

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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NOTES.

Dyson's Delusion.

The cartoon by Will Dyson in the *Herald* of March 27 must have come as a rude shock to his many ante-war admirers; but it reveals also a lamentable ignorance of the workers' real fight to get clear of social chaos. The cartoon depicts three figures: "the State," "the Profiteer," and "the Worker." In the first section is shown the combination feared by Lloyd George, "the Profiteer and the Worker"; in the second is shown the combination the worker fears, "the State and the Profiteer"; and finally, the alternative and apparently desirable combination, "the State and the Worker against the Profiteer." Seeing that the State exists for the Profiteer, who controls it, and by means of which he is able to maintain his prestige, it is rather suggestive of a house divided against itself. The business of Labour, as Mr. Dyson should know, is to fight not only against the Profiteer, but also against the machine that was used at Llanely, Liverpool, Tonypany, etc., when the workers struck and were shot down by the State Army, fighting, as always, the masters' battles. The thing is too ludicrous even to follow Dyson's "Kultur Cartoons."

State Socialism in Practice.

We have witnessed recently, immediately following the passing of the Amendment Act to the Defence of the Realm Act, several cases of prosecution of workers for absenting themselves from work. Thus is realised the dream of the State Socialists that the State should control industry. Here it is doing so, and a number of workers have been fined, with the alternative of going to prison, for remaining away from work. The bare fact of such happenings in free England needs no comment. It shows plainly the fearful tyranny of life under a State-regimented society where authoritarianism runs rife, and the individual is subordinated to the needs of a machine which rules with a truly iron heel. For our part, we refuse to believe that the nationalisation of the means of production, etc.—the first article of the Social Democrats' faith—can mean anything other than the most complete tyranny and soulless slavery.

Christian Cant.

The Bishop of London has gone to the front to convey, as he says, a message to the soldiers, and to bless their banners with the love of the whole Church at home. By which he means, no doubt, that he goes to give his benediction in the name of God to those engaged in that dehumanising business of blowing German soldiers to perdition, and scattering Belgium's fields with blood and entrails, in their endeavours for victory. What dreadful irony! Lost, however, amid the patriotic zeal of those Christians who pray for victory. Victory! What does it mean? That our side shall kill more of the other side than they can of ours. We can understand a soldier with the bloodlust on him cheerfully pursuing his profession of killing, for war is killing. The whole instruments of war are designed with one object—to kill. The whole preparation, from making a soldier's toothbrush to building a battleship, is for the purpose of killing. To prate, then, of love and God is blatant and canting hypocrisy.

A Plea for Tolerance.

The remarkable speech of Dr. Lyttelton has caused a flutter in certain circles, and he will certainly need all his wits if he is to go on as he has begun to invent excuses and explanations of what he really meant. The gist of his speech was that we could hardly expect Germans to be other than vindictive towards England, and that if the effect of the war was, that we made sixty million people hate us as they have never yet hated us, then the war and its awful toll of human life would have been in vain. "Nothing we could do to establish peace in Europe," he said,

"would be of the smallest value unless we proved that we were willing to act on the principle that every nation should fully trust all other nations, and that each nation should be able to live and develop in its own way." We might add here, that Dr. Lyttelton apparently overlooked the fact that this principle should be extended not merely to nations, but to individuals; then, indeed, we would have a new society. Continuing, he said: "Unless England came forward and offered to give up something for a reason which she was trying to enforce on others, she would be charged in perfect truth with the most consummate hypocrisy." He concluded by asking for the internationalisation of the Kiel Canal, and in return the internationalisation of Gibraltar, pointing out how unwilling Britain was to yield any privilege or territory, some of which had been gained by questionable means, and yet expecting peace and concord. Truly an outspoken declaration for the Headmaster of Eton, where our future statesmen are trained. It is just this "What we have we hold" policy, the result of competitive commercialism, which makes wars inevitable; and whilst not holding much in common with Dr. Lyttelton, we would commend his message to the shrieking mob of editors and street boys who see naught but bad in Germany, and all the good in England.

Down with the Drink!

The amazing effrontery with which "leaders" and employers take upon themselves the duty of ordering the lives of the workers is nowhere manifested to such a degree as in the agitation now going on for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicants. Without discussing the question of whether this form of stimulant is good, bad, or indifferent, we must enter our emphatic protest against what is undoubtedly an encroachment upon the liberty of the individual. But, they say, this excessive drinking is hampering the output of work, it is seriously menacing the supply of munitions of war, it is impairing the efficiency of the men, and they will only work five days a week instead of seven. These things may be so, but if as workers we intend to work only five days a week instead of seven, have we not the choice in the matter? We may be committing economic suicide, but what is that to do with the boss or the jacks in office who wait upon Lloyd George and seek the power of the State to force men to give up drinking in the hopes that they will return to work? The boss has his alternative. He either can dismiss the man or he must take the man with all his prejudices and principles, whatever they be. The former he cannot do, because the demand for workers in certain trades threatens to exceed the supply. The latter he is loth to do, because it shows to the man how dependent is the boss and how powerful is the man if he cares to use his power. We hope the workers will not be cajoled into becoming highly speeded machines by this wily dodge.

Judging a Judge.

Writing of Justice Hawkins, Sir Edward Clarke says that "he was the worst Judge I ever knew or heard of. He had no notion whatever of what justice meant, or of the obligations of truth and fairness." This summing up of a famous Judge, who might have been the worst of a bad lot, is not only interesting, but contains a subtle suggestion of unconscious irony. Justice, obligations of truth and fairness, attributes which Sir Edward laments were absent in Justice Hawkins, we hardly expect to find in a man who is called upon to judge his fellow men, and judge them and punish them according to laws manufactured and maintained for a class to which he himself belongs, and dictated by the needs of a society based upon injustice and dishonour. It is obvious to the most superficial observer that for a Judge to be animated with a sense of justice and honour, and for him to attempt to introduce those qualities in his dispensation of the law, would mean a virtual exposure of the "law as an ass," and the breakdown of a prop upon which Capitalism and the State rest.

THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT.

Were we to compile a text-book of the Science of Government by a ruling class, for the use, for instance, of some young modern aspirant to power, the testimony of all history, from the most remote times, would compel us to divide our work into three main chapters: the first, on the necessity of religious instruction for the people; the second, on the necessity of patriotic instruction for the people; the third, on the necessity of diverting the revolt of the people by instituting a campaign of foreign aggression, or by inviting the invasion of the home country by a foreign army. Herein lies the entire science of government by class rule.

Far deep in the history of the race, in times so remote that only archæological research is able to piece together the social records, arose the practice of trading on what is termed the "religious instinct" of man on the part of the priest class. This term "religious instinct" is in reality but another name for the deep, obliquely expressed desire of the partially awakened man to become initiate in that science of mind which he dimly divines will emancipate him from the fear which is ignorance, eradicate the reflex matter-impulses which he calls his passions, and make him altogether human, the supreme master of himself and his environment.

To toy with, to pervert, to trade upon, to debauch, and to frustrate this pure central instinct of life for the purposes of oppression and plunder has been the work of priestcraft in all ages and climes.

The first despotism, a despotism that was worldwide before Egypt was born, was built upon the skilful and unscrupulous manipulation of this sacred fundamental instinct. The same despotism persists to-day. From the profound craft of the prehistoric Druid to the polished cynicism of the mediæval Jesuit, and the vulgar cunning of his modern exemplar, the process of manipulation persists, identical in essence, differing only in form. Nothing less than universal scientific education, such as might subsist under a Collectivist administration of society, can ever destroy it. This, the Church knows well, and herein lies the secret of her fierce rage against the modern movement toward Collectivism, and against the sociological analyses generally grouped under the name of the Socialist Philosophy.

Again, it seems a truism to say that a country can belong only to the people who own it. Yet this fact has not yet been perceived by the great majority of the propertyless workers. Under the careful patriotic instruction of the master class, millions of men have shed, and are still ready to shed, their life-blood, fighting for what they have conceived and still conceive to be "their" country, when few of them can show title to so much as a square foot of it. They do not yet perceive that the country they fight for is the master's country, and that they fight only because they are hypnotised by the pulpit and press and hired orator into the insubstantial belief that it is their "duty and glory" thus to fight. Least of all do they perceive that in nine cases out of ten they are induced to fight simply to divert their energy from its legitimate function of enforcing economic reform.

The third chapter of our text-book, we said, should deal with the necessity of diverting domestic revolt by instituting a campaign of foreign aggression, or by inviting foreign invasion. A ruling class in deadly peril from the revolt of an oppressed working class, and unable to cope alone with the conflagration it has invoked, has, in the final analysis, only three possible courses before it: First, to abandon its power to the people, and by sufferance, if not by actual co-operation, to permit the inception of a true democracy; second, to inflame the people through the medium of the pulpit, press, and platform, with a false patriotism, and betray them into conflict with another nation, thus diverting their collective will and strength from economic reform to so-called national glory; third—and this last method we wish to emphasise somewhat, since it is the one chiefly favoured by the decadent ruling class of Mexico—to invite the invasion or assistance of a foreign army.

Such assistance as is predicated in the last alternative is never far to seek. The ruling classes of the world readily support one another in the subjugation of proletarian revolts, for here their interests are entirely mutual. A successful proletarian revolt in any country of the world, however remote from the centres of civilisation, is a tremendous menace to every other ruling class. There remains, of course, a yet more immediate reason for such ready assistance—the pay is good. Be it in the form of mythical claims which are allowed by the assisted nation in favour of the assisting, or in the form of

secretly ceded territory, or commercial strangle-holds, the pay is always sufficiently attractive for its own sake.

If to the uninitiated mind there seems an element of incredible treachery and ruffianism in this violation of national integrity and shedding of innocent blood on the part of the ruling class in order to head off the march of the people toward freedom and light, it can only be said that the unswerving testimony of history—and by history we mean the systematised researches of unbiassed investigators, and not the official or inspired chronicles of the master class—amply attests the constant use of this method. To the sophisticated mind and blunted moral sense of the oppressor such methods are neither good nor bad—they are expedient. Any ruling class will waste seas of blood, and drag the national honour in the dust, rather than relinquish its grip on the throat of its victim—the people. By the law of its being it must preserve its dominance, or cease to be.

We have not yet dealt with the first possible course which presents itself to the ruling class when confronted with the growing power of the people—*i.e.*, abdication. History bears no record of any such abdication; its possibility is purely theoretical. But the last two alternatives with which we have dealt above constitute the *raison d'être* of nearly all the conflicts of history. Behind war is found at last the terror of the master class before the advancing Spectre of Democracy. Occasionally, indeed, the various ruling classes quarrel among themselves over the division of territory, and then, before the lust of imperial expansion and commercial supremacy has been satisfied, hundreds of thousands of working women mourn their sons. But this cause of war is far less potent than the others mentioned above.

The unsophisticated mind of the working class is, and has been, throughout the centuries, but clay in the hands of the skilful potter—the master class. By the aid of judicious religious and patriotic instruction, coupled with the final appeal, in case of revolt, to the methods of foreign aggression, or invited home invasion, it has been possible for an insignificant minority to reign as supreme lord and master of the great majority, systematically robbing them—through the evolving economic systems, chattel slavery, feudalism, and capitalism—of the fruits of their labour, and maintaining them in a state of bovine ignorance and acquiescence during the process. This is the entire Science of Government by class rule.—From "The Mexican People."

SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

Labour is bestirring itself, Labour is awakening, and fear is in the heart of the capitalist. So much is evident from the newspapers, which are full of appeals to Tom, Dick, and Harry to do their duty, and not respond to the false teachings of irreconcilables and irresponsible traitors, who would turn the worker from his preordained task of producing wealth for his master. Behind all the wailings of the Press one detects a note of nervousness, else why does Labour occupy so many valuable columns when but a short year ago the papers were silent? It may be that the capitalist sees he is being found out, so the hirelings of the Press spend their time between bullying and pacifying. The *Times*, under the title "Misunderstandings," warms to the task. It first pats Labour on the back, and then unburdens itself in the usual grandfatherly style. The men who have dared to strike since the war are chided, and told that "they do not understand national needs." The wage-earners have considered themselves a class apart, "having only rights against the rest of the community, and no duties towards it." With a sigh of relief, however, the *Times* comforts the public with the remark that the dry rot has not gone very far, and there is still some hope if Labour will only cease from cornering the market now that the country is so dependent on it. That is the keynote to the whole situation. Let the workers only realise just *how* dependent are the profiteers, and they will refuse to be starved, bullied, and exploited by those very masters who despise them for their subjection and modest conception of their own usefulness.

Just how serious is the position from the capitalist viewpoint is emphasised by Lloyd George in his interview with a *Daily Citizen* representative. He speaks of the necessity of taking Labour frankly into the confidence of the Government in the organising of all industries that produce munitions of war. "There is opening up," said the Chancellor, "a great new chapter in the history of Labour in its relations with the State. If Labour works this thing in a broad and generous spirit, and

not in a haggling spirit, this document which was signed on Friday ought to be the great charter of Labour. We set out with one purpose—the expansion of the means of production of munitions and equipment of war. That is essential to us if we are to win. . . . We could not have achieved that object without first of all establishing an understanding with Labour. . . . The next step will be the organisation of all our resources. . . . That we can proceed to do now with the co-operation which Labour has promised us. Without that co-operation we are impotent, and this country would inevitably be deprived of victory if Labour failed us.” If we connect these words of wisdom with Kitchener’s fatherly talk with the Trade Unionist representatives in St. George’s Hall, Liverpool, we realise fully the fear in the heart of the Government that one day, perhaps not far off, the wage-slave will understand *who* the enemy is; and instead of bothering about the Germans invading the country, will invade it themselves, and turn out any Government, be it British or German, and stretch out the hand of brotherhood to the German workmen in common with those of all other nations.

The regimentation and enslavement of the working class goes on apace. Labour leaders all over the country are persuading the rank and file to forego their Trade Union principles, and accept arbitration and advisory boards. When the victim is rendered helpless by these means, he is prosecuted and fined for neglect of work. Four such cases reach us from Birmingham. Yet the daily press marvels at the industrial unrest, and thinks it extraordinary that the rebels should be found among the higher-paid workers. In the circumstances we can only rejoice that at least a few of the slaves realise their slavery. That is the beginning of the end. Let them go a little further, and give the happy despatch to the Labour leaders who have the audacity to issue such manifestoes as that issued to the Liverpool dockers on March 26, in which they insist that the members taking part in the week-end strikes return to their slavery, and threatening them with more drastic measures if they fail to do so. It is unlikely, however, that these mandarins will be obeyed, for the attitude of the Liverpool dockers, despite Kitchener’s fatherly talk, has been distinctly hostile and suspicious.

Our responsibility for the present war is vividly brought home to us in an article written by James Connolly in the *International Socialist Review* on “Revolutionary Unionism and War.” He declares that the signal for war ought also to have been the signal for rebellion; that “when the bugles sounded the first note for actual war, their notes should have been taken as the tocsin for social revolution.” Continuing, the writer shows the divorce existing between the industrial and political Labour movements, for the “Socialist parties of Europe, when they protested against war, had also fired their last shot against militarism.” The Socialist or Labour voter is helpless, for the only power he can organise is economic power, that is, “the power to stop the wheels of commerce, to control the heart that sends the life-blood pulsating through the social organisms.”

The wailings of the wage-slaves are to be lulled, not by leaden bullets this time, but silver ones in the shape of a war bonus. Just how much better off the slaves will be is not very evident, for Capitalism has a trick of leading us round a vicious circle, and such concessions always leave the recipient just as badly, or indeed worse, off than before their bestowal. Prices rise, and the administered dole only has the effect of still further enhancing the cost of living—presently the worker may conceivably find it difficult to live on £3 weekly. Yet Labour leaders still imagine the wage system can be patched up, and nail their flag to the masthead of State legislation, seeing in that a remedy for all ills. Yet there is something infinitely better worth having—happiness in work and the *whole* fruits of our labour. And remember, when we are ready, the whole system of wage-slavery will appear an outrage tolerated only because of our ignorance.

The “screeching hyenas” of a year ago have by some magic art been transformed into the “voteless patriots” of to-day, who have nobly answered their nation’s call in the hour of need. The patriotism of the State towards these same women can easily be gauged when we find it encouraging them to replace in industry men urgently needed for the war, and acquiescing in remuneration that no self-respecting man would accept. But women are commonly credited with the absence of any sense of proportion, which may cause them for a time to succumb to this

seeming recognition of their usefulness in the community. Industrial evolution is likely, however, to produce a more interesting and unexpected sequel than that dreamed of by the present advocates of women’s employment. Women have a decided knack of flinging aside their docility, and making a bee-line for the thing they want. With quickened consciousness, the women bid fair to be an important factor in the coming Social Revolution.

M. B. HOPE.

THEN—WHAT?

Many are the conjectures as to where the working man will find himself after the war: will he be better off or worse, or will there not be any change? Will prices come down and wages with them? Certainly prices will not come down unless wages are reduced; that would make the worker really too comfortable; he might even have a few pence to expend upon luxuries, or on necessaries, such as FREEDOM. For the most part, conjecture has been from the point of view of the employer, or, at any rate, not from that of the worker. Why not take a peep at it from his standpoint?

We are told that a million or so of men will return when peace is declared; how many will have gone to the war is another matter. What of these million lusty men? Will they be allowed to oust the women and children wherever such have taken their places? Will they be asked to accept the old poverty pay and to resume the old dreary drudgery? If so asked, what will be their response? It may be that the habit of obeying orders will have become so engrained that they will be good children and do as they are told, and be content with that way of life to which their masters call them, or the iron heel of militarism may have crushed the soul out of them. But—let us look a little deeper.

The average German or French soldier is caught young and well broken in. A vast majority of the million who return will be free men—nominally—who were not broken in young to military ways. To them this fight will have been the most glorious time of their lives. They are heroes on pedestals, well fed, hale and hearty, well clothed, cheered by men, and patted on the back by women—it is the time of their lives, and a wonderful contrast with the dull, grey routine which they left behind them. The life of the average worker is utterly uneventful, hopelessly unadventurous; it is the life of a machine. War is highly coloured, fraught with adventure and excitement, and healthy withal for those who survive. Think of the casual dock hand, even of the well-paid artisan—think of them as heroes at the front. Will they all, will even the majority, be willing to settle down again into being nobodies and mere wage-slaves, eking out a precarious and soul-deadening existence?

There is another factor to be considered. Many a wife, with her children, has never been so well off as she is now when her man is away shooting at his comrades from Germany. Never before has she had so much and so safe housekeeping money. What will *she* say when her man comes back? Will she crave that things should be as they were before?

Is it not quite possible that there may be a rude awakening for those who are counting on their “hands” coming home from the war ready and content to resume the old ways? At any rate, there is a chance of it, and that chance would more likely become a certainty if there were any of them who had the tongue to speak the message of salvation to the worker so that he must hear and understand. Is there any one so to do? The present Labour leaders would not do it if they could—not they. Maybe they have consented to support the conscription which it is whispered that the Government are discussing. For what end do they want conscription? To obtain more men for the front? Oh, no. But when all the workers are soldiers, and bound to obey orders or be shot as traitors—then there will be no more strikes, and employers can pay what they choose, and work their men as long as they like while the factories are turning out munitions of war.

When we think about it, we see that we live in curious times, and ominous for the worker. It is a risky thing to prophesy, but it does seem as if the present war had resulted in a great betrayal of the workers by their leaders, and that when peace comes it will not mean happy or prosperous times for the working man. It is only the capitalists who profit at all times, whether it be peace or war. It is the worker who has to “put up with it” at all times. Yet the worker is in the majority; his is the power, but he either does not know how to or dare not use it. He is asleep; who will awaken him?

W. TEIGNMOUTH SHORE.

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MUZZLING THE WORKERS.

The Order in Council empowering the Government to take over the factories and workshops, coupled as it is with the surrender of the workers, by their leaders, body and soul to the Government, is the most far-reaching step that has yet been taken, so far as the workers are concerned, since the war began. It is a step which demands careful consideration, although the bare facts as they stand are sufficiently convincing to any one not blinded by patriotic prejudice. The now famous meeting of Lloyd George and the Trade Union leaders bids fair to become one of the most historic in the annals of Trade Unionism, even if it does not go so far as to mark the beginning of the end. Here it was that Lloyd George landed his fish by the simple expedient of flattering the leaders, who, in their turn, knowing the gullibility of their members, agreed to a proposition which virtually means the undoing of the work of the past in the workers' movement, and a complete surrender to the bosses. It reminds one of the lady who went for a ride on the tiger, the tiger came back with the lady inside, and a smile on the face of the tiger; and how far the workers will enjoy their ride remains to be seen.

It has been decreed that factories and workshops available for the manufacture of munitions of war shall be, where necessary, taken over by the Government, together with the workers. To make this successful, it became necessary to ensure Labour's acquiescence, and no easier way than through the leaders. G. W. Barnes writes articles in which he tells the engineers they are bad boys, and ought to be whipped; Lord Kitchener, the man of iron, the strong man, gives a fatherly talk to the men of Liverpool; and in a letter to Sexton he says that unless the work necessary at Liverpool is proceeded with, he will take steps to get it done. Then came the meeting at the Treasury, where Lloyd George, after careful flattery and much explanation, suggested that Trade Unions should agree to a suspension of their rules in so far as they have reference to demarcation of labour, unskilled and female labour, and limitation of output, and should, further, bury the only effective weapon they ever had, and agree that no stoppage of work should take place, all disputed points to be referred to arbitration. To this the leaders gave their unctuous benediction, and promised to get the men to support whatever measures were necessary.

To us, the point of interest is not so much that the Trade Unions should reduce themselves to benefit societies pure and simple, but rather that the workers should be caught in such an obvious trap set by the masters and the Government, with the kind assistance of the leaders. Here is the problem as the Government had to face it. The men were getting discontented, they were demanding all sorts of things, and threatening to limit the productive activities of the workshops. On the Clyde, in the Liverpool and London docks, and elsewhere the men were refusing to work overtime or to speed up. Under normal conditions these men could be either locked out or dismissed; but the shortage of labour, and the necessity for increased output, rendering such a course impossible, it has given the workers an opportunity to use the power they possess with a greater certainty of success than they have ever had before. Lloyd George said: "We [the Government] have the authority, but without the co-operation of Labour we are powerless." On the other hand, Lord Kitchener threatens to use his power to get done what he wishes. How, he does not say. But the workers should see that they are now in a position of infinite power, and the entreaties of the leaders, of the Government and the bosses, they can well afford to spurn. Do the workers, we

wonder, realise that now they hold the key to the situation? Why should the Clyde workers agree to the arbitration award, when with a resolute refusal to work under so much per hour they could have won hands down?

The reason for it all is not far to seek. Trade Unionism has sacrificed itself to leadership. It has for a long while now exchanged the initiative of the individual member for the statesmanlike guidance of leaders, who no longer have anything in common with the bench worker, and who have by flattery, soft jobs, and patronage adopted the official outlook on life which colours all their dealings. It is not enough to say that this arrangement is for the duration of the war. It is a step backward, and having once given away the power which is theirs in a moment of crisis, the fights of the past will be as nothing to the fights that will ensue in the struggle to regain it.

The workers have not learned the lesson that in the fight between Capital and Labour there is never any truce. In the present case, owing to the shortage of labour and the necessities of military authorities, the workers were in a position to dictate terms to the masters; but instead of doing so, they allow their "leaders" to surrender the position, because "the country is in danger, and they must not help the enemy by striking." But the workers' enemies are in this country, and whatever the result of the war in Europe, those enemies will still remain to be fought, and fought relentlessly. And in this fight they must never surrender their strongest weapon—the strike. Labour leaders are fond of talking about the sanctity of authority; but if we wish to be free, authority must be abolished.

THE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

The following interesting notes have been received from our comrade Paul Schreyer, who writes from Switzerland under date March 3:—

On July 31 we held a public meeting in Hamburg. It was our last meeting before the war, and 2,000 people were in the hall. Chorn spoke. I made myself scarce on the evening of August 2, and arrived the next night at Basle, Switzerland. (On the 6th I should have joined the Army.) Several other comrades from Hamburg also tried to get away; I don't know whether they succeeded. Comrade Geissler was arrested. The police tried to get out of him the whereabouts of us deserters. He knew nothing, and they had to release him. Other comrades had their houses searched. In Berlin, the *Freie Arbeiter* of August 1 was confiscated. On August 5 the office was raided by the police, and sealed up. Most comrades have been put under "Briefsperr" (censorship of letters). The *Pionier* and *Einigkeit* have also been suppressed. The comrades of the latter paper are issuing a bulletin. The comrades of the Anarchist Federation tried to do the same. They brought out one number, then the police told the printer that he would be prosecuted if he printed anything for the Anarchists. The money that is coming in for the *Freie Arbeiter* is being kept by the authorities; no money is delivered for our movement.

The groups in Berlin are still meeting; some of them are very busy. Comrade Eberhardt and others were arrested, according to a letter received yesterday. In Rhineland, at the outbreak of war, all known comrades were arrested. In Mülhausen, comrade Altenbach and others were arrested, and are still in Tübingen Jail. In Hanover, comrade Maka was arrested at the beginning of November for circulating "Gottespest." He was acquitted, and "Gottespest" can now be circulated. The letter from Berlin also says:—"A number of our comrades are in the Army; a great number have gone to the well-known retreat to have a holiday at the Government's expense; others have emigrated. Of some, nothing reliable is known. The same applies to other towns."

Of Austria, I only know that *Wohlstand für Alle* has been suppressed. Pierre Ramus is said to have been arrested on a trumped-up charge of "suspected espionage"; he was court-martialled, but acquitted. Nobody knows where he is now; rumour has it that he is re-arrested. In Graz, the paper *Volkswille* has also been suppressed. Of *Hornický Listy* (Bohemian) I received the November issue; since then, nothing certain.

THE ANNUAL ANARCHIST CONFERENCE

WILL BE HELD ON

EASTER SUNDAY AND MONDAY, APRIL 4 AND 5,

In the rooms of the Workers' Freedom Group,

29 STATION STREET, HAZEL GROVE, STOCKPORT.

Times of meeting each day—10.30 to 1, and 2.30 to 6.

Subjects for discussion.

The Formation of a New International.—Support of Anarchist Papers.
Anarchy and its Relation to the War (Chopwell Group).
The Need for Greater Co-operation between Groups (Stockport).
Schools for Children.

Comrades are requested to meet on Saturday at the rooms in Stockport.

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

To consider the terms of a just and permanent peace at this stage of hostilities, has generally been deprecated as being both premature and futile. In the poetic analogy of the Prime Minister it has been likened to "the twittering of sparrows amid the stress and tumult of a tempest which is shaking the foundations of the world." Even if this be so, we are at least justified in asking for a frank and definite explanation of how this world-shaking tempest arose. Why are we at war? What is England fighting for? At first sight the answer to these questions appears to be quite simple. "England," we are told, "declared war against Germany because this latter country violated the neutrality of Belgium." Mr. Lloyd George has even gone so far as to declare that "if Germany had not set foot on Belgian soil, the Liberal [English] Government would not have intervened." Since that statement was made, however, inspired articles have appeared in the *Times* and other journals, in which the sentimental pleas and ethical claims of Belgium are waived aside, and the assertion is bluntly made that England is fighting for her very existence, and that if Germany were to win the British Empire would be destroyed. England, it is frankly stated, only joined in the war from motives of self-interest and self-preservation. "Even had Germany not invaded Belgium, honour and interest would have united us with France." And yet it was upon the violation of Belgium that Sir Edward Grey based his whole case in his famous speech in the Commons at the commencement of the war! The Foreign Secretary's speech last week contained repeated warnings of the dangers of Prussian militarism, and these warnings appear frequently in the recent utterances of all the Government spokesmen. The men who eloquently denounced Blatchford as "a Tory hireling" are now excelling him in the wildest assertions against Germany. Churchill's speeches, for instance, at the last election would form a piquant contrast to his present declamations against Germany.

The conclusion of the whole matter is, that as the war proceeds it is seen to be more and more a struggle for world-power between England and Germany. The tide of battle appears to be slowly turning in favour of the Allies, but it is too early yet to make any definite assertion as to who will win in the end. At the moment Asquith contemptuously rejects any consideration of terms of peace. There is to be no compromise, no concession on either side. The appeal has been made to force, and the sword is to decide which Empire is to survive and which Empire is to be destroyed.

Plainly, then, it is for this that we are fighting. The object of the war, so far as England is concerned, is "to smash Germany." But the war enthusiasts are so much absorbed in this one object that they fail to see what must necessarily follow from an overwhelming defeat of Germany. For if England defeats Germany, England will have to pay the price of the alliance with Russia, without which that defeat (assuming that it is accomplished) would have been impossible. If the Allies are victorious, Russia will be the most powerful nation in Europe. Her limitless resources will enable her to very easily build a fleet equal in size to the British fleet, while England can never hope to have an army equal in numbers to the land forces of "the Tsar of all the Russias." Thus this war will open up to the rulers of Russia a mighty vision of conquest, expansion, and exploitation. The danger of the German menace will quickly be forgotten when this new and infinitely greater peril arises amidst the nations of Europe. Nor is this all. Another fruit of England's foreign policy is the alliance with Japan. As the price of the valuable aid she has rendered in the war, Japan is clearly to have a free hand in China. With the Japanese installed as the dominant power in China, it would not be long before the ancient Empire would awaken from her age-long slumber. Japan will militarise China as Prussia has militarised Germany. And then the "Yellow Peril" will no longer be a fantastic dream, but an awful reality for the nations of the West.

All this is but an outline sketch of the outcome of the now popular policy of smashing Germany. Paradox as it may seem, the crushing of Germany may involve the downfall of the British Empire. For England cannot stand alone. To-day she is united in an alliance of which the basis is cynically admitted to be the self-interest of the contracting Powers. Our friends of to-day may be our foes to-morrow, if it suits their several interests to fight against us. It is not an alliance of peoples, but of their rulers.

Surely, with such a prospect before us, this is not a time for

the indulgence of national prejudices and patriotic sentiments. Let us see clearly what it is we are fighting for, and to what this war will lead. It must be realised, in view of the universal disregard for treaties, that paper bonds will bind none of the Powers when they are faced with what they are pleased to describe as "national necessities" and "defensive wars." England's broken treaties in Egypt and Persia, Japan's violation of the neutrality of Korea and now of China, Germany's outrages upon Belgium and Luxembourg,—facts like these and many others show what value the statesmen of Europe attach to their pledged word. There may be honour among thieves, but there is a serious lack of that virtue among diplomatists. No, war alone will decide, now as ever, which nation will be victorious. But war will never end war. War only creates further wars and greater wars. War is a curse and never a blessing. War is not grandeur and glory, but brutality, barbarism, and murder on the greatest and most awful scale. The worst hell that the most fanatical religionist ever imagined cannot equal the horrors of a modern battlefield.

So far as the capitalist States of to-day are concerned—despite all their boasted civilisation, Christianity, and patriotism—we have nothing to look forward to but an apparently endless era of bloodshed and misery. That such a prospect should be possible is in itself an utter condemnation of our social system. The capitalist State, tested by any means, whether from the standpoint of economics, of ethics, or of human welfare generally, stands condemned at the judgment-seat of humanity. The final development of Capitalism finds its expression in a few mutually suspicious, autocratic States, drilling and governing their peoples like slaves, handing over the destinies of the race to war lords of the type of Kitchener and von Hindenburg.

What hope, then, is there for the future? There is hope only if the people of Europe, wearying of the carnage to which the policy of their State autocrats has brought them, realise the folly and madness of war. To-day the workers of Europe are slaughtering one another by the thousand for no other reward than that of slow starvation as a disabled cripple or of death in agony upon the battlefield. When the masses in all countries refuse to fight, war will be impossible. At present they are blinded by false sentiments of patriotism and militarism. The only way in which these evil influences can be counteracted is by a ceaseless propaganda against militarism, and against the State, which has created militarism. The present horrors call not for despair but for fresh efforts on the part of all real revolutionists; they call for a grim determination to face the odds that confront us. It is true that we are few and our enemies are numerous and powerful; but when was any right cause in the majority? Has not all progress, all reform, been the outcome of the accomplishment of the seemingly impossible by a small band of pioneers, who in their own generation were cursed if not always killed?

The answer to the question, What are we fighting for? necessitates our looking beyond the as yet problematical defeat of Germany. As 1870 was followed by 1914, so will the present war only cause further wars. Hence militarism and a big Navy do not make for peace, but for war. The present and prospective policies of the Powers are simply so many plans for future wars. What must we do? The first step is to sow in the minds of the people the seeds of a thorough distrust of government of all kinds. This in time will grow into a keen hostility to the State, and the overthrow of the State is not only the shortest, but also the sole means whereby peace may be secured. Racial hostility culminates in antagonism between rival States. To destroy militarism, it is futile to pass well-meaning but quite unrealisable resolutions about limitation of armaments. Instead of thus snapping off a few twigs, let us go straight to the root of the tree of evil, and undermine the State by every means in our power.

OTTO LEROY.

The Stakes.

"This war gives us the opportunity for settling one of the greatest problems which remain to be solved in the world, the future of Africa; and that problem must not be settled in the interests of our enemy if we are victorious, but of ourselves, our Allies, and of the native populations concerned. If we lose this war we lose everything; if Germany loses this war she loses everything. These are the stakes."—*Morning Post*.

Surely the writer has forgotten to mention "justice and freedom and honour," and "rights of little nations," etc. He really should be more careful.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Peace Congress in Spain.

A Congress is being arranged by the Syndicalists of Ferrol (Ateneo Obrero Sindicalista), to be held on the last day of April and the first two days of May, for the purpose of discussing what can be done to stop the present world-butcher. The organisers have issued a manifesto addressed to "the Socialists, Syndicalists, Anarchists, and workers' organisations" of the world. It starts with the statement that the manifesto of Sebastian Faure in favour of peace has given rise to favourable comments among revolutionary workers in neutral countries, who agree that a great effort should be made to put an end to the horror which is devastating Europe. Revolutionaries should cease quarrelling on such questions as to whether the German Socialists are to blame for the war or not, or as to whether those who take Kropotkin's view or Malato's view are traitors to the International. All, neutrals as well as belligerents, have their share in responsibility for the war. The following is the agenda for discussion by revolutionaries of the whole world:—(1) The quickest means for putting a stop to the present European war; (2) the new tactics to follow to avoid such crimes of *lesa humanidad*; (3) the dissolution of permanent armies. Finally, the manifesto suggests that in neutral countries the workers might boycott all goods destined to help the belligerent countries to continue the butchery, and that later the general strike might be tried. The convenience of Ferrol (being near Coruna) for a world congress is mentioned. Even the middle-class *Heraldo* of Madrid (which, by the way, is cleaner than most English dailies) mentions the coming of the Congress, stating that Anatole France will be among those present.

The Censor in France.

La Réveil, of Geneva, publishes the following open letter of our French comrade, J. Grave. The sentences in italics were cut out by the Censor when the letter appeared in the French press:—

"To Messrs. SEMBAT and GUESDE, Socialist Delegates in the Government.

"Gentlemen,—I am letting you have an article, 'The Causes of War,' which the Censor has just refused *La Bataille Syndicaliste* authority to publish. Out of thirteen articles sent to this journal, nine have been *sabotés* by the Censor; and this is the fourth which has been totally suppressed. In these articles, if you take the trouble to read them, you will see that I am in no way touching upon the operations of the war, or the movements of the troops—of which, in fact, I know absolutely nothing—and that I have not specially attacked any of the persons in authority, contenting myself with general criticisms, especially on the causes which led up to the war, in order to avoid for the future the same faults leading infallibly to the same effects. It is to defend the liberties they have acquired that Republicans, Socialists, Anarchists, and revolutionaries of all kinds have been led to resist German aggression. It is to preserve the right to think, to write, and to speak that all, without distinction, are struggling against Prussian militarism. *Meanwhile, under the pretext of National Defence, the liberty of the Press is being slyly stifled. The Censor only allows to pass the incitements to murder and hatred, to vengeance, and everything likely to perpetuate misunderstanding and war among the peoples, and to furnish the reactionaries with the means of giving domination in our country to that militarism which we are asked to crush in our neighbour's country.* Among all the protests which have been raised against the excesses of the Censor, I have not seen yours. It is not, however, to permit the continuance of the faults that have led to the massacres and the destruction that our people are shedding their blood. *Is it not to cover up the machinations of the reactionaries, allowing them the more easily to deceive public opinion, that you have accepted the position of forming part of the Government? And has not the position been offered to you on condition that you keep quiet? With all the consideration that is your due, accept my greetings.—J. GRAVE.*"

As usual, the Censor has been the chief witness against his Government.

The French authorities wanted to arrest Leon Prevost for distributing a circular called "We are being Deceived." There being nothing in the circular to justify arrest, the police sent a wounded soldier to him, who pleaded for protection as a deserter; and apparently Prevost has now been arrested for harbouring a deserter.

A Swiss View of the War.

Writing in *Le Réveil*, of Geneva, a Swiss comrade says:—"War is the work of the masters, the kings, the Governments, and the possessing class *exclusively*. From the point of view of the working people, all war is a crime of *lèse humanité*. This crime, being social, determined by the division of society into governors and governed, possessing and possessed, the distinction between offensive and defensive wars is idle, false, hypocritical, and extremely noxious."

Slavery in Porto Rico.

An atrocious state of things exists in Porto Rico. *La Justicia*, the organ of the "Free Federation of the Workers of Porto Rico," reports the spreading of the strike movement among the sugar and coffee plantations, the workers feeling that they ought to have part of the

enormous increase in the money received for sugar. They work twelve hours a day for 1s. 6d. to 2s. a day. But this is not the worst. Large corporations have been formed, and, according to *La Justicia*, they have "reduced the island to a large factory operated by slaves," so that when the workers strike, as they are legally entitled to do, the police enter their homes and drag them to work. Meetings are prevented, and the strikers are being clubbed and shot down without having resorted to any violence. "The most prominent agricultural leaders of the strikes are sent to gaol to serve long sentences, and they have not even the opportunity of defending their causes; and all this is being perpetrated under the Stars and Stripes of the United States of America."

L. J. S.

WHEN THE WAR CAME TO BELGIUM.

[The following notes are taken from a letter written by our Belgian comrade G. Marin, who is now in England.]

We attended the huge international Socialist meeting that was held in Brussels to protest against the coming war. It took place in the largest hall in the city, the Royal Circus; 8,000 people inside, and about 20,000 people outside, who could not get in. Never had we seen such a crowd in our city, and never had we dreamed of such enthusiasm anywhere, and especially in Belgium. Vandervelde was chairman. Keir Hardie spoke in the name of the English workers, Haase of the German, Troelstra of the Dutch, Rubanovitch of the Russian, Jaurès of the French—I forget the names of the other delegates (Italian, etc.). Rosa Luxemburg was there, but too tired to speak; she had an ovation for her anti-militarist propaganda in Germany. Not only Socialists and Anarchists were there, but many others; and it was a very funny sight indeed to see the Liberal and even some of the Conservative bourgeoisie imploring support from the proletarian forces to save them from the coming danger of war. Haase told us that twenty-seven anti-war meetings were held in Berlin alone the previous night. The dirty capitalist game underlying the situation in each country was lengthily revealed by each of the speakers; and Jaurès went so far as to say that if the French Government did commit the apprehended crime, his party was ready to refuse to march! This declaration was received with endless and thrilling hurrahs! Such was the spirit shown then, that we hoped at one time that the various Governments would hesitate in front of such a determined attitude of the working classes.

That night and the following day crowds of people were walking in every corner of the town with labels stuck on their hats or pinned on their coats, with these words: "War against War." All the Belgians I questioned, peasants and citizens, soldiers and civilians, men and women, every one was horrified at the idea of a war; and not one of them scared a scrap about being under the German, French, or English Government provided they had *peace*. The well-known lack of patriotism among the Belgians is unfortunately not the result of a sound understanding, but has different causes, which are: firstly, that Belgium has no national language of its own, hence the ruling classes have never succeeded in breeding a real national psychology, in spite of their efforts through education and the press; secondly, the Clerical Government, elected by the plural vote, has ceased for some time to represent the most numerous and especially the most active part of the population; thirdly, the unenthusiastic temperament of the Belgian does not give a hold to patriotism. Apart from all that, the Socialist party is very strong in all the industrial parts of the country, and has always taught the people to look on their foreign fellow workers as their friends, also that they would not be any more or less miserable under any other Government than the one they are enduring at present.

A very few days after the meeting, at midnight, the fatal news of a general mobilisation reached us. We were then living in a small Walloon village some fifteen miles from Brussels. At four o'clock in the morning we left, having determined to come back to England. We shall never forget the sight of this poor little village at night: mothers standing in their doorways, holding a lantern just bright enough to show the tears running down their cheeks. These unfortunate people understood that they had kissed their beloved children for the last time. We had to change trams and trains many times. Every station and every waggon was overloaded with soldiers. In one small station I endeavoured to talk to them: not one of them wanted to defend "his" country, "his" Government, Belgian integrity or "independence." In the trains we listened to the conversation. The men were wild at the idea of going to "shoot comrades of misfortune who had not done them any harm." In this concert of indignation I had not heard one discordant voice. Why, then, were they all going like a flock of sheep to the butchery! "If we don't, we shall be shot," was the only reply we could get.

You will understand now why Vandervelde, whose eloquence had made him the right arm of the Socialist Party in Belgium, and who had presided over the anti-war meeting, was suddenly appointed a Minister of State, by which step he became a traitor to his party and sold his great influence to the Government. For years his aim has been to become a Minister, and now it is realised. But I doubt whether he has inoculated his flock with any virus since I left. Some Belgian refugees I saw lately in England told me that "the annexation

of Belgium by Germany would have been a hundred times preferable to the disaster the country has suffered by the war; and that if the Allies had really any pity for the Belgians, they had much better not begin all over again for the sake of King Albert and his co-beneficiaries."

These few notes might be useful to give you what I think a more exact idea of the Belgian question than the official notes.

DEATH OF F. TARRIDA DEL MARMOL.

The death of our comrade on Monday, March 15, came as a shock to most of us. He was suddenly taken ill during the night, at his residence at Higham's Park, Chingford, and died shortly after 3 o'clock in the morning, owing to the bursting of a blood-vessel on the brain. His funeral took place at Lewisham Cemetery on Saturday, the 20th, a number of comrades and friends following the hearse from the Crofton Park Station to the graveside, where a few sympathetic words to his memory were spoken by Mr. Heaford, Paul Campbell (I.L.P.), Malatesta, and Mme. Sorgue.

At the age of fifty-four, when he was in the prime of his intellectual force, and much could be expected from him, our comrade Tarrida del Marmol died a sudden death. All his friends are still dumbfounded by the sad news. In every country the progressive workers will feel the loss suffered by the cause of human emancipation.

Tarrida has a glorious page in the history of the Anarchist movement in Spain. He was one of the most efficacious propagandists of our ideal in that country, which has given to our movement so many valorous champions. In 1896 the Spanish Government took advantage of the explosion of a bomb, on which there has not yet been thrown complete light, and put him in the terrible prison of Montjuich. But when they were obliged to let him out, Tarrida went to France, and, with a notable book on "The Inquisition in Spain" and his eloquent speeches, made Europe shudder at the atrocities committed by the Spanish authorities against innocent and helpless prisoners.

Later on, Tarrida, urged by the desire to utilise all the self-styled progressive forces, leaned toward Democracy and Liberalism. But, no matter; everybody knew that he was moved by the best intentions, and that one could always count on him when his work was wanted for the good cause. I, personally, perhaps never happened to agree with him—and we were all the same the best of friends. One could quarrel with him, but could not help to love him, because he was above all a loving and loveable man. And in saying so, I mean to pay him the greatest tribute that can be paid to a man.

E. MALATESTA.

NOCTURNE IN WAR-TIME.

Into the silent night,
I pass along this peaceful country lane—
Far from the noise and throbbing of the train,
And London's shrouded light.

High overhead, the stars
(Their white effulgence softened by the dew)
Spangle the vast celestial lake of blue
Like silver nenuphars.

The cold, white, languid moon
(More palely shining than the stars around)
Seems like the face of some dear woman, drowned,
Or sunk in deathly swoon:

Some mother, some sweet maid,
Whose lad she loved lies lifeless in his gore,
On some red field in Belgium stricken sore
By martial Murder's trade.

Out there—beyond the sea,
O Moon and Stars, you gaze serenely down
On ruined hearth and desolated town,
On nameless agony!

O Soul of Man, how long?
(No use to plead for pity from the skies!)
How long wilt thou permit these infamies,
These holocausts to Wrong?

Toiler! the power of Thought
Has forged the chains wherewith thy soul is cursed:
Through that same force all bonds shall yet be burst,
And thy deliverance wrought!

Dare, then, to think and feel
And hail thyself thine only rightful lord,
And arm thy soul with Freedom's flame-like sword—
THE ANARCHIST IDEAL!

T. S.

"THE LAST WAR."

Our comrade George Barrett has written a splendid pamphlet with the above title. He says on the title-page: "The journalist, the military expert, the politician, the clergyman, and the Labour leader have all given us their views on the war. The workers, who feed and clothe them, have a different outlook. This pamphlet sets forth their view of the matter." And it does so in an excellent manner. The writer ignores all the diplomatic trickery and manoeuvres which preceded the war, and refuses to waste time discussing the question as to who is right and who is wrong. Your answer to the question, he says, depends mainly upon which country you were born in. In any case, the war was not organised by the workers, therefore it is not their business to fight in it. But there is a war in which we can take part, and that is the Last War, "the international war in which the workers of all lands shall be united against the invaders—the rich who have seized the land and lived on the labour of the poor." And our comrade says that in planning this war we must be bold and audacious. We workers may well envy the greatness of the scale on which the politicians plan their wars, our own labour struggles being mere skirmishes. "Inspired by great ideals, our plan of action should be worthy of them." Although the pamphlet would bear quoting freely, we will be content with one extract:—

"Our programme is now becoming clear. It is based upon two simple facts. The first is that the human race has reached a stage where it can command more wealth and luxury, and combat suffering far better than any other race of animals on the earth. The second is that the human race has reached a stage where it is beset with more poverty and suffers more pain than any other race of animals. These are the great outstanding facts that demand attention. To be so powerful to produce richness, and yet so powerless to prevent abject poverty and starvation, is surely an absurdity. . . . There is the whole problem. It is as simple as you like, and when we understand it and face it there will be an end of poverty, of slums, and of wars, and, in short, of the great bulk of human suffering. To-day, the genius and ability of the human race is used to enrich a few and thus make poor the many. It is our work to see that in the future those who create all the greatness shall themselves become great in enjoying what they produce. Is not this more worth fighting for than the cause to which thousands of lives are being sacrificed to-day? This is indeed the real purpose and meaning of the Labour movement."

Our comrade Barrett and the Bristol Group are to be congratulated on the production of this pamphlet, to which our comrade Motler contributed a design for the title-page. We hope comrades will push the sale. It is a refreshing and inspiring contrast to the patriotic piffle of which we have had a surfeit.

The price is one penny. Copies can be obtained from the Workers' Freedom Group, 19 The Haymarket, Bristol, or from FREEDOM Office.

In a few days we hope to publish "The Anarchist Revolution," also by George Barrett. Price one penny. Orders taken now.

"The Lofty Morality."

In considering the native problem, and doubtless it is a problem, in British East Africa, an elementary knowledge of the arithmetic and history of the subject is necessary. In the first place, the white and black races are almost ludicrously disproportionate in numbers. Roughly, it is a case of some 3,000 whites, who occupy, rule, and administer this fair territory, from the Indian Ocean to Lake Victoria Nyanza, to some 6,000,000 or so of a subservient black race. This is a proportion of about 2,000 to 1. How and why do this small white minority rule so large a territory and so numerous a native race?—it is pertinent to ask. Let us always bear first principles in mind. Our good stay-at-home folk occasionally appear to lose sight of them. Our white brothers in British East Africa rule, of course, by means and by right of the more capacious brain, the higher and better-ordered intelligence, the lofty morality, and the stronger hand. By the same right the Anglo-Saxon race have occupied and developed the North American Continent, New Zealand, Australia, etc., and there ousted the indigenous natives who had neither the wit nor the capacity to develop those countries as we must presume the Creator intended them to be developed. The same process is now going on in British East Africa.—SIR HENRY SETON-KARR, in *Nineteenth Century*.

An Appeal for "Freedom."

Owing to the war, our income has been seriously affected, and we ask comrades and friends to help our Guarantee Fund to the best of their ability. Funds are urgently needed to produce FREEDOM regularly. We hope for a good response to this appeal.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

Huddersfield.—The Huddersfield Anarchists celebrated the memory of the Paris Commune on March 18. About a dozen stood round and sang the "Marseillaise," while a woman played a cornet; this is a good means of getting a crowd quickly. Two comrades and a chairman held forth at the Market Cross for nearly two hours, trying to show that it is not possible for a revolutionary movement to capture the political institutions of privilege and authority and turn them to a social purpose, seeing that they are anti-social in their basis. All Socialists were invited to collaborate by advertisement, but no one but Anarchists turned up to take an active part. The situation was a bit critical at times owing to a very few war-mongers trying to incite the crowd against us, but they were not successful. An ugly incident occurred after the meeting, one of the comrades being attacked unawares by a man twice as big as himself. This happened when the other comrades had gone away, and he had no one to support him. Of course, if we had done such a thing, would not Authority have asserted itself?
G. H.

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL.—The youngsters of the School have launched No. 2 of their magazine, *Liberty*, which contains some special articles and notes of our doings. This time we have had it type-written and bound in red paper. The cover design is by our comrade Motler. Buy it, and read for yourself the endeavours of our young bloods!

March subscriptions: B. 2s., L. A. M. 3s., L. 2s., School 15s.

JIMMY.

Ashburton House, Hertford Place, Globe Road, E.

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(March 5—March 31.)

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