and even the entrance of hordes of women into the factories (driven there by the scourge of poverty) is hailed by them as a sign of coming "emancipation."

But it needs no prophet to foretell that in free communal life it will be found, not that women are to be emancipated by becoming lawyers and doctors and what not, but that men are to be emancipated by withdrawing from such abnormal occupations and returning to home and garden and field as the true sphere of human life. But when life itself is made clean and wholesome, men and women will not be in an everyday state of disease; therefore, special doctors, who live upon diseases, will not be required, but all may easily learn enough of hygiene to assist one another in case of need. And when there is no more private property to quarrel about, the lawyer's occupation will be gone, for people may then learn how to live without being fettered by laws. And when human relationships are founded upon mutual aid instead of mutual strife, there will be no more need of parsons to preach sermons.

Indeed, when the ideal is true freedom in communal life, there is no special question of "woman's emancipation" at all, because in such a life, as Morris says, "the men have no longer any opportunity of tyrannising over the women, or the women over the men," both of which things take place at present.

Woman's emancipation is not to be attained apart from man's emancipation, nor, for that matter, man's apart from woman's; but, being slaves together, they will gain true emancipation when they strive together for freedom.

(Conclusion.)

** We hope to publish this series of articles in pamphlet form at an early date.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Liberty and the Great Libertarians. Edited and compiled by Charles T. Sprading. 1 dol. 50 c. Los Angeles: C. T. Sprading, 6829 Broad Street.

—We hope to give a review of this book in our next issue.

Labor Leg-Ironed: or, Liberal and Labor Party Arbitration Acts in N.S.W. By H. E. Holland. 3d. Wellington, N.Z.: *Maoriland Worker*, 290 Wakefield Street.

International Association for Labour Legislation (British Section): Report for the Year 1912-13. London: Office of the Association, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

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The Land and the Labourer.

The picture of hard toil and misery endured by the agricultural labourer has been painted for us, since the strike in South-West Lancashire began, by the pens even of the capitalist press, which in such a case will hardly exaggerate the conditions. But even while these pioneers of an agricultural uprising are fighting their hard battle for a mere existence wage, the death of the Duke of Sutherland comes to remind us that we English people of the twentieth century are mad enough to permit a single individual to own 1,300,000 acres of land which should be the birthright of those who could use it for the advantage of us all.

The truth is, the serf and the feudal lord are with us to-day, however much the iron heel of the old feudal baron may be hidden by the veneer of modern civilisation. It is indeed doubtful whether in 1381—the year of the peasants' outbreak under Wat Tyler—there was a lord who could "walk fifty miles in a straight line" calling all the land his own. Yet such is the monstrous condition of things with the Sutherland estates. Imagine Dick Turpin levying blackmail upon all travellers on the turnpike road for fifty miles, and his depredations would be but the work of an innocent abroad compared to this colossal robbery by the Sutherlands.

Was it not Carlyle who said that one of the most useful members of any society was the man who could plough a straight furrow? Well, these men who work in the fields to help feed us are at last thinking it would be not unreasonable if they and their families could taste a little of the good things they produce. Possibly they are a little dissatisfied with the leaky pigsties they inhabit; a little tired of the long hours they toil—in a word they, like so many more of us at the present day, are sighing to enjoy some of life's gifts that they hear of, or read of, or see before their eyes, but which are held out of their reach. It is time they began to think of themselves.

It is time also that the great body of English Trade Unionists knew something of the history of landlordism in their own country. Let them turn to Thorold Rogers's "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," and they will not wonder how it is we have serfdom to-day. "There is nothing in the history of civilisation," says this writer, "more odious than the meanness of some English landlords, except it be their insolence. They have been abetted by the foolish farmers, who ground down their labourers in order to enrich the landlords, and have finally sacrificed themselves to the rent-rolls of profligates and gamblers." And how has all this happened? Well, until Joseph Arch in 1872 founded the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, there had not been for three centuries any organisation devoted to the interests of the oppressed farm labourer. On the contrary, he had been neglected, contemned, derided by the townsfolk; and in the villages and hamlets where he lived his stunted life he was a slave to the squire and the parson, without a soul to call his own.

The present strike is one more instance of Labour solidarity, and, win or lose, it is the beginning of a new epoch for the toilers on the land, if only for the fact that the great body of Trade Unionists is behind them with a full promise of support. Of all who suffer from the curse of the wage system the farm labourer

suffers most, and by the very conditions of his life has the least chance of improving his lot by resistance to the slave-drivers who employ him. Most of us do not even realise what he suffers, or has suffered in recent years. Here, for instance, is what Thorold Rogers tells us in his great work:—

"I do not remember, in the very extended study which I have given to the history of agricultural labour and wages during the six centuries for which there is recorded and continuous evidence, that, in the worst experiences of the labourer, he was till very recently open to the risk of having his young children of either sex taken from him, and put under the care of a gangmaster, with a view to their labouring in the fields, being housed for the night in barns, without the pretence of decency, not to say comfort, and apart from the obvious degradation of their condition, exposed to the coarse brutalities of the manager of children's labour. But in the Eastern Counties it appears to have been till recently the practice, perhaps still is, for farmers to contract for the services of agricultural gangs—i.e., of crowds of children set to work under an overseer who had hunted them up. The practice, I remember, was defended on the ordinary ground of cheap labour being a necessity for profitable agriculture, which, when it is interpreted, means that tenant farmers are too cowardly to resist rents which they cannot pay except by the degradation of those whom they employ. That a peasantry, underpaid and underfed, should be constrained to submit their children to such an odious and demoralising slavery, is, unhappily, intelligible; that the middleman can be found to undertake the office of such an agency is a fact to be regretted, but expected; that farmers should allow themselves to employ such an expedient is scandalous; but that they who pretend to consider the condition of the poor, and to be active in the interests of humanity, should be complacent and silent, is a negligence which ought to bring its punishment, or is an acquiescence in ill-doing which I do not care to characterise."—("Six Centuries of Work and Wages," pp. 511–512.)

Such conditions existed in the latter half of the nineteenth century, to enable rent to be paid to the great landowners. The landowner is still claiming his pound of flesh; but it seems he may yet be weighed in the balance—and found guilty. So all of us will join in wishing success to the sturdy strikers in Lancashire.

MEXICAN REBELS AND FOREIGN BANKERS.

Regeneracion of May 24 contains an eloquent appeal to the President of the United States on behalf of R. F. Magon, E. F. Magon, L. Riviera, and A. L. Figueroa, now imprisoned in the McNeil Island penitentiary for alleged violation of the neutrality laws. In a previous appeal to the Department of Justice a series of affidavits were produced in which "the Government's own witnesses swear that they were bribed by the official prosecutors to work up a case; that they were paid most handsomely to do so; that the fear of the law was held as a sword over their heads"; and that they were promised release from prison if they would work and testify as directed by the prosecution. With the false evidence thus procured, a conviction was obtained; and the four men mentioned above were sentenced to imprisonment. The Department of Justice refused the appeal, so the writers of the article appeal openly to the President. They do not deny that the men imprisoned worked on behalf of the Mexican revolutionists, but they claim that their unjust conviction was brought about by the supporters of the Diaz régime, which they were fighting against.

The writers state that, in spite of the neutrality laws, other revolutionary agitators have been openly assisted in the States—the Cuban revolution (when the Republican Party wanted to annex Cuba), and also the Irish, the Russian, and the Portuguese rebellions. "But all was different when investments in Mexico were threatened.... Then Mexican spies and detectives by the thousands were given a free hand to harass the population of our own border States; American detective agencies were encouraged to assist Mexican agents in kidnapping and other monstrous crimes; then the entire legal machinery of the United States was placed at the service of one of the most oppressive despotisms this world has known." In fighting this tyranny, our imprisoned comrades did what virile and intelligent men might be expected to do; and "they belong to the class of Washington, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Kossuth, and the many other liberators whom the United States has delighted to honour."

We hope this appeal will be successful; but however much the President may be inclined to grant it, the developments of the last few days show that the international financiers intend to assist the Huerta Government to crush the rebellion. A loan of £16,000,000 is being floated in Paris, Berlin, New York, and London, the advertisements stating that "the loan has been authorised by a Law of the Congress of the United States of Mexico, promulgated on the 30th May, 1913." But every one knows that the people of Mexico were never consulted in the matter; and, as *Regeneracion* of June 7 says: "These bankers know full well that the money they are lending is to be used to shoot the masses down, terrorise them into submission, and crush their fight for liberty. They lend their money knowing that, and are themselves the prime movers in these atrocious crimes." But a promise of high interest would incite them to any dastardly deed.

Meanwhile, English people might be interested in knowing that

Lord Murray of Marconi fame, the boon companion of Isaacs and Lloyd George, and late chief Liberal Whip, is at present in Mexico securing oil concessions from this bloody-handed Government, and English people are invited to take up the shares. Every penny of the dividends will be stained with Mexican blood.

ANARCHISTS AND TRADE UNIONS.

In all parts of the world Anarchists have identified themselves with the formation and support of Labour organisations. While those bodies have not succeeded in bringing even the majority of the workers within their folds, yet they present the most formidable front with which the wage-earning classes are able to meet the capitalists. Their potency for future effort is illimitable; but, on the other hand, if the whole problem, at least as it appears to us in the British Isles, is not carefully considered, and the necessary work of education of the workers seriously undertaken, these organisations, founded and built up by so much self-sacrificing, and at times heroic, work, may even become a reactionary force obstructing the road to freedom.

We discuss this question from the point of view of workers who are Anarchists. First, we must remind ourselves that Trade Unions became necessary as a consequence of economic conditions in a capitalist state of society. The workers singly, or even in small groups, found themselves the hapless victims of the employing class. The lesson was forced into their minds that they possessed a common economic interest; that by combination and concerted action they were able to modify the terms upon which their labour-power was purchased. They realised, even though their aims were not revolutionary, that their only true and reliable friends were themselves. They have had to fight against law and government for the right to combine, and to deal directly with the employing class. True, they inscribed on their banners, "Defence, not defiance" (after all, that descriptive motto is accurate enough until the destruction of capitalism and government is consciously determined upon). They were secret societies, they were "sick and coffin clubs"—both necessary expedients; and both devices, may be, in years to come, will still be necessary and useful in the Labour struggle. But they were and are voluntary organisations in principle.

The defects in their aims, in their constitution, and in their methods are simply the reflex of the economic and intellectual development of the working class. The adoption of authoritarian methods; the reliance upon "leaders" and "representatives"; the endeavour to regulate the wage system, and to resist or control the introduction of machinery or newer methods of production and distribution; the idea that each section of labour or industry could set up a sort of monopoly of its own in antagonism to all outsiders; the coercion of non-Unionists, founded upon the notion that only numbers count—all these and many more fallacies in the movement were bound to find a place in its growth.

If we dwelt upon these facts alone, and blinded ourselves to the more essential realities, we should utterly condemn all organisations of Labour as stupid and hopeless. Fortunately, the truth is, that these bodies are still in the hands of the workers, and are capable of further development. We know how official cliques retard and restrict their action by rule and formality, sometimes by tying up the funds, and by active opposition or by strategy, aided by all the arts learnt during a long experience of office-seeking and "wire-pulling." But there is no further, as there is no necessary or fundamental, resemblance to the political machine. It is the working class alone which is brought together in direct association. No one need wait for a representative to express to a dominant class outside the thought that is in his mind. He may attend the meetings of the Union to that he belongs, and advocate his ideas and principles, subject only to reasonable order and occasion, and courtesy to his fellows. Can that be said of the Parliamentary machine?

After all, the main business of the revolutionary propagandist is with the working class; and to place himself unnecessarily, even in appearance, in antagonism with those of his fellows who are more seriously concerned with the Labour problem is, to put it mildly, somewhat disastrous for his cause—not to mention the common loss and general confusion of mind.

What ought, therefore, the Anarchist to do? Should he ignore the existence of these organisations? Should he oppose them? Should he seek to build up an entirely new structure in their place? The first is impossible, the second is fatuous, and the last unnecessary. Their existence cannot be ignored. The Trade Unions are without doubt the backbone of the active daily revolt of the working class, and express their determined constant resistance to the pressure of capitalist conditions. Labour-power is treated by the capitalist as a commodity; but, just as machinery is distinct from the raw material, so the human element possesses its own special character or qualities which differentiate it from those other factors in wealth production. It is this special human element which produces the labour struggle—i.e., which refuses to be treated entirely like raw material or machinery. If nothing more were possible, no Anarchist could refuse to sympathise with and aid this resistance to the absolute play of the economic system with human life and interests.

Millions of minor but real individual cases of tyranny, as we know, have been restrained, prevented, or remedied by the combined action of working people. The outstanding instance of Driver Knox on the

North-Eastern Railway a few months ago was but an example of very many obscure instances of the kind in workshop life. Its prominence was due to the fact that the action taken was on a big scale, and the enemy a very big and powerful commercial corporation engaged in a great public transport business, and the case affected so many workers in a similar position in that particular occupation. It is quite in accordance with custom for the shield of the Union to be placed over the individual worker to protect him against the assault or spite of the employer or his servants. There cannot be any doubt that, but for the organised resistance offered by the working classes, their conditions as a body would have been far worse and more ruthless in character.

It in no degree affects the question under discussion to show that the workers, organised or unorganised, are fighting a hopeless battle with the exploiting class while they agree to remain wage-slaves and leave their masters in possession of economic power over them. It is the business of the Anarchist to get that attitude changed for the better as quickly as possible. And the urgent need of workers belonging to the Labour forces is to know not merely the truth as to the economic position in which they are placed, but also that their organisations provide them with the means whereby they can, if and when they choose to do so, strike the deathblow at the present system of robbery and oppression, and reconstitute the economic relationship of men and women upon a basis of justice and brotherhood.

We deceive ourselves if we allow the fact of legal interference with the Unions to warp our judgment. With all their faults, it has not been invited by Trade Unionists, and is keenly resented by many thousands of them.

We cannot more easily or rapidly build up a new and more perfect system of organisation than cleanse the already established one of its impurities or imperfections. The chief need of the workers is education in economic problems, and there ought not to be a single meeting room of Trade Unionists anywhere in which the voice of the revolutionary propagandist is unheard, and in which the literature of revolutionary thought is unknown. Moreover, the destruction of the Unions could only bring dismay and despair to the workers with corresponding delight and confidence to the propertied classes.

Whatever may be our personal views on Industrial Unionism, its realisation, for example, is quite as possible within as without the Trade Unions. Much more has already been achieved in that way within the Unions than outside them, and let us hope the ideas, or the most valuable of them, underlying the agitation have made as much progress. In any case, it is not our business to commence or support another fratricidal struggle amongst the workers, but by sympathy and teaching to encourage the tendency to bring about the destruction of the present system of monopoly, cheating, and political violence.

The minds of the workers everywhere are now open and ready to receive the teaching of emancipation. The Anarchist has an immense scope for action. Innumerable opportunities occur for rational and practical advice in the work and policy of the Unions which will put his ideas to the test of experience. Such action must be mutually beneficial to all. The Anarchist's policy is one of free mutual aid by the working class. Organised Labour is the most complete practical mechanism for that purpose. The Unions may not only organise the final attack upon capitalism, but also provide the necessary machinery for tackling the serious problems of production and consumption which the Social Revolution will create.

There in the heart of the Labour movement must the belief in property and authority be attacked; there the desire and knowledge of a free state of society must find its place. Unless the workers understand and resolve to gain their liberty, no one outside them or above them can gain it for them. Despite all opposing influences, the field is open to all those workers who desire that their fellows should know the truth; and a very few years should witness a revolution in the ideas and methods of Trade Unions, if the pioneers will but show the way.

G.

DEATH OF MRS. HYNDMAN.

We send our sincerest sympathy to Mr. H. M. Hyndman in the sad loss of his wife. All who knew Mrs. Hyndman knew her as one who had no thought but to be of use in the cause to which her husband was devoted, and her work in this direction was only equalled by her unassuming modesty.

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

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CLOTHES AND MORALITY.

Mrs. Grundy and the pure and guileless souls who worship her will clasp their hands with joy at the latest news from the United States. The police of New York, Louisiana, and a host of other places, after having so successfully managed the brothels and gambling dens, are taking in hand the question of propriety in ladies' costumes. The wearing of slit skirts and "peek-a-boo" blouses will lay the offender open to arrest, we are told, although the chief of police avers he is no prude! However, the poor man's upset, somehow; and he intends to show the ladies he won't stand it.

It would really seem as though the fair sex are to have a taste of "law and order" that they hardly bargained for, and if the authorities are not very careful they will end by making Anarchists of them all. The unmitigated absurdity of the "man in blue" having the duty of deciding the appropriateness of feminine fashions and adornments makes us wonder what the late W. S. Gilbert would have made of this roaring farce. But there is another side to the question, independently of whether women choose to be vulgar or not—viz., that the covering up of the body from human gaze does not imply purity and morality in the wearer. This point has been often supported by reference to the ancient Greeks, but we give two quotations from recent writers to prove that clothes and morality are two different things.

Sir Hesketh Bell, Governor of Uganda, wrote as follows in the *Illustrated London News*:—"The majority of the Bakedi go about in a state of absolute nudity; a desire for clothing is steadily growing among them. Unfortunately, more clothes means less morals. The Baganda, who have always been greatly addicted to wearing apparel, are of notoriously lax habits, while among the Kavirondo, the Bakedi, and all the unclothed Nilotic tribes a notable degree of morality is found to exist."

Mrs. Younghusband, describing her travels in Africa, utters the following protest:—"I have no patience with the correspondent of one East African paper, who wrote a long article desiring to see the natives enveloped in many garments, and who said how uncomfortable he should feel if he met a more or less undressed negro when he was walking with a lady. If the lady were a decent woman and had any common sense, she would become accustomed to an African's way of dressing in a very short time, and not notice him unless it were to admire the grandeur and carriage of some well-formed young native, whose cloth, ornaments, and body make a beautiful picture of a 'study in brown.' It is noticeable that the least dressed tribes always colour what they wear the same as the colour of their bodies, so there is no distinction between their satin-looking skin and the more dull skin or cloth they may be wearing; with the exception of white or coloured beads and shell trimmings. The Kavirondo are the most naked tribe, even the women wearing nothing but beads; but they are renowned for their chastity and modesty, and are known to be the best of African natives."

The American ladies should study the question seriously. As to the American police, could they not be induced to look the other way when they see a lady approaching? Although they might feel they were missing something good, perhaps they would "miss it"—for a consideration.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"ILLUSIONS."

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE.—That you do not understand the position of the Single Taxers is very evident. Let me explain. The question of land tenure is not settled by the fact of the Mexicans taking back the land which was stolen from them, and it will not be settled when they have so secured their position that there will be no occasion for them to cultivate their lands with their rifles slung across their shoulders. Indeed, the problem will then only have commenced, for when peace is restored material progress will set in, and the riddle of the Sphinx of Fate will be propounded—the question which Henry George answers in his immortal book, "Progress and Poverty." That is: "Why, in spite of the increase of productive power, do wages tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living?" The only way to answer the question satisfactorily is to destroy the selling price of land, so that it shall be as free for the use of mankind as air and water now are. So long as we dwell in communities we shall require a revenue to defray community expenses, and this revenue can be obtained in the process which destroys the selling price of land—the Single Tax. Single Taxers cherish no illusions. They know what they are out for—the minimum of Government, which is, in my view at any rate, Anarchy.—Fraternally yours,

JOHN BAGOT.

St. Anne's-on-the-Sea, May 11.

[Our correspondent refers to the review of "The Road to Freedom," in our March issue, in which the reviewer wrote:—"The rulers will use any and every means, however bloody and brutal, to maintain their ascendancy; and we Anarchists have no illusions on this matter. Our Single Tax friends still cherish theirs." Our correspondent fails to deal with that point. We do understand the position of the Single

Taxers, the present writer's radical views on the land question having been nurtured by Henry George; and in the review in question he wrote: "There can be no freedom without free access to the land." All exploitation of the people is based on the land monopoly. With really free access to the land, no body of men would accept wage-slavery. But the Single Tax would not free the land to the people. Instead of paying rent to a landlord, the tenant would pay "Single Tax" to a Government official. The Single Taxers would not abolish rent; they would simply give it another name. Our correspondent says we shall require a revenue "to defray community expenses." But all Governments give that as their excuse for levying taxes now.

No; the Single Tax will "cut no ice," as the Americans say. The real fact of the matter is that the Single Taxers know that Landlordism is the root of all economic evils, and they wish to abolish it; but, knowing its great economic and political strength, they think it impossible to cut the throat of the vile creature, and have done with it at one stroke; so they have persuaded themselves that they can open a small vein here and there when he is not looking, and let him slowly—very slowly—bleed to death. But Landlordism is too closely guarded to be got at in that way, and we hope our earnest Single Tax friends will soon realise it.—THE WRITER OF THE REVIEW.]

To Correspondents.

E. B., Montreal.—We regret that we cannot insert your notice.

W. UNDERWOOD.—Your letter contains nothing new about Esperanto.

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS.

TO ALL ANARCHISTS.

COMRADES,—The Anarchist Federation of Germany being of the opinion that an International Anarchist Congress is at the present moment a matter of urgency, and that the time has arrived when the Anarchist organisations all the world over should take to heart the necessity of such a gathering, submits the following considerations:—

An International Congress has not taken place since 1907.

Anarchists everywhere feel more and more the necessity of a better organisation amongst them, and this question is the order of the day wherever Anarchists are active.

It follows that the next Congress will have to be mainly a Congress of organisation: the practical question will have to be gone into thoroughly, as otherwise the links that still exist here and there will be broken entirely.

We appeal, therefore, to all those who are willing not only to see the continuation of the existing bonds, but who are ready to strengthen them by a more systematic propaganda, to distribute this appeal broadcast to all groups and federations of their respective countries, to publish it in the Anarchist press, and to let us have, as soon as possible, an answer to the following questions:—

- (1) Are the Anarchist organisations of your country agreed on the necessity of an International Congress? If so, do you intend to take part in it?
- (2) We propose the Autumn of 1914 as the most convenient date, so as to allow all countries the necessary time to discuss the question and get on with the necessary preparations.
- (3) Do you think it advisable to admit to the Congress only delegates from Anarchist groups, federations, and journals? It would make the Congress more representative of the international movement, and would obviate the presence of the undesirable element.
- (4) Do you think that the publication of the *International Bulletin* before the Congress would be desirable? If so, could you promise some contribution towards it?

We repeat our urgent appeal, and hope that all comrades will answer it with the least possible delay.

All sums of money that reach us will be forwarded immediately to the International Bureau in London, which has written to us saying: that it will always be ready to undertake the organisation of the Congress whenever the demand for it will actually be felt.

Comrades, we expect your help! Long live International Solidarity!

For the Anarchist Federation of Germany,

May, 1913.

RUDOLF OESTREICH,
Berlin SO 26, Kottbuser Ufer 59.

Notice.—A meeting to consider the above proposals will be held on Monday, July 14, at 9 Manette Street (first floor), Charing Cross Road, W.C. All comrades are invited to attend.

Back Numbers of "Freedom."

We can supply a few complete sets of FREEDOM from 1906 to 1912, all in good condition for binding. Prices:—

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

France.

The fight against the three years' service Bill is being continued by our comrades in France. Several of the Radical opponents of the Government's military proposals have caved in before the talk of danger to the Fatherland. For instance, Clemenceau, who so violently attacked the present Cabinet, has had a bit of private conversation with his rival Poincaré, and has been convinced by the latter that the three years' service must be introduced. The French workers and peasants are not reckoned worth the trouble of so much ceremony; they are simply told that they must stay another year in insanitary barracks under a brutalising discipline. All who dare to differ with the decisions of their "betters" are made to suffer for it. During the last month perquisitions and arrests have been the order of the day. The Government is trying to stamp out all opposition to their reactionary activity, and in eighty-eight towns and villages the police swooped down on Anarchists, Syndicalists, and Socialists, breaking locks and carrying off books, papers, and letters as loot from their burglarious expeditions. Of course, Paris and its suburbs received special attention. The offices of the General Confederation of Labour were turned upside down for proofs of the great antimilitarist "plot," and comrades were arrested in great numbers, but the agitation against the hated three years' service continues unabated. It is too much to hope of the intelligence of the Government and the police that they will see the truth: that the producers are tired of pouring their money and children into the always open jaws of militarism. Up till now the governing classes pretend not to believe so shocking a truth; they prefer to swear at the terrible Confederation of Labour as the source of all evil. Once that C.G.T.—three magic letters in French life—is destroyed, all will be well!

The latest attack on this Labour organisation, with its strongly revolutionary Syndicalist tendencies, is hidden in a Bill on the status of Trade Unions, introduced by the Minister of Labour, Chéron. It is all sugar and honey for the workers, because the Unions will in future have the right to possess property, to receive legacies, to acquire and distribute tools, to have their labels registered like other trade marks; in short, they will have all sorts of commercial openings. In return for these blessings, the Government will have the right to fine and even dissolve the Trade Unions that occupy themselves with politics. There's the cat out of the bag! The Unions must not embarrass the Government! To safeguard the interests of the employers, the Bill goes on to arrange for long collective labour contracts between men and masters, with guarantees from both sides—a pleasant way of prohibiting strikes. Every one with a little common sense understands that the whole strength of organised Labour lies in the power of attacking the employers unexpectedly, without giving them time to prepare for a struggle. The Bill further introduces proportional representation in Trades Councils, hoping in this way to silence the smaller and mostly daring Unions by the numbers of the older and richer Unions.

The Government may still hope to carry this Bill through, but they cannot fool the workers into the belief that it is anything but an attempt to cut the claws of Labour. The *Voix du Peuple*, the organ of the C.G.T., contemptuously rejects the Government's paternal protection of the Unions. The French workers intend not only to defend their existing rights, but to attack the exploiters how and when they like, and to criticise and oppose the State by antimilitarist agitation and propaganda without being hampered by a network of rules laid down by the enemy.

Italy.

The proletariat of Milan has given an example to the workers of Italy which will inspire them to a more vigorous fight for economic ameliorations, at the same time raising their courage and solidarity. Milan, as we know, is the greatest industrial town of Italy, and the stronghold of Trusts. The 300,000 workers there were kept in a state of submission, which excluded any attempt at united action against their exploiters. But even a worm will turn, and the workers of the motor-car industry, forced by necessity, presented to their masters some very moderate claims. These employers, allied to the big metal manufacturers, refused to consider the question, and the men came out on strike. The Unione Sindicale of Milan, a branch of the new revolutionary Labour organisation only recently formed in opposition to the reformist Confederazione del Lavoro, which is dominated by Social Democratic politicians, decided to inaugurate its activity by taking up the motor-car workers' strike. It was soon evident that if nothing energetic was done, the strikers would soon be starved back to work, because the employers were supported by the Trust of the metal manufacturers. A large demonstration was organised by the Syndicalist Union; 40,000 workers answered the appeal. The speakers explained that only an act of solidarity could save their striking fellow workers, and appealed to all the men to show their readiness to help by declaring a general strike in the whole of the metal trade. With an indescribable enthusiasm, the workers promised their support. On the previous day troops had been brought into the city, and when the demonstrators returned home they had many an encounter with soldiers and police.

Even the general strike in the metal trade, however, was not a sufficient lesson for the stiff-necked capitalists. The following Sunday another demonstration was held, and the whole proletariat decided to go on strike. When gas, electricity, and tramways failed, the employers

were at last forced to submit, and received a deputation of the workers, with whom the terms were settled. This victory of the workers is all the more remarkable as the Social Democratic Confederazione del Lavoro had used all its influence against the general strike, and fights between strikers and Social Democratic opponents had actually taken place in the streets.

At Prato, in Tuscany, a little town which has many Anarchists among its inhabitants, a tablet in commemoration of the Italian soldiers who were killed in Tripoli was to be unveiled by the authorities. When they appeared, accompanied by patriotic societies and bands, they found stuck over the marble tablet a piece of paper with the following inscription:—"From Lissa to Sharashat, from Abba Garima to Ettangi, was for you, the Italian people, a long martyrdom, for the Government one long story of intrigue, for the Nationalists an uninterrupted orgy of crimes! May this tablet for the fallen soldiers call the people of Italy to rise in revolt!" It is a pity that no photographer has preserved for us the consternation and fury depicted on the faces of the "patriots" when they read this bit of truth.

United States.

The yearly lecturing tour of Emma Goldman, according to her account in *Mother Earth*, has not been so successful as usual, and the plucky little magazine wants all friends to stand by it in the hour of need.

The latest papers to hand from America show that California begins to behave in a thoroughly blackguardly way to progressive ideas. Of course, we Londoners are accustomed to see women Suffragette speakers mobbed and trampled upon by well-dressed hooligans, but we did not look for the same spectacle in America. We thought that the dastardly attack on Ben Reitman last year in San Diego, where our comrade was tarred and feathered by the virtuous citizens, was an outcome of the bitter feud between the San Diego authorities and the I.W.W. fighters for free speech in the street; and that once peace was re-established reason would have been resumed. But it seems that we are mistaken. Emma Goldman and Reitman as soon as they arrived this year, on May 20, in San Diego, were promptly arrested, as the police chief pretended, to prevent them from being lynched. After spending the night in gaol, our comrades decided to leave the town, as they were unable to do anything under the circumstances. Accompanied to the station by a howling mob and "protecting" police, they took the train north. San Diego has reason to be proud of its growing record of brutality and ignorance. When a lecturer on literary subjects is a danger for San Diego morality, surely local intelligence must be at an astoundingly low level. The worst of such stupid and brutal outbursts is that there are always plenty of other fools ready to follow once an example has been set.

Lucy Parsons and a comrade were arrested in another town of hospitable California. Their crime consisted of having sold, without a license, literature on the famous Chicago trial. At the police station our comrades were roughly ordered to strip, and even Lucy Parsons's ring, which she had never taken off since her husband had put it on her finger, was brutally pulled off by the officials. After a short imprisonment they were released on bail.

The strike of the silk workers in Paterson is bravely continued, and it looks as if the employers will have to come down from their high horse. The majority of the smaller owners are willing to concede all the claims of the strikers, including the chief point—the eight-hour day; but the bosses of the big corporations, backed by inexhaustible financial resources, intimidate the small owners into resistance. Meanwhile, the whole population of Paterson is suffering heavily from the strike. Support of the workers is splendidly organised by the I.W.W.; many children are sent out of town to sympathisers, and meetings and processions keep up the spirit of the strikers. As usual, the capitalists believed that if they gaoled the leaders the strike would collapse. With this view, Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Lessing, Quinlan, Tresca, and several hundreds of militant workers are being prosecuted for instigation to violence—the usual accusation. A mass meeting of protest has influenced the authorities sufficiently to wrest from them some concessions, one of which is that the accused will be tried, not by a jury of the prejudiced Paterson citizens, but of the county of Hudson. Our comrades hope therefore that no condemnations will fall on "the leaders of the strike," as the prosecution call the accused. In the meantime, all who can spare something for the fight should send it along as soon as possible to the Paterson Strikers' Defence Committee, Helvetia Hall, Van Houten Street, Paterson, N.J.

The trial of the capitalist dynamiters of Lawrence, Mass., including William Wood, the president of the Wool Trust, has ended, of course, with an acquittal. Their attempt to discredit the strikers by placing bombs and causing explosions, is naturally looked upon by the bourgeois justice as something quite different from "instigation to violence" by workers in defence of their rights. The first go scot-free; the latter are kept in gaol for months, and finally sentenced to long terms.

Mexico.

In a letter on the condition of Mexico, a special correspondent sums up the condition as follows:—"I want to give you some sidelights on the Mexican situation. The whole country is changing. Everything is in a state of revolution, and this revolution means more than the fighting which is now going on in so many different quarters. The country is having an intellectual revolution, as well as a physical one.

The common people are waking up. The peons have begun to think for themselves, and even the rich are changing their ideas as to the division of property. Labour at last is claiming its rights." (*Regeneration*.)

If this is the condition, no guns, no dictatorship, can crush the new spirit, which is sure to elaborate a new order, a better society, with justice for the peasant and worker.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

CHOPWELL (Co. Durham).—A steady and persistent campaign is being carried on here amongst the miners, an active section of the Workers' Freedom Group doing the needful. There has not been any stump oratory, but by selling FREEDOMS and pamphlets, and by discussion circles, the kind of propaganda that counts is being kept up. Should any comrade that loveth the soap-box be coming this way, we would be only too pleased to find him an outlet for his energies. We want the message of Direct Action carried right throughout the Northern coalfield, and no help is refused.

New ground was tackled at Crawcrook on June 7, a newcomer from the ranks of the political Socialists, R. Graham, taking "the box" with Will Lawther. A good crowd listened to "those hot-headed young miners from Chopwell," and showed their appreciation by buying pamphlets and asking for a return visit. Leaflets were distributed right through the village.

On Saturday, the 21st, Stanhope was visited by two comrades, who sold fifty FREEDOMS and some pamphlets whilst three of the big (?) guns of the Labour Party were telling the tale about what they had done and what they were going to do. One of these guns, Arthur Henderson, in reply to a question about the treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst by their bosom friends, the Liberal Party, stated that "her suffering was self-inflicted, and if every one who had a grievance did what she did, we would be back to Paganism." Such a remark from one who has had all the laurel wreaths of Labour on his brow shows that he cannot have benefitted mentally by the misery of those whom once he toiled with, but rather that under the glamour and limelight at Westminster he has lost touch with the Labour War. Returning to Paganism, forsooth! Has he never heard of Cradley Heath, to mention only one hell upon earth? W. L.

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL (East London).—The editor hopes to deal in another issue with Mr. McCabe's statement in his introduction to "The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School"—that Ferrer was an Anarchist of the Tolstoyan school. This book was originally published in Spanish by the Modern School Publishing Department, 468 Cortes, Barcelona. It has been somewhat abridged in the English edition, several important letters from well-known Anarchists being omitted.

It is pleasing to hear of Liverpool once more waking up to the fact that a school is wanted there. Mat Roche has made an excellent start in the Communist Club at 20 Islington, and has about forty children already gathered around him.

Comrade Rucker, junr., who has found his way to Canada, is taking an active part in a Modern School there, and we hear he has had splendid results. We extend the hand of goodwill to our comrade and his merry band of youngsters.

The East End School goes on smoothly. We had Arthur Hatfield on June 20 to tell us about the Railways; and on successive Sundays in July Griff Maddocks will speak to us about Mining for Coal, Harry Thomas will speak on Young Life and Mining, and Tom Brown will tell us of Books. We have changed our reading class to Mondays, the dancing class still remaining as before—on Thursdays. On Sunday, June 15, we had a good time in Epping Forest. It was a glorious day, and the great big sun was indeed kind to us. Thanks are due to those comrades who have presented our library with books, and our coffers with cash. Donations—D. Z. 1s., D. E. 5s.

International Modern School, 146 Stepney Green, E.

PAMPHLET PRINTING FUND.

The following amounts have been received:—Previously acknowledged £9 6s.; H. Glasse 2s. 6d., H. Compton 5s., L. Storione 1s., Essex 3s. Per Bert Plattin (to June 26)—J. Johnson 1s., Miss McNeill 1s., C. J. Smith 3s., F. Glanville 6d., P. Vowles 1s., W. Smith 1s., G. Boucher 1s. Total to date, £10 6s.

This month we have reprinted Kropotkin's "Anarchist Communism," and we shall probably print another pamphlet almost at once. Funds, of course, are still needed.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(June 4—July 3.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—N. £1 10s, S. Corio 2s, H. Glasse 5s.

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—J. Weinberger 1s 6d, H. Compton 5s, T. Smart 1s 6d, W. Jefferies 1s 6d, H. T. Barne 1s 6d, F. Hulse 1s 6d, R. W. Smith 1s 6d, C. Mumme 1s 6d, F. Duray 1s 6d, W. H. Owens 9d, J. Ennin 1s 6d.

GROUPE D'ETUDES SOCIALES.

A Picnic will be held at Loughton (Epping Forest) on Sunday, July 20. Railway tickets 1s. each, to be obtained at 9 Manette Street and at Liverpool Street Station on the day. Only tickets bought from comrades will benefit the funds.

EAST LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP.

Sunday Mornings—Victoria Park, 11 30; Ridley Road, Dalston, 12.
Wednesdays—Outside Hackney Town Hall, Reading Lane, 8 p.m.

West London Socialist League (Direct Action).

Walham Green Church, North End Road, Fulham, every Tuesday evening at 8.15; and 2nd and 4th Fridays in the month, same time and place.

The Grove, Hammersmith, every Sunday evening at 8.15.

Manchester Comrades wishing to form a strong militant Anarchist group are kindly invited to call on Saturday, July 12, at 8 o'clock, at the Clarion Café, Market Street (1st floor). Please hold FREEDOM in hand. There is plenty of work for comrades anxious to build up a strong movement in Manchester.

Durham & Northumberland Miners' Annual Demonstrations on the Racecourse, Durham, and at Morpeth, Saturday, July 19. —Workers wanted to sell FREEDOM and pamphlets at these demonstrations. Send your name and address, stating which one you will attend, to W. LAWTHORP, 23 Trent Street, Chopwell, Co. Durham; or to J. JOHNSON, 36 Edward Terrace, South Shields.

PAMPHLET AND BOOK LIST.

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.

ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.

THE WAGE SYSTEM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.

A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST COMMUNISM BETWEEN TWO WORKERS. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.

THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.

EXPROPRIATION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

DIRECT ACTION v. LEGISLATION. By J. BLAIR SMITH. 1d.

THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE. By ARNOLD ROLLER. 1d.

THE PYRAMID OF TYRANNY. By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS. 1d.

LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.

THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

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AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

WAR. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 1d.

MONOPOLY; OR, HOW LABOUR IS ROBBED. WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.

USEFUL WORK v. USELESS TOIL. By WM. MORRIS. 1d.

THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS, 1907. 1d.

THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL: A MARXIAN FALLACY. By W. TCHERKESOFF. 1d.

ANARCHISTS AND ESPERANTO. 1d.

KROPOTKIN: THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE. By T. SWAN. 1d.

THE JAPANESE MARTYRS. With Portrait of Kotoku. 1d.

ANARCHY. By ANDRE GIRARD. 3d.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL SOCIETY. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 3d.

STATE SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM. By Ben. R. TUCKER. 3d.

TRADE UNIONISM AND ANARCHISM. By JAY FOX. 2d.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS. With Portraits. 1d.

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST. By P. KROPOTKIN. (American Edition). 8s. 6d. post-free.

THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789—1793. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 6s. net.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD. By P. KROPOTKIN. Cloth 1s. net.

MUTUAL AID. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3s. 6d. post-free.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. A New Translation. Paper 6d., Cloth 1s. 6d.; postage 1d. and 3d.

FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. New and Revised Edition. Cloth, 1s. net.

GOD AND THE STATE. By MICHAEL BAKUNIN. Cloth 1s. net, paper 6d. net, postage 1d.

ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS. By EMMA GOLDMAN. 4s. 6d. net.

PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST. By A. BERKMAN. 6s. 6d. net, postage 4d.

ANARCHISM. By Dr. PAUL ELTZBACHER. 6s. 6d.; postage 4d.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By WILLIAM MORRIS. Paper covers, 1s.; cloth, 2s.; postage 2d.

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FAMOUS SPEECHES OF THE EIGHT CHICAGO ANARCHISTS. 1s. 3d, postage 2d.

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THE ORIGIN AND IDEALS OF THE MODERN SCHOOL. By FRANCISCO FERRER. Cloth 9d. net, paper 6d. net, postage 2d.

FRANCISCO FERRER: His Life, Work, and Martyrdom. 1s. net.

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