

Freedom

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NOTES.

The Labour War in South Africa.

At the moment of writing, a general strike in South Africa seems to have been postponed. The situation as it has developed in the last few weeks affords a remarkable instance of how rapidly events develop and bring their crises in modern days. An economic condition that would have taken fifty years to develop a century ago, now runs its course in a decade. The chief point of interest, however, is the world-wide awakening of the workers. The terrible ravages of the capitalist pest have brought about a condition of things in the mines that Dante never imagined in his *Inferno*. The callously inhuman sacrifice of life to put gold into the pockets of the financial bandits who engineered the Boer War might have moved even a capitalist Government to protest, if it had any conscience. But the old brutal, murderous policy has been followed, to save its friends; and once more the workers learn what to expect from the law-and-order hypocrites who are supposed to befriend them. Now the massing of troops is increasing, and one wonders what the Labour Party at Westminster are going to do. The whole of the Socialist, Labour, and progressive forces of the country should rise at once in united protest against this capitalist orgy of brute force against our common humanity. As the *New Age* has pointed out, if the Labour Party would only come out of their den at Westminster, and hurl their defiance at the Government, it would give them pause to think, bring about the recall of the degenerate Gladstone, and at least draw some of the fangs of the wild beasts of finance.

Free Co-operation.

Once more we point to this fact: that co-operation, *when it is free*, is in accord with Anarchist ideals, and will bring with it immense advantages in all phases of social life. It is true that, surrounded by a capitalist environment, co-operation has been infected by its evils. But this does not affect our argument. It is perfectly clear what *could* be done were all the resources in the hands of the capitalists at the disposal of the community. Again, we dispute the need for coercion or Government interference when people want to co-operatively work out the problems of our social life. Here is an instance under present bad conditions. A year ago, at Golder's Green, Melvin Hall was started on co-operative principles, to provide unfurnished residential rooms, without each individual being afflicted with what women know so well as "domestic worry." It is a great success, for we are told the establishment "manages to get along in ideal fashion. All the privacy of home life is preserved, while domestic worries are banished." This is only a tiny object-lesson which benefits a privileged few. But the moral is as clear as daylight, and the methods only need generalising to bring a revolution in domestic life. It is good to know what *can* be done in these directions, because we are always being told what *cannot*. And when the masses of the people understand this, it will urge on the desire for an equal enjoyment of these advantages, and so help towards the Social Revolution.

Anarchism and its Realisation.

Is there a single phase of social or economic life in which the truth of the Anarchist position and its criticism of present methods of organisation are not being confirmed? It would be interesting to hear of one. Let us enumerate a few of these instances. Take the question of work. Who, our opponents ask, will compel the idle to do their share of the unpleasant work in an Anarchist society? No doubt those spoilt children, the rich, would be troublesome for a time; but no compulsion would be necessary, for the reason given by Chiozza Money. Science and machinery can, he says, "conquer toil"; the reason we do not have the advantages and blessings they could bring is "that

an enormous proportion of our population—I use the word advisedly—is either not at work or working wastefully." If science, invention, and machinery were at the service of a *socialised society*, the difficulty would not be to get work done, but to provide moral, artistic, and intellectual pursuits for the leisure of the population. That is why an *integral* education for all is a matter of the highest importance. It is well that answers should be given to the objectors to Anarchism by those who are not Anarchists. For Chiozza Money elaborates these facts in the *Daily News and Leader* (July 25), asking, "Why does arduous toil remain?" Why, indeed, except for reasons of capitalist organisation! When "arduous toil" is replaced by pleasant and healthful occupations that give us an appetite for life—an appetite that can be satisfied—imagine the frightful existing evils that will disappear, all of which are pointed to now as things that destroy the possibility of Anarchism being realised.

The Futile Factory Acts.

As soon as one evil has been checked (?) by legislation, another arises. That is the Alpha and Omega of Parliamentary reform. How many weary years have been wasted over the passing of factory Acts, always long overdue, from the point of view of the reformer, and always ineffective when the working of them puts them to the test? How many generations of workers have been decimated while all this Parliamentary pottering, leaving the root-evil untouched, has built up the reputation of political faddists, who have always been ready to denounce the revolutionist for going "too far." These are the questions that arise in one's mind when reading one more of the eternal debates on the factory laws. The debate on the Home Office Vote on July 23 brought forward its usual list of evils unchecked, insufficient inspection, and all the rest of it. But the annual report of the Women's Trade Union League gives the most drastic commentary. Listen to this: "In a weaving mill a girl of eighteen years old, earning 2s. 8d. for a week's work of fifty-five hours, was fined 1s. for bad work. For talking at their work, eighteen girls were fined 2s. each. In a collar factory, workers were charged 5d. for cotton which they can buy outside for 1½d. They are fined 2d. for leaving a needle in their work." And more besides. It was in 1847 that a Bill was first passed to limit the hours of women in factories. And seventy years of Parliamentary effort have brought us to this!

The "Official Position."

If an Anarchist denounces officialism, it is generally regarded as a desire on his part to revel in riot and bloodshed. Happily for us, passing events are helping the public—the world, in fact—to understand that many of the present-day evils, and most of the law and disorder, result from this very officialism, backed, of course, by legal statutes. Never, perhaps, in history has the whole system of justice, law, and official administration been so scathingly exposed, and aroused such public anger and contempt, as at the present moment. For this we have largely to thank the heroism of the women, who, whether we agree with them or not, have the courage of their convictions. But there are also other reasons. On every hand we see the beginning of a big conflict, not between Anarchists and the law, as might have been supposed by the shrieks of an unscrupulous press, but between the enlightened, progressive, and humanitarian sections of the whole community, and a governmental system which is always in the way—brutal, obstructive, and devoid of moral sense. Even the deputation of clergymen who asked for an interview with Asquith, to protest against the working of the "Cat and Mouse" Act, were refused. What has been "so recently passed into law after full debate in Parliament," said the Prime Minister, must stand. A majority of the House of Commons can do no wrong—that is what it amounts to. And the country is beginning to understand that it does little else but wrong. If it had a good intention, it would be strangled by red tape.

Modern Wars and Capitalism.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

IV.

INDUSTRIAL CRISES DUE TO ANTICIPATION OF WAR.

The necessity for preparing, long beforehand, formidable quantities of war material and accumulations of stores of every description, brings about in all industries shocks and crises from which every one, and especially the working man, suffers to a terrible extent. This fact was to be observed quite recently in the United States.

Every one, no doubt, remembers the industrial crisis that has devastated the United States during the last three or four years. In a measure, it is not over yet. Well, the origin of this crisis—whatever may have been said about it by “scientific” economists, who know the writings of their predecessors, but ignore real life—the true origin of this crisis lay in the excessive production of the chief industries of the States, carried on during several years in anticipation of a great European war and of a war between Japan and the United States. Those who spread the idea of these wars knew well the effect that the expectation of such conflicts would exercise in stimulating certain American industries. In fact, for two or three years a feverish energy reigned in extracting all sorts of metals and coal, and in the manufacture of railway plant and preserved articles of food, as well as all materials for clothing.

The extraction of iron ore and the manufacture of steel in the United States reached quite unexpected proportions during these years. Steel is the principal article of consumption in modern warfare, and the United States manufactured it in a fantastical way, as well as those metals, such as nickel and manganese, which are required in the manufacture of various kinds of steel used for war material. At the same time, the big American concerns vied with one another as to who would speculate the most in gun-metal, copper, lead, and nickel.

The same thing happened with supplies of corn, preserved meat, fish, and vegetables. Cottons, cloth, and leather followed closely. And as each great industry gives rise to a number of smaller ones around it, the fever of a production far in excess of the demand spread more and more. Money-lenders, or rather credit-lenders, who supplied the manufacturers with capital, profited of course by this fever, even more so than the captains of industry.

Then, at a blow, production suddenly stopped, without it being possible to ascribe the fact to any one of the causes to which preceding crises had been attributed. The truth is, that from the day when the great European financial houses were sure that Japan, ruined by the war in Manchuria, would not dare to attack the United States, and that no European nation felt itself sufficiently sure of victory to draw the sword, European capitalists refused to give credit either to those American bankers who kept up over-production, or to the Japanese “Nationalists.”

The threat of an imminent war ceased. Steel factories, copper mines, blast furnaces, dockyards, tanneries, all suddenly slowed down their operations, their orders, their purchases.

It was worse than a crisis, it was a disaster. Millions of workers of both sexes were thrown on the street and left in the most abject misery. Great and small factories closed down. The contagion spread as during an epidemic, sowing terror around.

Who will ever tell of the sufferings of millions of men, women, and children, of broken lives during the crisis, while immense fortunes were being made in anticipation of mangled flesh and the piles of human corpses about to be heaped up in the great battles!

This is war; this is how the State enriches the rich, keeps the poor in misery, and year by year reduces them more and more to subjection.

* *

Now, a crisis resulting from the same causes as the one in the United States will in all likelihood be produced in Europe, and especially in England.

Towards the middle of the year 1911 the world was astonished at the sudden and quite unforeseen increase in English exports. Nothing of consequence in the world of economics led us to expect it. No reason for it has been given, precisely because the only possible explanation is that the orders came from the Continent in anticipation of a war between England and Germany. As we know, this war failed to break out in July, 1911; but if it had broken out, France, Russia, Austria, and Italy would have been compelled to participate in it. It is evident that great financiers, who supply speculators in metal, provisions, cloth, leather, etc., with their credit, had been warned of the threatening turn relations were taking between the two sea Powers. They knew that both Governments were pressing forward their preparations for war, so they hastened to give

their orders, which increased English exports in 1911 beyond measure.*

To the same cause is also due the recent extraordinary rise in prices of all provisions without exception, at a time when neither the yield of last year's harvest nor the accumulation of all kinds of goods in warehouses justified the rise. The fact is also that the rise did not affect provisions only; all goods were influenced by it. Orders continued to pour in when no reason whatever, save the anticipation of war, could be brought forward for this excessive demand.

And now it would be sufficient that the great Colonial speculators of England and Germany agree about their share in the partition of Eastern Africa, and to act in concert as regards “the spheres of influence” in Asia and in Africa—that is to say, come to terms over the next conquests—for a sudden stoppage of industry to take place in Europe similar to the crisis from which the United States have suffered recently.

In truth, this reduction began to be felt already at the beginning of 1912. That is why the Coal Companies and the Cotton Lords of England proved so uncompromising towards their workpeople and drove them to a strike. They foresaw a reduction of orders when they had already too great a stock of goods and too much coal piled up around their mines.

* *

When we closely analyse the facts arising from the activity of modern States, we understand to what extent the whole life of our civilised societies depends, not on the facts of economic developments in nations, but on the manner in which various groups of monopolists and privileged men, more or less favoured by the State, react on these facts.

Thus it is evident that the entry into the arena of economics of such a powerful producer as modern Germany, with her schools, her technical education spread broadcast among her people, her youthful high spirits, and her capacity for organisation, of necessity changed the relations between nations. A readjustment of forces was unavoidable. But, owing to the specific organisation of modern States, the adjustment of economic forces is impeded by another factor of political origin: the privileges and the monopolies constituted and upheld by the State.

In reality, modern States are specially constituted in order to establish privileges in favour of the rich, at the expense of the poor. The great financial houses of each nation always lay down the law in all political matters of importance. “What will Baron Rothschild say to it?” “What attitude will the syndicate of great bankers in Paris, Vienna, and London take?” Such questions have become the dominant element in political affairs and in the relations between nations. It is the approval or disapproval of financiers that makes and unmakes Ministries everywhere in Europe. True, that in England there is also the approval of the State Church and of the brewers to be faced; but the Church and the brewers are always in agreement with the great financiers, who take care never to interfere with their partisans' income. After all, as a Minister is but a man who holds fast to his office, to his power, and to the possibilities of enrichment which his post offers to him and to his supporters, it necessarily follows that the question of international relations is nowadays finally reduced to knowing whether the favoured monopolists of a particular State will take such or such an attitude towards the favourites of the same calibre in another State.

Thus, the state of economical forces brought into action is determined by the technical development of divers nations at a certain time in their history; but the use that will be made of these forces depends entirely on the degree of servitude towards their Government to which populations have allowed themselves to be reduced. The economical forces which could produce harmony and well-being, and give a fresh impulse to libertarian civilisation if they had free play in society,—these forces, being directed by the State, that is to say, by an organisation specially developed to enrich the rich and to absorb all modern progress in order to benefit privileged classes—these same forces become an instrument of oppression, of monopolists, and endless wars. They accelerate the enrichment of the favoured, and they augment the misery and the enthrallment of the poor.

This is why those economists who continue to consider

* A few figures will make these economic shocks the more apparent. Between 1900 and 1904 the exports of British produce from the United Kingdom were normal, and fluctuated round about £300,000,000. In 1904 there was a rumour of a great war; the United States quickened her production, and English exports rose in three years from £300,000,000 to £426,000,000. But the war, so longed for, was not forthcoming, and there was a sudden decline of orders; the crisis we mentioned broke out in the United States, and exports of English produce fell to £327,000,000. In 1910, however, the anticipation of a great European war was about to be realised, and in 1910 and 1911 English exports rose to an absolutely unforeseen height which they had never approached before. Yet nobody could explain the fact. In 1911 the exports reached £454,000,000, and over £487,000,000 in 1912. Coal, steel, lead, fast vessels, cruisers, cartridges, cloth, linen, foot-gear, leather, preserved foods,—everything was in demand and was exported in huge quantities. Fortunes were heaped up visibly. Men were about to massacre one another; what good luck!

economic forces alone, without analysing the limits within which their action is circumscribed nowadays—without taking into account the *ideology of the State*, or the forces that each State necessarily places at the service of the rich, in order to favour their enrichment at the expense of the poor—this is why such economists remain completely outside the realities of the economic and social world.

(Conclusion.)

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

HEAVEN AND HELL.

Messrs. Cassell's idea of writing to sixteen prominent clergymen, asking the question, "Is there a Hell?" has elicited answers so grossly stupid, superstitious, and absurd that it seems hardly believable we are living in the twentieth century. The one thing noticeable about these gentry, who are supposed to hold the keys to eternal truth, is that they all disagree. They also ignore the fact that the only hell known of is here, in our mines, in our factories, in our slums, in the work of capitalistic enterprise, that decimates whole populations and creates all the horrors of our battlefields. This inferno is maintained by the very people who support these "divines," and is perpetuated by the foolish superstitions which they preach.

After all, the best answer to all this silly babble from the little Bethels is ridicule, and this has been supplied with such telling effect by the late R. G. Ingersoll that we feel sure it will cheer and amuse our readers to reprint what he said in this connection. We quote from a lecture on "Liberty" delivered to an audience of five thousand at the Auditorium in Chicago in 1891.

Now, where did the doctrine of hell come from? It came from this fellow in the dug-out [the naked superstitious savage], and he got it from his animal forefathers. This doctrine of hell was born of the grin of hyenas. It was born of the eyes of snakes—snakes that hung in fearful coils watching for their prey. It was born of the obscene chatter of baboons, and I despise it with every drop of my blood, and defy it. I make my choice now to-night. If there is any hell, I want to go there, rather than go to heaven and keep the company of a God who would damn his own children. I heard a little story the other day about hell which is somewhat cheerful. There was a man who died and went to heaven, and he got in. In a day or two afterwards he came to St. Peter, and he said: "Do you know, I have had a great desire to see some men I used to hear talked about in the world. I was a member of the Young Men's Christian Association, and I used to hear about these men. There was a good deal of discussion about whether they were in hell or heaven. The most of us thought they were in hell."

"Who were you talking about?" said Peter.

"Why," said the applicant, "there was Voltaire, and Humboldt, and Darwin."

"My dear man," says Peter, "they are all in hell."

"Yes," he says, "I thought so; but I've kind of got a desire to see them."

So Peter says: "You can go down there any time you want to and see them. Trains run regularly every day. All you have got to do is to buy a round trip ticket and go there."

"All right," says the fellow, "I'll go to-day."

So he got his ticket and went. All at once the brakeman or the conductor hollered out: "Hell!" He looked out and he thought they were fooling him. It was a nice-looking country, but he didn't think he had got there yet. So he sat there while the others got out, and finally the brakeman came to him and says:

"Get out! This is the place, and we don't run any further."

He got out, and he says to himself: "What a magnificent place! Grass everywhere—billows of it! Trees, birds singing, and flowers blossoming, and fountains playing, and gentlemen and ladies riding around—O, everything beautiful. This is the most wonderful thing I ever saw." Then he saw a very tall man, and he went up to him, and he says: "Mister, excuse me, but what place is this?" And the man says: "It is hell."

"Well, you know, I was up in the other place, and I came down here, and my particular object was to see three men—Voltaire, Darwin, and Humboldt."

"Well," said the man, "young man, I am glad to see you. My name was Voltaire when I lived in the world."

The young man says: "You have no idea how delighted I am to see you, Mr. Voltaire; but is this hell? It doesn't look anything like what we thought it was."

"You ought to have seen it when I came here," said Voltaire. "It was horrible—brimstone, fire, smoke, and everything horrible, but you know that every scientist for the last hundred years or so has come here. All the genius of the world is here, and about fifty years ago we set to work to improve the place. We turned the lake of fire and brimstone; we conveyed it in pipes, and it does our cooking. We bored artesian wells, and we have got millions of water, the finest you ever saw. The whole country now is irrigated splendidly, and we are

having what you would call in your country a real-estate boom. We are getting ahead of the other place. I see by the papers that a lot was sold on the corner of the Square of Public Glory for taxes."

The young fellow said to Voltaire: "Do you know anybody that would like to buy my return ticket?"

CORRESPONDENCE.

"ILLUSIONS."

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—I must repeat my charge. You do not understand the Single Tax philosophy. If you did, you would see that when land has no more selling value than air, the natural order will be restored, and men and women will require no more government than the birds do. It is only slaves who are governed, and we are reduced to slavery by the private appropriation of public land. Now, make no mistake. My remark about revenue being necessary was qualified by "so long as we live in communities." We will not dwell in communities (in the sense that we do now) when the Single Tax has destroyed the selling price of land. We will dwell in families—we will be free.

How are you going to bring matters to a crisis? Not by the way you talk. "Words are but wind; actions speak the mind!" was taught me in my youth by Chartist Aitkin. When the workers of this country (say, one per cent. of them) understand the Single Tax philosophy, they will (1) refuse to pay the present robber taxation, and (2) obey the Tolstoyan mandate and go forth from the present industrial hells and take possession of land that is not being put to its proper use. They will then be in the position of the Mexican peasants, and will have to fight. But they will win.—Fraternally yours,

St. Anne's-on-the-Sea.

JOHN BAGOT.

[We are pleased to see that our comrade admits our contention,—viz., that when the workers try to take possession of the land, they will have to fight. That is the point we have been trying to drive home. But we fail to see where the Single Tax comes in, once it is agreed that fighting will be necessary.—ED. FREEDOM.]

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE MEMORIAL MEETING.

In furtherance of the unselfish revolutionary spirit manifested by our beloved comrade Voltairine de Cleyre, a memorial meeting was held at Bowen Hall, Hull House, Chicago, on the Sunday morning, June 22, just a year from the time when we laid her to rest at Waldheim beside the martyrs whose memory she so devotedly cherished.

Addresses commemorative of the work of Voltairine, and intended to warm each other up to the exhibition of a like zeal, and to inspiration by a similar spirit, were delivered by Dr. J. H. Greer, H. P. Loomis, Isaac Abrams, Julius Menkler, Honoré Jaxon, William Thurston Brown, and Jay Fox. Professor Foster, of Chicago University, sent a letter of fellow-feeling, while the comments and remarks of the different speakers were characteristically different as becomes participants in an individualistic movement; yet the Communism of the cause was visible throughout in their common admiration for the world-wide sympathy and indefatigable energy displayed for more than a quarter of a century, and in spite of dire physical disability and suffering, and an unusually up-hill struggle for existence, by the glorious woman whose example was thus filling our hearts with enthusiasm. The very thought of the various episodes in her career projected our hearts and minds into renewed fellowship with the comrades in other lands, with whose struggles Voltairine was wont to so thoroughly identify herself; and when the meeting closed, we went out to Waldheim with that feeling of joy and exultation that can never come to those whose wretched lives are devoted to vain endeavours to put out the unquenchable fires of love and liberty.

H. J. J.

LONDON AND PROVINCIAL PROPAGANDA.

Feeling that the time is opportune for more systematic propaganda on the part of the Anarchists in London and the provinces, a few of us have recently met to discuss ways and means of furthering our cause. We are arranging a series of lectures, and for this purpose a list of speakers has been drawn up and can be had on application to the secretaries *pro tem*. Besides this, it was decided to create a fund for the proposed weekly paper, and with this end in view some London groups have agreed to subscribe a minimum of 6d. monthly.

All comrades and sympathisers with our objects are urged to join in our work, and it would be of great assistance if information were sent in as to the present work of groups, with places and time of meetings, so that all able to do so could rally round and make this work more effective by distributing and selling literature, etc. We need scarcely point out how the industrial struggle is daily becoming more conscious of its true aim; and how the workers are daily growing more restless and disgusted with politics, even "Labour" politics. Now is the time to make our ideas known far and wide, but for this spade-work assistance of every kind is imperative.

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Punishment and the Law.

The discussion of the question of prisons and punishment at the Medical Congress just held in Brighton affords another opportunity for the Anarchist to call the attention of thoughtful persons to the cruel and absurd attitude taken by society as a whole towards the criminal, and to the hopelessly futile and inhuman methods of our prisons at the present day.

It is an old, old story this ever-recurring question: What shall we do with our criminals? It is asked of the Anarchist in season and out of season, as the final poser that shall destroy the validity of his theory of life. The reason for this is, that while many people still entertain a most ferocious prejudice against the criminal—fostered and inflamed, of course, by our officials and a brutalised press—very few care to study the problem in the light of science and reason. So the Anarchist, who denounces all forms of punishment, is often regarded as a criminal for that very reason. Yet when a true and unprejudiced history of crime and punishment comes to be written, without the shadow of a doubt it will confirm the Anarchist position.

It was, therefore, gratifying to find Kropotkin—the “gaol bird”—proclaiming at the Congress in uncompromising terms the view he has often expressed, that our prisons “are the universities of crime.” But it seems to us that what needs to be specially impressed on the mind of all who will listen (*society's responsibility towards the criminal should be impressed upon everybody*) is the fact that prisons and punishments, like all other things, have been subject to a law of evolution, and that the time has now arrived for a complete change in the treatment of people who are now nothing less than the victims of a brutal and prejudiced penal system.

As briefly as possible let us recall what has been the course of progress toward this more enlightened attitude during the last hundred and fifty years.

Many people, including some very high officials, do not know what the condition of our prisons was when John Howard—a real philanthropist—determined to devote his energies to their reformation. Still fewer perhaps are aware that his noble efforts were the result of his own personal experience in the French prison at Brest. When he came to be high sheriff of Bedford in 1773 it was the usual thing for poor prisoners to be detained in prison untried, or even after being pronounced innocent, until sufficiently satisfying fees had been paid to the gaolers and prison officials. When these evils were abolished, the outcry against the interference with official “vested interests” can be readily imagined. We need not detail all the conditions of filth, disease, and promiscuity that were then considered always by the fanatics of punishment as a necessary condition in the treatment of felons. Howard's efforts brought about immense reforms, though other evils crept in; and society was the better, not the worse, for all his work. If, then, Howard's name is synonymous with that of the ideal humanitarian; if, as Burke said, his noble work was “to dive in the depths of dungeons, to plunge into the infection of hospitals, to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain, to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression and contempt, to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and to compare and collate

the distresses of all men in all countries”—if Howard's work deserved such a tribute, what shall we say of those who in this dawn of the twentieth century are maintaining the scaffold, the cat, and the fiendish sentences of years of penal servitude?

Is it necessary to give more instances of how prison reform has been brought about—always in the teeth of the opposition of brutal officialdom and an ignorant public? If so, we can mention the work of Elizabeth Fry, who, following in the steps of John Howard, found still so much to do. In 1813 Newgate was little better than the gaols of 1773. For it must be understood that when infamies are practised behind stone walls, the difficulty of dragging them into publicity is so great, and the facilities for retrogression are so obvious, that progress is inevitably far slower than in the outside world. Still, this remarkable woman did a great work. By her efforts a school and a manufactory were introduced into the prison, and we are told the women “readily submitted to the rules for their well-being,” because she treated them as friends, not as enemies.

Again, readers of Dickens and of Charles Reade will recall how the abuses of prisons and the law were again and again pilloried—by their humour, satire, and dramatic exposure—till many minor reforms were instituted. Since then criminology has been studied more from the psychological side, and Maudsley, Havelock Ellis, and Edward Carpenter have each contributed volumes on crime, punishment, and prisons, exposing the evils still existing, and showing the great changes which, as we said before, have become imperative in the light of modern humanitarian science. Ignoring for a moment the fact, now well understood, that society breeds her own criminals, punishing only those who act *illegally*, scientific inquiry has proved beyond dispute that the majority of criminals convicted of violence, or what are called *passional offences*, are persons of weak will-power; and that not punishment, which crushes, but moral influences, which strengthen, should be used. For, as Maudsley has pointed out, even idiots can gain “some power of self-government both in body and mind” by patient attention and culture. And he adds this valuable remark: “Great, then, as the power of will unquestionably is, when rightly developed, we ought not to lose sight of the fact that its development is effected only by the gradual education of a continued exercise in relation to the circumstances of life.”

We have italicised this last sentence so that readers may note that it is precisely this “relation to the circumstances of life” that prisons deny to their victims, thus depriving them of the very influence that is needed to help the weak in will-power, and eventually restoring them to the temptations of a vicious social system with their moral nature shattered and broken. Such is the *rationale* of punishment as enforced by the enlightened gentlemen who administer our laws and denounce Anarchism, because it would liberate and treat humanly the unfortunates who they continue to torture. They do not understand that it is not the “criminals” they imprison that we should fear to have among us, but, on the contrary, it is those they do not imprison that we should combat as the real enemies of a true society.

A few only of the worst features of our prison system have here been referred to. Many others, especially those relating to the fallacy called Justice as administered through our laws, have not been mentioned. Obviously, it is a subject on which a volume might be written from the Anarchist point of view. It would then be found that all real ameliorations of the evils laws inevitably breed have been in the direction of a more enlightened, a more scientific, a more human treatment, as opposed to the vindictive, the brutal, and the ignorant attitude beloved of Governments and the hierarchy of officials who fatten on their evil powers.

It is clear that, like many other questions in the present day, that of punishment, police, and prisons is on trial and claiming public attention. And why not? We have to pay a heavy price in money and morals for these institutions. And in the light of the scathing exposures that we constantly read of, and of the disgusting treatment of women that is happening under our very eyes, it is too late in the day for “the great British public” to be told the police can do no wrong.

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DESPOTISM IN PORTUGAL.

AN APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT.

The persecutions of the Labour organisations by the Portuguese Republican Government have culminated with the ascent to power of Mr. Afonso Costa, chief of the so-called Democratic Group. All over the country the authorities of the Republic, inspired by the head of the Government, practise the most violent methods, dissolving the Trade Unions lawfully organised, arresting the militants under the most futile pretexts, and drawing up the most ridiculous impeachments. In the province of Alentejo, where Syndicalist organisations have increased amongst the rural population, the local authorities, without the least respect for the Republican Constitution, have attacked the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies, closing them arbitrarily, seizing their books, and have arrested a great number of workmen, whom they have sent to the Lisbon prisons, where they are kept an indefinite time, in spite of the Republic's fundamental laws.

In Lisbon there is an intense industrial crisis, which affects every industry, and the extraordinary dearth of necessities of life produces among the workers a desperate situation. The Government reduced the enormous number of unemployed by putting them on public works for three days each week. This did not relieve the pressure, and when the workers protests increased, the Government closed the Casa Sindical (Sindical House), under the pretext that it was a political insurrectional movement, which was outside the scope of the Labour organisations. They also seized all Labour newspapers. At an enormous meeting, promoted by the Lisbon parish juntas to protest against the increased house rents, 50,000 demonstrators joined with the workers in protesting against the persecutions that were being instituted under Mr. Afonso Costa's rule, and which alienated him from the public opinion. But the persecutions redoubled. The opposition newspapers were seized, and in presence of this "Democratic" terror, the workmen meet with difficulty. Liberty of thought and meeting do not exist. Mr. Costa's will is supreme.

It was in this atmosphere of terror that on June 10, during a procession, a bomb exploded amongst some workmen carrying a black flag with the label "Bread or work!" Soon after the explosion Costa's carbonaris set fire to a kiosk frequented by workmen, and pretended to attack the Monarchist daily paper, *O Dia*, but were prevented by the police. However, they attacked the Casa Sindical, smashing the windows and furniture, with the consent of the police, and trying to set fire to the place.

The next day the police seized in their own houses the best known Labour militants, and put them in the Lisbon central prison at the order of the police commandant; while the judge of criminal instruction proceeded with the investigations, sending for trial as suspects sixteen persons. The Labour militants, against whom nothing has been proved, have now been in prison for over six weeks without trial, and seem likely to continue there, in spite of the Constitution of the Republic. The Labour organisations, coerced by the terror that was spread about, are paralysed for the time being. The press, to which the Labour militants appealed against the violence of which they are the victims, sided with the Government in a campaign of silence, excepting two or three newspapers which published the letters that were addressed to them. The Governmental press covers the Labour militants with vile insults; and some opposition newspapers, fearing arrests and carbonari attacks, say nothing against the arbitrary action of the Government in their dealings with the organised Labour movement.

What remains to be done in the presence of such an atmosphere of terror that has been created about the Labour organisations? To appeal to the international Press, protesting against the Democratic Government, which strangles every liberty conceded by the Portuguese Republic's Constitution, closing the Unions lawfully constituted, and keeping imprisoned at the order of Mr. Afonso Costa, without cause and for an indeterminate time, the honest and conscientious men that undertake the defence of the working classes. This we are doing, trusting that our protest will be heard throughout the civilised world, stimulating the Press, the Labour organisations, and the Freethought organisations to a campaign against the tyranny that reigns in Portugal.—(From *Terra Livre*, of Lisbon, July 17, 1913.)

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*.

SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

One of the best commentaries on our present system was furnished a short time ago by the prosecution of a woman who rented a flat in Piccadilly for the purpose of prostitution. On the prisoner's own statement, she made £15 a week out of the prostitution of quite young girls. The judge asked the Press not to report more of the case than their duty required, and suggested that the earnings of the prostitutes should not be stated. Why this desire for concealment, unless it be, as the *Suffragette* states, in order to protect some persons in high position? Why was the prisoner sentenced only to three months in the second division, in face of all the agitation which resulted in the White Slave Traffic Bill being passed this year?

Taking the facts as they appear, the Government stand condemned of hypocrisy of the worst type. A law is passed to appease the public conscience and apparently punish the wrongdoer—yes, when he is propertyless and unknown! Meanwhile, monogamy—the marriage system corresponding to capitalism—must remain undisturbed at all hazards by surreptitiously fostering prostitution—always found, as it is, existing side by side with monogamy. If monogamy is a failure, and prostitution a necessity, as would appear by its protection (for it amounts to that) by the State, why not be honest and confess that any society resting upon such a basis is rotten through and through, and so cleanse the Augean stables by the abolition of private property. What would this mean? That women would no longer sell themselves in order to live, economic necessity being at the root of all prostitution, and therefore limiting one's liberty. Can we conceive any woman being held in bondage against her will, prostituting herself in fact, when all are equally producers in a free society? Underneath all, we realise the whole question is an economic one, and can only be solved by enabling women to labour equally with men. The economically free woman makes her own terms, living her own life without compulsion of any kind. The disgraceful spectacle of marriage founded on the chattel slavery of women on the one hand, and prostitution, equally implying enslavement, on the other, must go; and it is our privileged work to abolish it, substituting for it the highest form of marriage founded upon the mutual love and respect of both sexes.

One of the most remarkable features of the present age is the growing solidarity displayed by women. Wherever we find economic circumstances have brought about the congregation of women in large masses, there also develops the modern woman, made strong by contact with the world, for the independence which labour outside the home brings as its reward is very rapidly transforming women into the co-workers and comrades of men. The old inherent conservatism and docility are fast falling away, and from there emerges the rebel against existing laws and institutions. The iron heel of capitalism is accomplishing that which successive ages have failed to achieve,—it is making woman demand a wider horizon, a fuller life. The parasitic tendencies are disappearing, for, realising the vast possibility of humanity, she is no longer content to be the caged-up slave, or, at best, man's echo. It is now always the woman who pays, and in proportion as suffering brings greater clarity of vision, so sooner or later she will emerge from captivity.

Laundry workers are perhaps the most sweated of women. It was found by the Acton District Council in a recent inquiry that an ironer working from 6.30 a.m. till 10.30 p.m. earned 3s. 3½d. in 2½ days. Girls coming straight from school received 2s. 6d. weekly, replacing older ones formerly in receipt of 5s. a week. The forewomen were given a bonus to obtain a maximum amount of work. The factory laws were evaded, and the factory inspector deceived. Facts such as these are reported daily, yet no word is written in the capitalist newspapers about the relation of low wages to prostitution.

Fancy any adult woman supporting herself on 5s. or 6s. weekly—starvation or a worse alternative! No wonder the girls are almost fatalistic in the acceptance of their lot, and cannot be organised, first, being unable to spare even a few coppers for the Union, and secondly, fearing the loss of their ill-paid job. Then the whole insincerity of State enactments! People cannot be made moral by Act of Parliament, and the Factory Acts will continue to be broken until the workers realise their strength lies in unity, and can enforce their demands without the hypocritical, "paternal" care of a capitalist State.

Dr. Arthur Latham, of St. George's Hospital, at the recent Royal Sanitary Institute Congress, said:—"It is doubtful whether in the past year any real progress has been made in the attack on consumption, for we were far from being in the position which at first sight the Insurance Act seemed to render probable." It is rarely indeed that we get such an honest statement of fact. Why place faith at all in such a precious piece of political jobbery?

At the British Congress on Tuberculosis we were told by Koch that: "It is the overcrowded dwellings of the poor that we have to regard as the real breeding-places of tuberculosis; it is out of them the disease always crops up anew, and it is to the abolition of these conditions that we must first and foremost direct our attention if we wish to attack the evil at its root." Again, Dr. Newman tells us, in "The Health of the State," that "overcrowding has a definite influence in

propagating tuberculous disease, and that in the large towns phthisis follows density to the acre."

Are the supporters of the Act so illogical as to suppose that it will abolish the causes of consumption—poverty and overcrowding? Why not confess its impotence, and lay the axe to the root.

The members of the Women's Freedom League have done some excellent educational work among the wage slaves, but their lack of logic is sometimes astonishing. Imagine a member—a nurse by profession—urging State registration of nurses as a means of remedying existing grievances, and safeguarding the interests of the profession. When will Suffragettes realise what a fetish is made nowadays of the Statute-book. All will be well, they think, if this or that can only become the law of the land. Might I remind the members of the nursing profession of the British Medical Association, one of the most powerful of voluntary societies. Why not remedy evils by a similar organisation? How long will it take women to learn to distrust capitalistic legislation, and obtain all they require by organisation and direct action?

We learn that at the recent quarterly meeting of Co-operators a minimum wage resolution was defeated; but that the women, who form at least 50 per cent. of the Co-operative membership, carried a resolution, against the recommendation of the directors, by which the minimum wage scale will come into force at the beginning of 1914, and will affect 10,000 women. Whatever be the demerits of the agitation for a minimum wage, this attempt on the part of the women Co-operators proves they are making an effort to secure a measure of justice for their employees; and we can almost foresee the time when through them Co-operation will prove one of the great weapons in modern industrial warfare.

M. HOPE.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

United States.

The economic condition in the States has become so strained, the revolts of the wage-slaves so numerous, and the brutality of the employers so outrageous, that even the bourgeois press of old Europe begins to wonder and to protest. The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the organ of the commercial bourgeoisie of Germany, gives in its number of June 28 a description of the great Labour struggle in America, which has aroused interest everywhere. "Without exaggeration, it may be said that during the fourteen weeks that the silk weavers' strike has been in progress in Paterson, not one of the thousands of strikers but has been arrested at one moment or other. In most cases the Courts had to let them go, as no punishable act could possibly be found against them. How the police have disregarded the Constitution and the laws is shown by the fact that they have simply closed all the halls of the strikers, confiscated their papers, and carried out searches in the homes of the workers without warrants." In spite of the sufferings of the strikers, they are strong in solidarity and determination to fight on till victory is theirs; their great enemy now is starvation, and the masters count on hunger to drive the rebels back to work.

The troubles in the mining districts of Western Virginia reached a point where even the hardened public opinion of America stepped in, and forced the Senate to appoint an inquiry commission to look a little closer into the reign of terror established by the mine-owners with the help of the servile authorities. The strike of the miners has lasted for months, and the strikers, mostly Americans—in opposition to those of Paterson, who are chiefly foreigners—had many sanguinary encounters with the police and troops. In the end the Governor proclaimed a state of siege, and a condition unheard-of since the Civil War was created, the military authorities superseding the civil government. People were arrested by order of the military in districts where the state of siege did not even exist, and dragged before military tribunals. The inquiry brought out the incredible reign of terror imposed on the workers living in a land which boasts of the famous Declaration of Independence and rights of man. The latest papers from America to hand state that the officials of the United Mine Workers of America have concluded an agreement with the State Government which has aroused great indignation among the strikers. The struggle, which has cost \$400,000 of the miners' money, which has lasted nearly a year and entailed terrible suffering on the men and their families, cannot be called "settled" when in fact the owners have conceded none of the claims of the strikers for higher pay, certain rights, and the abolition of the mine guard, who, with their machine guns, are a perpetual menace and provocation to the men.

In the West, the I.W.W. is leading the strike of the timber workers of Washington and Oregon. These men claim less hours, better food and lodgings, and a greater guarantee of safety of labour. The men live and work under hard conditions. Felling trees and transporting them to the sawmills may sound picturesque, but it is a difficult and often dangerous work; fifteen to twenty men have to live and sleep together in a wooden shanty; blankets must be provided by the men, though the company is supposed to look after board and lodgings, for which the men have to pay from \$4 to \$7 a week. The companies have hospitals—at least on paper—for which the men have to contribute a dollar a month; but if they are ill, the foreman calls

them lazy, and dismisses them. If a man has had an accident, he is taken in if he can prove that it is not due to his own negligence.

Against these and other vexatious conditions the timber workers have revolted with the help of the I.W.W., which seems destined to play a great rôle in the Labour struggle, especially amongst the lower grade workers, who have remained untouched by the propaganda of the conservative American Federation of Labor. The attitude of the latter towards the younger revolutionary I.W.W. and other organisations is not only not friendly, but sometimes downright blackguardly. In May, for instance, the electrical engineers of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company struck work for higher wages. The company provides electric light and power for the greater part of the State of California. The electrical engineers left work in a body, but the gas workers, boilermakers, and mechanical engineers, though much disposed to follow this example, had to remain at work by order of their Unions. The striking electrical engineers belonged to a Union which is not recognised by the A.F.L., and as soon as the strike broke out, the vice-president of an electrical engineers' Union affiliated to the A.F.L. concluded a labour contract for three years with the company for wages which the strikers were trying to increase! The really deplorable sight is now daily seen of the strike-breakers with their A.F.L. Union buttons on their caps marching to work under the protection of the police! There is only one ray of light in these dark doings of the A.F.L. men against their fellow workers: the honest elements will have their eyes opened, and recognise the character of the A.F.L., and that solidarity must be the watchword of the exploited.

"Instigation to violence" again and again has been the accusation against strike leaders and organisers, especially in the recent big strikes; the Courts always took a very serious view of that offence, and delivered heavy sentences. But when a Minister of War does the same thing nobody seems to find anything wrong, even if his words result in damage and bloodshed. Daniels, the War Secretary, delivered a speech at Seattle, and said, among other things, that the partisans of the red flag ought to be driven from the country. It is, therefore, not surprising to hear that on the night of July 18-19 a few hundreds of reserve marines from the ships lying in harbour at the time of Daniels' visit carried out their chief's ideas. They attacked the offices occupied by the revolutionary Syndicalist I.W.W., and threw all the furniture and books into the street, where they burned the whole lot. For two hours these defenders of law and order, together with some civilians, paraded the streets, threatening Socialists and Syndicalists, and swearing at the red flag. The damage done is over £1,000. Probably we will not hear much of prosecutions for "instigation to violence" this time. Meanwhile the I.W.W. by its activity attracts all the hostility of the governing classes, and has to bear the brunt of their persecutions.

Italy.

After the shameful brigandage in Tripoli, an enterprise from the beginning denounced by the Anarchists, in spite of the Jingo war spirit which had even gained Socialist circles, the Italian people have been obliged to review their gains and losses. The gains are *nil*, but the losses in lives and money are enormous. Taxes were heavy before this little war, but since then they have become unbearable. Besides, the folly of the Imperialistic enthusiasm is recognised even by the former supporters of the Tripoli enterprise. Altogether, the public is in a chastened mood, and inclined to listen with some respect to the Anarchists, whose prophecies about the war have proved so true. The opportunities for Anarchist propaganda are at present excellent, and comrades are making efforts to meet the situation.

The new paper, *Volonta*, at Ancona, has proved a great success. The circulation is steadily increasing, and the financial condition is very favourable, though the Italian comrades in America have not yet had time to send moral and material proofs of sympathy.

The *Internazionale*, of Parma, the organ of the Italian Syndicalists, has had to fight with financial difficulties; but the groups have wisely decided that some ephemeral publications which were in competition with the *Internazionale* shall be stopped or changed into local editions of that paper. In this way the literary and financial power of the movement will be less divided, and a strong, organised propaganda can be carried on.

The strike of the Italian peasants in the province of Ferrara has spread still more, and the people, exasperated by the attitude of the large landowners, have begun pillaging and waging furious war against the strike-breakers and the police, who, as usual, are on the side of the wealthy. Since February the fight has been carried on in Massafiscaglia, and, in spite of the suffering, the people will not submit. The children of the strikers are being welcomed by the comrades in neighbouring towns and provinces.

Germany.

A strike, which spread rapidly, has been declared in the naval dockyards of the North. The directors of the different shipbuilding yards had curtly refused the demand of the workers for higher wages, and declared that no more concessions would be made. This high-handed reply was answered by a total cessation of work all along the Baltic coast, from Hamburg to Flensburg, then spreading to Stettin and Kiel. This strike is rather a new symptom in the German class struggle. It was not declared by the *Deutscher Metalarbeiter Verband* (German Metalworkers Union), to which the dockyard men belong; on

the contrary, the strike is not acknowledged by the executive, and is even opposed by it. Nevertheless, the movement is spreading, in spite of official resistance, and although no strike money will be paid out. Thus the curious spectacle is witnessed of a strike in which the Union leaders side with the employers against the men. It shows that, in spite of the severe organisation of the German Centralist Unions, the spirit of liberty cannot always be kept under in those surroundings. This phenomenon of the German Labour movement has happened in a stronghold of Social Democracy. Bebel is Deputy for Hamburg, and the leader of the Centralist Trade Unions is Deputy for Kiel. Under their eyes, under their direct authority, amongst their own constituents, this act of revolt and direct action has happened! Though the fact is curious and illuminating as a sign of the times, we must not over-estimate its consequence, as the leaders, by the withholding of funds, will very likely force the men to return to work and discipline.

The editor of *Die Einigkeit*, the organ of the German Syndicalists, has been condemned to three years' imprisonment for his antimilitarist article. The paper *Der Anarchist* has been obliged to cease publication for lack of funds. The propaganda of libertarian Socialist ideas falls now chiefly on *Der Freie Arbeiter*, *Der Sozialist*, *Kampf*, and *Wohlstand für Alle*, the latter in Vienna. All have a hard task in view of the Government's oppression and Social Democratic hostility.

Australia.

Our comrade J. W. Fleming writes (June 6):—"I am still doing propaganda in Melbourne. I debated with E. Hartley ('Anarchy v. Socialism') previous to his return to London, and celebrated the Paris Commune, also May Day, which was a splendid success, as I was not mobbed nor interrupted, this being so different to the eight previous years. I consider this very satisfactory, after being stoned and the flag torn to pieces. Anarchy has made an impression at last. One thing is disappointing: no young Australians come forward to do Anarchist propaganda. I hope you will do all you can to prevent emigrants coming to Australia, as there is no possible chance for them to get employment. It is very sad and cruel; some of the men have drifted into crime, and the poor girls on to the streets. I don't believe there is any possible hope for those who come.

"The elections are over, resulting in the defeat of the Labour politicians, which will teach some of the dupes that there is nothing to be gained through politics. The principal joke during the elections was the exposure of Billy Hughes, the Labour Attorney-General, who stumped the country denouncing the Trusts and monopolies, while at the same time holding 300 shares in the New Castle Coal Trust. I suppose events will educate the workers, and ultimately they will adopt Direct Action; necessity will force them into that position. Meanwhile, the dogs will be whistled to the ballot-box, and, like lackies, will obey their bosses, the Labour politicians. I recently lectured at the Gaiety on the Mexican Revolution, pointing to the fact that action alone would succeed, and politics always fail. Down with politics! down with politicians!"

South Africa.

The upheaval in Johannesburg shows that the Labour movement has been making rapid strides during the past few months. A Welsh comrade who has worked in the mines in South Africa tells us that the key to the situation is the organisation of the natives, who work under the control of the white miners. Of course, the mineowners recognise this danger, and safeguard it in every way, our comrade having been punished on one occasion merely for teaching a native to learn English. That the awakening of Labour is not confined to the Rand is shown by a letter recently received from our old comrade Henry Glasse, who for years, almost single-handed, has propagated Anarchist ideas in South Africa. He writes:—"The Labour movement here in Port Elizabeth is making (for such an unlikely place) very good progress. I am getting Anarchist literature into the hands of some of the members, with, I am glad to say, satisfactory results. One of the most prominent is reading 'Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth' with great interest, and has got my permission to lend it to another active man. I am also glad to say that a coloured branch has been formed, which already numbers two hundred members here in Port Elizabeth. As I have often pointed out, any Socialist or quasi-Socialistic movement which totally ignores the larger section of the workers—the coloured and native—will vie in absurdity with the mythical three tailors of Tooley Street."

* * * Owing to pressure on our space, several interesting articles, including Book Notes, are crowded out.

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The Workers' Antimilitarist Committee.

Although no report of the work of the above Committee, or of the demonstration held in Trafalgar Square on May 27, has appeared in *FREEDOM*, a reference to this splendid effort deserves insertion in these columns. The Groupe d'Etudes Sociales called a meeting of comrades to consider the necessity of propaganda on this question. A Committee was formed, with Walter Ponder as honorary secretary, and a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on May 27 was decided upon. Many branches of Trade Unions and Socialist societies were invited to co-operate, which many of them did. About 70,000 leaflets were distributed throughout London. The leaflets made it quite clear that the demonstration was to be international and thoroughly revolutionary in character. Denunciation of armaments, war, jingoism, national antagonism, all forms of conscription, and the present system of capitalist society and government; the advocacy of the international general strike, and the solidarity of Labour, were the keynotes of the whole movement. In Hackney and the East End of London generally a local committee worked very vigorously, independently of the general committee. Lack of adequate funds and time made the preparations somewhat incomplete, but nevertheless five processions with bands and banners were organised, and marched from Mile End Waste, Highbury Corner, St. Pancras Arches, Paddington Green, and The Grove, Hammersmith. Branches of the Railwaymen's Union, Carmen, Shop Assistants, Clerks, Silver Trades, Furnishing Trades, Tailors, Waiters, etc.; the *Daily Herald* League, I.L.P., and B.S.P. joined in.

On the day of the demonstration the weather was almost unbearably sultry, it was the hottest day of the year, but thousands of people assembled in the Square and cordially endorsed the speeches delivered from the three platforms. The speakers included Cunningham Graham, Mrs. Montefiore, Mrs. Baker, Frank Smith, Mrs. Cheshire, A. B. Mace, P. C. Hoffman, Jack Tanner, W. Ponder, M. Kavanagh, H. Greenbourn, Sam Roden, Norman Young, L. Boyne, Carl Quinn, G. Swasey, H. H. Elvin, W. B. Parker, Ted Leggatt, J. Walsh, C. Dear, and others. All the speeches were revolutionary in tone.

Fred Sellar, who with his brothers had been imprisoned in New Zealand for refusing to serve in the citizen army there, also spoke, and incidentally exposed the intolerable labour conditions in that country. Five thousand leaflets containing the words of the "International" had been distributed, and, despite the efforts of the police official in command to break up the concourse of people, the demonstration closed by singing, led by the band of the Boy Peace Scouts of the Walthamstow B.S.P. Scotland Yard did its best to prevent the meeting, and also tried to intimidate Ponder on the afternoon it was held.

W. Ponder, as honorary secretary, worked almost night and day to make the meeting a success. The Committee still continues in existence, but is hampered by want of funds to meet all its liabilities. Mrs. D. B. Montefiore, the honorary treasurer, and W. Ponder will be glad to receive further contributions from sympathisers. C.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

EAST LONDON.—Since closing our room in Mare Street, Hackney, we have been holding five meetings weekly. They are as follows:—

Sunday, 11.45 a.m., Victoria Park; 8 p.m., King Edward Road, Hackney.

Monday, 8.30, Queen's Road, Dalston. Wednesday, 8, outside Town

Hall, Hackney. Friday, 8.30, Morning Lane, Hackney.

All meetings are excellent, and are attended by workers, parsons, Territorials, policemen, and other rogues and vagabonds. There are about twenty comrades in the group. Some of them are very promising speakers.

On Sunday, July 13, at Victoria Park, we took a collection of 13s. 8d. for the Black Country strikers. The *summonses* have arrived. In the "King's name" we are to appear at Old Street Police Court at 2 p.m. on Wednesday, August 13. Three are Anarchists—F. Large, C. Palmer, and myself; and one a Social Democrat—J. Mallon. Four more comrades have promised to follow on with similar action. We are maintaining the right of taking collections in public parks, which obtained for a number of years. All those who want to help are cordially invited to attend Victoria Park any Sunday morning, and make themselves known. The times are with us, comrades; Direct Action is increasingly understood. If the principles of Anarchism are vigorously propagated at this juncture, it may mean much to us. Let us, then, raise aloft the banner of revolt, making clearer our ideas, and new citadels can be won. It is up to you, comrades.

W. PONDER.

EDINBURGH.—Open-air propaganda continues to hold the energies of our comrades McAra and Porter. Large and attentive audiences are the order. Besides the usual Sunday meetings on the Mound and the Meadows, meetings have also been held at the foot of Leith Walk, Leith, on Friday evenings, in spite of the opposition of rival meetings of Suffragists and S.L.P.s. On July 13, Porter gave an interesting lecture on "The Fallacy of Floating in the Clouds of Idealism" and the need of getting back to Mother Earth, namely, the workshop, as being the vital spot in the armour of Capitalism, on which the Anarchist should bring to bear the whole force of his guns, loaded to the muzzle with "conscious association," for the overthrow of this rotten system. He also bashed the Marxist and S.L.P.s with their own pet god (Marx), bringing forth a fusillade of questions, some of value, others of doubtful worth, but all of them suitably dealt with.

W. P. F.

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOLS.—News comes from Mat Roche that the school progresses favourably at 20 Islington, Liverpool. Short addresses on Evolution are delivered, and questions are invited. As a diversion, there will be occasional humorous readings from Mark Twain's "Adventures of Tom Sawyer," which should prove interesting to the young rebels of Liverpool. I understand that an outing for the nippers is to be arranged, providing the "necessary" is forthcoming. Whatever attitude our wise and generous comrades hold towards the school movement in general, we feel certain that they will at least agree that the nippers should have a day in the sunlight and green fields. Mat is anxiously awaiting cash for this purpose.

At the East End school we are having very interesting discussions on Evolution. We have had the pleasure of hearing Dai Owen and Harry Thomas, South Wales Miners, opening up the subject and lending their aid to the

children in their thirst for knowledge of this particularly interesting subject. The attention displayed and the lively questions asked proved to us that they had interested the children. The elder scholars meet together on Tuesday evenings to read and discuss things. Ferrer's book on his schools is at present under observation, and we hope that our elder youngsters will advance their ideas through this study of Ferrer's aims and objects.

Saturday, July 26, was a joy day for the rebels of this school. To journey straight from Whitechapel and be planked down in Shiplake-on-Thames was a contrast so vivid that it proved a fine object-lesson for these impressionable minds. There we were right amongst the Vanderbilts and others of that ilk, enjoying the sunlight, blue skies, beautiful trees, and the enchanting Thames, so long denied us. What a glorious time we had! And what children we all are when we are freely communing with Nature! All thoughts of private property—if we have any!—are left behind, and the "law and order" of the old fogies passes away like a bad dream. Our revels are so free that the "musts" and "must nots," of which I for one am heartily sick, have no meaning in our joyous but too brief experience of an unchained existence. Let them call us "savages" if they will. We will accept the name; but we will prove to them that "private owners" do not even know how to enjoy the things they "own." We are against the monopoly of enjoyment, as of other things; and our fathers and mothers, who have been "good" too long—and so respectable—must learn that the time is fast ripening when the "bad uns" will play the devil with the fossilised notions of the past. Let us not worry about our "bad" behaviour; let us develop our rebellious nature; let us stick to our studies; and I venture to prophesy that in the near future we shall give a valuable object-lesson to these suppressors of mirth and merriment. We have youth and "savagery" on our side; in conjunction with knowledge, there is hope!

146 Stepney Green, E.

Proposed International Anarchist Congress.

The adjourned meeting to consider the above subject will be held at 9 Manette Street, Charing Cross Road, on Friday, August 8, at 8.30 prompt.

PAMPHLET PRINTING FUND.

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MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(July 4—July 31.)

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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.

Marylebone.—A new group has been formed in Marylebone, and is holding meetings in Regent's Park on Sunday mornings at 11.30, and in Hyde Park on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock. Speakers wanted and will be heartily welcomed.

Manchester.—Comrades are asked to meet on Saturday, August 9, at 6 o'clock prompt, at the Clarion Café, Market Street. Every Sunday in Stevenson Square, at 3 o'clock. **FREEDOM**, Pamphlets, and Books on Sale.

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