

# Freedom

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## NOTES.

### How the Empire was Built.

Sir George Reid, ex-Premier of Australia, the recently elected of St. George's, Hanover Square, holds an interesting record as a speech-maker. Among other gems, the following, delivered in the Melbourne Town Hall on Trafalgar Day, 1913, is one of the frankest exposures of "Empire" we have yet seen:—"The Prime Minister has said that the British Empire was acquired by force. That is true, and now that we have burgled everything we desire, we want universal peace. There is only one way to make sure of it, and that is to be that sort of fellow that no other fellow would like to tackle." We wonder whether Sir George is likely to treat the British House of Commons to a similar oratorical dietary. We fear not, for Hanover Square, we understand, possesses a most fastidious palate, and might not care to be reminded of the source of its wealth.

### Hughes on Anti-Patriotism.

Mr. Hughes, the Australian Premier, now in process of being boomed and flattered by the capitalist Press, recently treated one of his Australian audiences to a nice little homily about Anarchists. Chastising the Trade Unionist who would not join the Army, he declared that:—

"The ranks of the soldiers were thronged with Unionists. There was not a regiment in which they were not strongly represented and predominated. Were they whose comrades, brothers, and sons had gone out to do battle to be branded by these men as unpatriotic? No. These men who sneered at patriotism were not Unionists, they were not Socialists, but Anarchists—enemies not only of society, but of all that Unionism should stand for. It is of no use dealing with these men like a tame cat. You have to go for them with the ferocity of a Bengal tiger. They have no nationality; they have no religion, for which they have no use. There is only one thing they understand, and that is force."

Certainly this is a definition pithy and to the point, and needs only the substitution of "capitalist patriots" for "Anarchists" to render the meaning plain and the sense perfect. For force is the only thing that does appeal to the brigands who run the Empire and settle their territorial and other disputes in the gentlemanly game of war. But Mr. Hughes, being a hireling of Government and a politician, cannot be expected to be quite nice and exact in all his utterances. His work is to prevent the workers getting at the truth—not to reveal the truth.

### Women Rebels.

While the Women's Social and Political Union is busy organising meetings financed by the Government, the real women rebels have been going to prison for their opposition to war and Governmental authority. First it is Mrs. Nellie Best, who elects to go to prison rather than show the repentant attitude required of her. Now it is the case of Mrs. Ferris, wife of the Leeds Christian pacifist, who was sentenced on March 14 to three months' imprisonment in the second division for circulating a pamphlet written by her husband, who also is in prison for a similar offence. The pamphlet, it was alleged, was likely to cause "disaffection amongst the civilian population," and seeing the desirability of protecting the masses from the truth, the distributor of the "seditious" thing was deprived of liberty. We are glad to note that Mrs. Ferris refused to give any undertaking whatever, preferring, as she declared, "to go to prison with my body rather than with my soul." That surely is

the unquenchable spirit that lives, thrives, and in the end achieves its purpose regardless, or very often because, of prison bars. Her courageous attitude will inspire others, and in the end overcome the forces of reaction.

### More of Them.

The rising generation are not content to merely knock at the door, they are hard at work kicking at it, and eventually we hope will succeed in breaking it down. At Armstrong's munition factory, the time-rate women recently struck work—some 7,000 of them. Girls from 18 to 20 years receiving the princely remuneration of 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour gave a really practical demonstration of their dissatisfaction. They went to the works as usual, but took their crochet, knitting, and books, kept their places, but refused to start their usual slavery until a notice had been posted in every shop that they were to receive 22s. weekly for 48 hours' work. Of course, the Trade Union organiser trotted out the usual bogey of illegality of striking, but the girls refused to listen. The foreman swore and bullied, but the cheerful knitters smiled in response. One girl gave a patriotic director an unpatriotic shock by declaring that England was not worth fighting for at 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. an hour. It is not recorded whether his dinner went untasted in consequence. The spirited attitude of the women is altogether one of the most hopeful features in the tragic times through which we are now passing. We can only hope that they will manage to evade the wiles of the politicians and axe-grinders.

### "Business is War."

Rarely indeed does one come across an honestly outspoken business man, but *Solidarity* seems to have discovered one in the person of John B. McCormick. Arraigned before the Courts in Ohio on a charge of dynamiting a rival's theatre, it reports that he unburdened himself of the following:—

"Business is war. Men engaged in the conduct of business are constantly fighting each other. Ordinarily, business competition is not called war. But it is nothing more nor less than a struggle for supremacy. Sometimes it is a fight for existence. One man may be fighting with his back against the wall. Men use various agencies to get the other fellow's business. I used dynamite. Dynamite makes a lot of noise. It scares people. But, is it worse than many other things competitors use, and which are winked at by the law?"

Of course, the good righteous other business people in the town where the crime was committed breathed a sigh of relief when the dynamiter was sent to penal servitude for five to ten years, and they presented the Chief of Police with a purse of 250 dollars for bringing the criminal to justice and allowing them the privilege of sleeping peacefully in their beds. For present-day business morality only recognises one crime—the unforgivable crime of being found out.

### Criminals Join the Army.

In a recent report of the Commissioners of Prisons, three interesting reasons are given for the alleged decrease in criminality:—(1) The drafting into the Army of a considerable part of the section of the population from which the criminal classes ordinarily come; (2) the new demands for labour and the greater facilities for making a livelihood by honest means; (3) the restriction of the sale of liquor. The last-mentioned, in the opinion of the experts, has been instrumental in effecting this desirable change. But experts are usually wonderfully ignorant people, and in this particular case are floored by recent statistics as to the annual consumption of alcohol. They prove that restriction of the sale of liquor has not reduced or prevented drunkenness. The first two clauses speak for themselves, and are eloquent testimony to the system of society which has permitted want, poverty, unemployment, disease, and war. The

whole report is a brilliant exposure of the country which the boys in the trenches are supposed to be defending. But it has not yet entered the head of Labour to break down its prison walls—it prefers to go on building them.

The British worker loves the stupendous, the impressive, which perhaps explains why he objects to being swindled out of a halfpenny, but loves to do honour to the gentry that annually lift huge sums out of his pocket. In support of this contention a few items culled from the general statement of the receipts and expenditure, funds and effects of the National Union of Railwaymen for the year ending December, 1914, may not be amiss. The income for that year amounted to the sum of £243,400, out of which amount was paid in disputes and lockout benefit, £2,294; sickness benefit to 1,026 members, £3,044; and accident benefit to 2,282 members, £3,467; a total of £8,805. But turning to the salaries and allowances to officers, we find the astounding sum of £21,662, and under other expenses of management, general administration, goods, properties, depreciation, etc., £49,325. Thus we have the nice little amount of £70,987 paid out for working expenses, and the very modest one of £8,805 for the avowed purpose of Trade Unionism pure and simple. One other sum might with advantage be quoted, that of £6,743 for law expenses. The whole statement of accounts, typical as it is of other Unions, very correctly indicates the present condition of Trade Unionism, and is a very powerful argument against its continued existence. When the mere administration of a concern accounts for more than a quarter of the entire income, it is time that such an undertaking was finally disposed of. But the worker, having got into the politician's net, apparently prefers to remain there, and perhaps comforts himself by remembering the Biblical injunction, "the Lord loveth a cheerful giver."

As though to still further emphasise the reactionary character of the Trade Unions, a truce has been called between the coal owners and the South Wales miners. At a recent Conference between these two bodies it was determined that all the workmen employed at the collieries shall be required to become members of one or other of the recognised Trade Unions. This, it is stated, will prevent the restriction of output in the Welsh coalfields by strikes on the non-unionist question during the war. The masters, having found the Labour leaders so amenable to their sweet reasonableness, are now anxious to secure every worker within the slave compound, and the Trade Unions have proved particularly useful in erecting the necessary fences.

Divide and conquer, say our masters, and straightway cleave asunder the single and the married workers. Now the stage is to be carried a step further, and the married attested men set to spy upon the single unattested ones who are trying to dodge their country's call. That, at any rate, is the gist of the information conveyed by Lord Derby to a correspondent. This he quaintly calls "carrying out of the Prime Minister's pledge," and with cunning hand traps the birds that would evade the net. But "military necessity" is still able to blind the eyes of the people.

That our pastors and masters are not possessed of the saving grace of humour was evidenced recently at the Kingston Police Court. A cat's-meat dealer was charged with being a deserter under the Military Service Act, and was told that he would not be allowed to get his outstanding money in, but must go to the barracks at once. Defendant argued, very naturally, that it was hard lines being taken away and consequently losing everything. The answer must have proved somewhat staggering: "It may be hard lines, but we are all fighting for our liberties." Barrack life may very probably give the victim plenty of opportunity in which to define correctly that singularly blessed word "liberty."

Despite the embargo placed upon all news dealing with any revolt of Labour appearing in the capitalist Press, facts supporting the master class in its glorious fight for liberty occasionally appear. For instance, there are authentic cases of women earning 2½d. per hour at making hand grenades. Again, in the process of cartridge making, one of the operations had to be performed 18,000 times before 3s. could be earned. But we are fighting for liberty—the liberty to starve on the princely sum of 2½d. hourly. Still another case comes from Frome. An exemption was claimed for a boy of 13 who was going to work

for a local farmer, the proposed wages being 4s. weekly, hours ten per day and no food allowed. The boy would have to breakfast not later than 5.30 a.m., then journey to the farm, and take his dinner at about one o'clock. A highly desirable régime for a growing lad. We are glad to learn that this particular case was adjourned for a fortnight, but what of the cases of sweated child labour that never reach public notice? What of the continual stunting, stultifying, and crushing of human body and intellect that is for ever going on in the industrial field? Well might we say with the famous victim of the French revolution's Reign of Terror, "O Liberty, what crimes have been committed in thy name!"

The daily Press of July last, when busy booming the demonstration of women organised to voice their desire for munitions work, spoke in glowing terms of this convincing proof of the "voteless patriots'" anxiety to hasten to the aid of their hard-pressed country. But some innocent journalist has succeeded in letting the cat out of the bag, and the one-time rebel and outlaw, Mrs. Pankhurst, is discovered in active co-operation with the Ministry of Munitions in order to secure the necessary women munition workers. The Government, it seems, supplied the money, Mrs. Pankhurst arranged the rest, and an admiring England beamed upon those patriotic Suffragettes who, having seen the error of their ways, had enrolled themselves under the banner of their former enemy.

The restrictive legislation in regard to the consumption of beer has done little to lower the nation's drink bill. Actually more money has been spent on drink, though 10 per cent. less of alcoholic liquor was consumed in 1915 than in 1913. The vital fact to remember is, however, that the brewers, when raising prices in accordance with the new war taxation, put £27,864,000 on to the cost of beer. Of this £22,210,000 represented the additional beer duty, some £5,654,000 finding its way into the brewers' pockets. War time, it seems, is not so disastrous to the national wealth as some would have us believe, for the brewer and other ghouls of the community absorb the workers' money in this fashion, invest it in War Loan, and the worker has to supply by still further taxation the interest on the War Loan. We strongly suspect that the beer he consumes must be particularly poisonous, or he would long ago have tumbled to this gigantic swindle.

More reports are to hand which give still further proof that Labour has been pretty well leg-ironed. In the Colne Valley there is trouble in the woollen trade because the employers have combined to refuse to allow their employees to change their situations. We are convinced that the conference held between the opposing parties will adjust matters, for the scales are weighted by the industrial conscription which the Government has forced upon the workers. Another report comes from Cricklewood, where a taxi-cab driver who refused to take an alderman and J.P. from one public engagement to another was fined 20s. But the masses continue to shed their blood for the maintenance of the time-honoured liberty in Britain, and those in authority sit tight and draw the net a little tighter.

But regeneration awaits us and hope spreads her wings, for the Labour movement is about to mete out to us salvation in the shape of yet another conference. It is desired to hold a discussion at which representatives from all sections shall be present, to consider war problems affecting Labour, the position of Labour after the war, and the necessary steps for reorganising it against that period. Resolutions and still more resolutions will, we suppose, be passed, and still revolution will remain a thing afar off. Would it not be more practical to scrap our leaders to begin with, discuss all matters of vital interest in the workshop, and then take steps to carry out our wishes? The outcome of any such conference as that proposed must be abortive, for pious resolutions and restrictive legislation will be the only propositions put forward by the Labour leaders, and we know from our past chastening experiences just how much benefit that will confer upon us.

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## TRADE UNIONS AND THE STATE.

The testimony of history concerning the State is, that it is always found on the side of the strong. It always backs the section of the community that is coming up, and puts its foot on the section that is going down. Therefore, if any section of the community desires the help of the State, the way to get it is to prove by its own successful efforts that it can do without it. An incident in the Wat Tyler rebellion stands as a picture of the innate tyranny of the State, for all time. When the peasants come before Richard II., organised and led by Wat Tyler, the King, who is the figure-head of the State, thinks he sees in them a winning class, and receives them graciously. "What would ye?" asks the King. "We would be free men, and have no man henceforth call us villeins." "Be it so," replies the King. But when their leader has been killed, and they, disbanded, come to him to redeem his promise, he replies: "Be gone! Villeins ye have ever been, and villeins ye shall ever be!" And I am not sure that Richard was not right. Slaves who can trust the word of a king are as yet only fit for slaves. What I cannot bring myself to believe is that there is ever a king or a State less the slave that can bear such slaves about them. I cannot do with a dog about me who cannot respect his own individuality. Both kings and subjects are the same slaves at heart. They have not found themselves.

I have been drawn to these thoughts by reading G. D. H. Cole's "World of Labour." Mr. Cole is a sincere writer, and his book is a sincere effort. I wish all Trade Unionists could be brought to read it. And then Bakunin's "God and the State" and the books of Peter Kropotkin, and some articles such as the one I am writing. Of Syndicalism, Mr. Cole says:—

"It is right in what it asserts, and wrong in what it denies. It asserts that industry should not be run by the producer for the consumer, and that the consumer should not perpetually stand over the producer with a whip giving his order. But Syndicalism tends to neglect the equally important truth that industry should not be run by the producer for the producer, and that the producer should not perpetually present a pistol at the consumer's head."

The first thing that one desires to ask Mr. Cole about this is: that seeing it is a fact that the consumer brandishes his whip, had not the producer better keep a tight hold upon his pistol and take a steady aim? To drop the figure, and get at the real matter which it figures, suppose the Trade Unions, as representing the producers, study wealth entirely from the standpoint of the producer, and leave it to the State to study it from the standpoint of the consumer, how will it work out? The Trade Unions, at last severely minding their own business, and studying the wealth they produced entirely from the standpoint of the producer, would press the claims of the worker more and more upon the State. The State feeling more and more the pressure of the worker, calling out now through a strong economic organisation, "I produce the wealth, and whoever else goes short I'm going to have a living, and a good one, out of the wealth that I produce," would have to fasten upon those consumers in society who neither produced wealth or in any way helped in its production. In other words, as the worker, through his Trade Unions, increased his demands, the State, to meet these demands, would have to clear out its parasites and all its idle and luxurious consumers who batten upon Labour and give no return. In other words, as Labour took more of its wealth, the idle and parasitic class would have to take less. And the State would force them to take less, but only in so far as the Trade Unions forced the State. This is the vital point which I am afraid Mr. Cole does not sufficiently appreciate.

So long as the Trade Unions go begging and praying to the State, they will only get its kicks, while the parasites will get its caresses. When the Trade Unions stand up to the State and demand their rights, then they may be likely to get some of the caresses, and the idle classes may come in for the kicks.

Mr. Cole fears that the producer will tyrannise over the consumer. I am afraid this is because he has not yet fully grasped the ideal of the Syndicalist and Anarchist in this matter. The ideal of the Syndicalist and Anarchist is a society in which all will share in the production of its wealth except the children and old people. This being so, how can the worker put too much emphasis on production? If all consumers are also producers, how can producers tyrannise over consumers? But so long as the institutions of our present society set up a conflict between producers and consumers, the only way is the one I have stated. Let the Trade Unions look after the producers, and let the State look after the consumers, and clear

out the parasitic sections from amongst them, as Labour presses its demand for a larger share of the wealth which it produces.

Near the end of his book Mr. Cole attempts some defence of the State. It is not quite as black as we Syndicalists and Anarchists paint it. He would advise the Trade Unions to be friendly with it, and, within certain limits, seek further aid from it. Some more capturing of the State! Well, we also believe in capturing the State. But we believe that the way to capture the State is to leave it alone.

Mr. Cole would have the Trade Unions recognise the legislation which the State throws their way, and instead of an attitude of lofty isolation, adopt a friendly attitude toward the State, and get all they can out of it. He instances the State Insurance Act. If, he says, they had been more kindly toward it, they might have had the members instead of the Prudential. Yes, we reply, but if only one Union had stood out against the Insurance Act, and a few of the men had gone to gaol, there would have been no Insurance Act, and this would have been a far better result than competing with the Prudential Insurance Company for members.

If the Trade Unions are to turn aside from their own business of organisation, to try and get something out of the legislation thrown out by the State to give a new lease of life to Capitalism, they are not likely to make much progress. Trying to gather grapes from thorns and figs from thistles is not a very profitable undertaking. This advice comes from Mr. Cole's belief that the State is not really antagonistic to the worker, which belief is due to the fact that Mr. Cole has not really analysed the State. The State is based on exploitation, and its institutions are laid out to secure this, its chief object. Before a man can take his seat in Parliament he must take an oath, or affirm his loyalty to the King and landlordism and Capitalism as the fundamental bases of the State. When he gets inside, if he does not help to legislate on these things he finds himself useless, and if he revolts, is soon thrown out.

Where the State is not capitalistic it is bureaucratic. Now, Mr. Cole will scarcely maintain that either the capitalist or the bureaucrat really desire to educate or emancipate the workers. Such things are quite against their interest. The capitalist desires to exploit the worker, the bureaucrat desires to govern him. Both of them believe the worker to be an inferior animal, designed to do the rougher work of life. They believe themselves to be superior animals designed to do what they esteem superior work—brain work. They will never hand over any of that brain work to the working class until by its own education, or organisation, and control of industry it forces it from them. They will never help the workers to acquire these advantages, not only because it is against their own interest, but because they do not believe that the workers have the necessary capacity.

Mr. Cole seems to be groping after this. But he says the State may be something altogether better when it has freed itself from capitalism and bureaucracy. Then it may be the nurse of every fine idealistic thing: music, painting, letters, philosophy, etc. Well, we know not what it will be in the future, but we do know what it has been in the past. We do know that it has persecuted all these good things. We do know that it has persecuted, starved, and killed authors, inventors, and thinkers of every sort. We think it will do the same in the future so far as it has power, because the State represents mediocrity, and to gain the favour of mediocrity will persecute genius. The objects of the State are always the same—power and authority. To gain these it must stultify the will and intelligence of the people. All its mummeries, pageantry, pomp, and ceremony are symbolism, to bewitch the people and take them away from themselves. To get them to respect themselves less, so that they may respect the State more. To get them to think less, so that the State may think more for them. To make and keep them weak, so that the tyrants of the State may wax strong in power and authority. All this Mr. Cole is beginning to see, and there are certain sentences toward the end of his book which seem to testify that it will not be long before the State will lose another advocate.

"The State is at best only as good as the citizens," says Mr. Cole. Well, this is only another way of saying that the citizens might be as good as they are without the State. "The slave can only throw off his chains by showing himself a better man than his master." This is only another way of saying that his master will never take them off for him. It also affirms that the slave can show himself a better man than his master. Let the slave set about it then and give no heed to his master, whether Capitalist or State.

The relation of the new Unionism to the State is a burning question, and all the workers would do well to read Mr. Cole's book and sift the matter for themselves.

J. TAMLYN.

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## Pro-Government Anarchists.

A manifesto has just appeared, signed by Kropotkin, Grave, Malato, and a dozen other old comrades, in which, echoing the supporters of the Entente Governments who are demanding a fight to a finish and the crushing of Germany, they take their stand against any idea of "premature peace."

The capitalist Press publishes, with natural satisfaction, extracts from the manifesto, and announces it as the work of "leaders of the International Anarchist Movement."

Anarchists, almost all of whom have remained faithful to their convictions, owe it to themselves to protest against this attempt to implicate Anarchism in the continuance of a ferocious slaughter that has never held promise of any benefit to the cause of Justice and Liberty, and which now shows itself to be absolutely barren and resultless even from the standpoint of the rulers on either side.

The good faith and good intentions of those who have signed the manifesto are beyond all question. But, however painful it may be to disagree with old friends who have rendered so many services to that which in the past was our common cause, one cannot—having regard to sincerity, and in the interest of our movement for emancipation—fail to dissociate oneself from comrades who consider themselves able to reconcile Anarchist ideas and co-operation with the Governments and capitalist classes of certain countries in their strife against the capitalists and Governments of certain other countries.

During the present war we have seen Republicans placing themselves at the service of kings, Socialists making common cause with the ruling class, Labourists serving the interests of capitalists; but in reality all these people are, in varying degrees, Conservatives—believers in the mission of the State, and their hesitation can be understood when the only remedy lay in the destruction of every Governmental chain and the unloosing of the Social Revolution. But such hesitation is incomprehensible in the case of Anarchists.

We hold that the State is incapable of good. In the field of international as well as of individual relations it can only combat aggression by making itself the aggressor; it can only hinder crime by organising and committing still greater crime.

Even on the supposition—which is far from being the truth—that Germany alone was responsible for the present war, it is proved that, as long as governmental methods are adhered to, Germany can only be resisted by suppressing all liberty and reviving the power of all the forces of reaction. Except the popular Revolution, there is no other way of resisting the menace of a disciplined Army but to try and have a stronger and more disciplined Army; so that the sternest anti-militarists, if they are not Anarchists, and if they are afraid of the destruction of the State, are inevitably led to become ardent militarists.

In fact, in the problematical hope of crushing Prussian Militarism, they have renounced all the spirit and all the traditions of Liberty; they have Prussianised England and France; they have submitted themselves to Tsarism; they have restored the prestige of the tottering throne of Italy.

Can Anarchists accept this state of things for a single moment without renouncing all right to call themselves Anarchists? To me, even foreign domination suffered by force and leading to revolt, is preferable to domestic oppression meekly, almost gratefully, accepted, in the belief that by this means we are preserved from a greater evil.

It is useless to say that this is a question of an exceptional time, and that after having contributed to the victory of the

Entente in "this war," we shall return, each into his own camp, to the struggle for his own ideal.

If it is necessary to-day to work in harmony with the Government and the capitalist to defend ourselves against "the German menace," it will be necessary afterwards, as well as during the war.

However great may be the defeat of the German Army—if it is true that it will be defeated—it will never be possible to prevent the German patriots thinking of, and preparing for, revenge; and the patriots of the other countries, very reasonably from their own point of view, will want to hold themselves in readiness so that they may not again be taken unawares. This means that Prussian Militarism will become a permanent and regular institution in all countries.

What will then be said by the self-styled Anarchists who to-day desire the victory of one of the warring alliances? Will they go on calling themselves anti-militarists and preaching disarmament, refusal to do military service, and sabotage against National Defence, only to become, at the first threat of war, recruiting-sergants for the Governments that they have attempted to disarm and paralyse?

It will be said that these things will come to an end when the German people have rid themselves of their tyrants and ceased to be a menace to Europe by destroying militarism in their own country. But, if that is the case, the Germans who think, and rightly so, that English and French domination (to say nothing of Tsarist Russia) would be no more delightful to the Germans than German domination to the French and English, will desire first to wait for the Russians and the others to destroy their own militarism, and will meanwhile continue to increase their own country's Army.

And then, how long will the Revolution be delayed? How long Anarchy? Must we always wait for the others to begin?

The line of conduct for Anarchists is clearly marked out by the very logic of their aspirations.

The war ought to have been prevented by bringing about the Revolution, or at least by making the Governments afraid of the Revolution. Either the strength or the skill necessary for this has been lacking.

Peace ought to be imposed by bringing about the Revolution, or at least by threatening to do so. To the present time, the strength or the skill is wanting.

Well! there is only one remedy: to do better in future. More than ever we must avoid compromise; deepen the chasm between capitalists and wage-slaves, between rulers and ruled; preach expropriation of private property and the destruction of States as the only means of guaranteeing fraternity between the peoples and Justice and Liberty for all; and we must prepare to accomplish these things.

Meanwhile it seems to me that it is criminal to do anything that tends to prolong the war, that slaughters men, destroys wealth, and hinders all resumption of the struggle for emancipation. It appears to me that preaching "war to the end" is really playing the game of the German rulers, who are deceiving their subjects and inflaming their ardour for fighting by persuading them that their opponents desire to crush and enslave the German people.

To-day, as ever, let this be our slogan: Down with Capitalists and Governments, all Capitalists and all Governments!

Long live the peoples, all the peoples!

ERRICO MALATESTA.

## THE REVOLT ON THE CLYDE.

Since the Minister of Munitions (Lloyd George) got such a nasty setback at Glasgow last Christmas, he has been waiting for an opportunity to "get his own back" on the men who had the courage to tell him their opinion of him and his Munitions Act. First, *Forward*, which published the facts, was suppressed; then the *Worker* shared the same fate, and the men concerned in its production prosecuted. But instead of scaring the men on the Clyde, these proceedings only caused them to stiffen their backs and to press their demands for a share in the control of the workshops. The "dilution of labour" scheme, by which Lloyd George hoped to make twenty shells appear where only one was produced previously, did not work so smoothly as was expected, owing to the opposition of the engineers, who asked nasty questions, and even insisted on going on strike until they were answered. This was too much. To "cheek" a Cabinet Minister is bad enough, but to stop the manufacture of munitions is to-day the greatest crime in the calendar. Something drastic had to be done. So at the request of the Minister of Munitions six men whom he considered the ringleaders were arrested by the military and "deported" to Edinburgh, and forbidden under severe penalties to return to the

Clyde district. Later on, two more were arrested and charged with inciting others to stop the production of munitions.

The men have now returned to work, but the fire is still smouldering. As usual, the Trade Union officials denounced the men for their "unofficial" and illegal strike; but the strikers ignored these Government watchdogs, who are paid to bark when Lloyd George blows his whistle.

### "Defending the Realm."

Anarchists, of course, have not been left undisturbed by those vigilant "competent military authorities" who are engaged in smelling out seditious persons and literature. (By the way, some of these "competent military" men might be more usefully employed, from the military point of view, in France or Flanders.) Our comrades at Hazel Grove and Stockport had their club-rooms raided and their stocks of literature taken away, and then had to appear before the magistrates on two occasions to give reasons why it should not be destroyed. Of course, they gave many reasons, but needless to say they did not convince the gentlemen on the bench, who consigned most of it to the flames. It is a crime just now to think aloud, and high treason to put your thoughts on paper.

Our militant comrade at Abertillery, Chris Smith, has now been singled out for distinction for thinking aloud. On March 22, while he was working in the mine, an inspector of police called at his house and searched it, taking away some literature; and later on went down the mine and arrested Smith, who appeared before the magistrate the next day and was remanded till the 30th, when he was again remanded for a week. He is charged with having "feloniously communicated, for the purpose of publication in a newspaper, a statement likely to prejudice recruiting." According to information supplied by a comrade, Smith wrote a letter defending conscientious objectors, and took it to the editor of a local paper, who evidently passed it on to the police. Thus is the freedom of the Press upheld by a Liberal editor!

### THE "NEW FREEDOM" IN AMERICA.

Now that President Wilson (author of "The New Freedom") has taken to the warpath in Mexico, on behalf of the Standard Oil and Mexican Eagle Oil Companies, he means to show the world what a terrible fellow he really is when roused. So one of his first blows was at *Regeneracion*, the organ of the Mexican revolutionists, which has done such splendid work in the fight for Land and Liberty. We have received a letter on the subject from Lucile Norman (step-daughter of Ricardo Magon), which is too long to print. She says that the arrest of the two brothers Ricardo and Enrique Magon at the offices of the paper in Los Angeles was carried out with great brutality. "The general offices, printing shop, and residence were invaded by the keepers of law and order. Fenton H. Thompson infamously wounded Enrique with the butt of his revolver until he was unconscious; then he was dragged to a waiting auto, bleeding profusely from head to foot, together with his brother Ricardo." They are charged with inciting to arson and revolution through the medium of the United States mail. The ability to use methods like these should endear Woodrow Wilson to the hearts of the American capitalists, and ensure his return to the White House for a second term next autumn. "Teddy" of the "big stick" could not do better. Wilson's "New Freedom" bears a strong resemblance to the old tyranny.

The charge against Margaret Sanger of advocating Birth Control (*i.e.*, Malthusianism) has been dismissed, owing principally to the strong protests from all parts of the States. But to show that it is still a crime, the New York police have arrested Emma Goldman and charged her with a similar offence. The charges were framed on different lines, but the real offence is the same. The evil that Comstock did lives after him. Margaret Sanger's public-spirited defiance of the law caused attention to be drawn to the foolishness of the Government's attempt to prevent the spread of useful knowledge, and the arrest of Emma Goldman will have the same effect.

The police have suppressed two Anarchist papers—the *Alarm*, of Chicago, and *Revolt*, of New York. We do not know the particular reason for this action, but can only presume that the papers have been publishing unpleasant truths. It is the sole reason a Government has for suppressing revolutionary publications. *Revolt* has appeared again, with a very defiant note.

### MAY DAY CELEBRATION.

As the usual May Day demonstration has been discontinued owing to the war, the members of the I.W.W. have decided to hold a meeting on May 1 in Hyde Park, to show the "powers that be" that there are still members of the working class of this country who believe in the international solidarity of Labour, and are prepared to propagate their ideas on that date. The I.W.W. hope that all the rebels of this city will give their willing and necessary support to this demonstration, as they rightly maintain that it is absolutely necessary to celebrate May Day, inasmuch as the rebel workers of other countries have not let the international capitalist quarrel interfere with the propaganda for working-class emancipation.

### EXPELLING THE JEWS.

As representative of the 5th Siberian Division I have been at the front, and can bear personal witness to the immeasurable brutality with which the Jews were expelled from the province of Radom. The whole population were driven out at night time within the space of a few hours. At eleven o'clock the Jews were informed that they must leave immediately, and those found behind by daybreak would be hanged. And in the night the Jewish population started for the nearest town, Ilzha, lying at a distance of thirty versts (about twenty miles). The old, the sick, the paralysed, and the invalids had to be carried in arms, as no means of conveyance were obtainable. The number of these expelled were enormous. For instance, the expelled from the province of Kovno number about 150,000, from the province of Grodno about 60,000, from Poland about 200,000; altogether, about half a million people are condemned to suffering and are placed on a footing with criminals, because the police and gendarmery are treating the expelled Jews exactly as if they were criminals. At one of the stations, for instance, the Jewish Committee of Homel was not permitted to hand food or water or give any assistance to the fugitives who were in the carriages of the train. In one case the carriages of a train conveying the expelled were not even opened once during the whole journey, and at the stations *en route* nobody was permitted to approach the carriages. Most of the expelled in this train were found afterwards half dead, sixteen had the scarlet fever, one was ill with typhoid fever, and one woman died of exhaustion on the third day.

Some Governors at the place of destination added yet more to the sufferings of these unfortunate innocent people. In this respect — (name deleted by Censor), the Governor of Poltava, Hirs, the Governor of Minsk, and the Governor of Ekaterinoslav, have shown particular zeal. They have converted the expulsion of the Jews into a sort of exile under police supervision. The passports were unlawfully taken away from the Jews and passes issued to them instead. These passes bore in every case a mark showing the time-limit within which their bearers had to arrive at a certain point in one of five provinces. In these five provinces allocated to them, the expelled were driven from pillar to post, from one place to another. The Governors of these provinces treated the expelled like criminals. The Jewish Committee of Poltava was, for instance, officially reprimanded by the Governor of Poltava for calling itself "Committee for the relief of Jews who suffered from the war." He requested the Committee to alter the title to "Committee for the relief of expelled Jews." The Jews, he said, were expelled because they were "politically unsound." The cruelty of the local authorities showed itself even when the Ukase was promulgated, stopping all further expulsions *en masse*. The local authorities made use of this Ukase in order to continue their inhuman policy, and turned it into a new means of oppressing the Jews. They have issued an order to the effect that all Jews arriving in their localities should be returned to the places where they came from. When the Governor of Poltava issued such an order, the Jews who arrived from Kovno returned back, but found that they were not allowed to return to Kovno and had to go once more to Poltava. The same cruel methods were used by the local authorities even after the Minister of the Interior had found it possible at last to widen somewhat the area whither Jews could be sent out.

In short, every decree which promised to lighten the lot of the Jews was used by the local authorities as a further means of oppressing them and of making sport of them. But the most arbitrary and cruel measure is the notorious order prescribing the taking of hostages from our own subjects. Note, such hostages were taken from among the more wealthy and from among those who are held in great respect even by the authorities. I ask you, by what law of the Russian Empire are people cast into prison solely because they command respect? By what law is it permitted to try and punish absolutely innocent people for offences committed by others? Even now there are about 400 such hostages in the prisons of Poltava, Ekaterinoslav, and Mohileff, who are in constant danger of being hanged at any moment. Gentlemen, this is not merely a threat! Just listen to this extract from an army order: "The Commander-in-Chief permits expulsion *en masse* only in exceptional cases, but considers it necessary to take hostages from among the Rabbis and wealthy Jews; when hostages are taken a warning should be issued that in case of treachery on the part of the Jewish population the hostages will be hanged." At Sochachoff three such hostages were hanged for a crime not committed by them, but by persons quite unknown to them.

—M. Dzubinsky, in the *Russian Duma*, Aug. 16, 1915.

## WORKING THE CONSCRIPTION ACT.

The newspapers have been full recently of the doings of the Tribunals in connection with the Conscription Act. These bodies have far exceeded our anticipations as to their partiality; they have not even pretended to be fair. The conscientious objectors have been bullied and insulted, all the pledges of the politicians in Parliament being treated as so many "scraps of paper." In fact, the ordinary man is now beginning to find out the true value of a politician's pledge. Just to show how the "gentlemen of England" are treating the people, we print a few instances taken from "The Chaos of Conscription," a four-page sheet issued by the National Council against Conscription:—

### The "Impartial" Tribunals.

The Chairman of the Seaton Delaval Tribunal to conscientious objector: You have a conscientious objection? Applicant: Yes. Chairman: Would you enter non-combatant service? Applicant: No. Chairman: *You are liable to be shot if you refuse!*

A member of the Shaw Tribunal told a conscientious objector: "You are exploiting God to save your own skin. You are nothing but a shivering mass of unwholesome fat!"

The Chairman of Aldershot Tribunal told a conscientious objector: "You are qualifying for a lunatic asylum."

At the Gower Tribunal (Swansea) the Military Representative (Colonel Pearson) called an applicant a traitor, adding that he "was only fit to be on the point of a German bayonet!"

### Chained to their Jobs.

At Southampton a scalemaker was granted conditional exemption so long as he *remained with his present employer*; and a carman and market gardener, in his father's employ, was granted conditional exemption so long as he was in his father's employ *and on the same market garden*.

Total exemption was granted to a London man of 21 who was the sole support of his widowed mother and four young children. But the Tribunal made it a condition that *he should remain single!*

A newspaper proprietor applied to the Rotherham Tribunal for exemption for two members of his editorial staff. One application was refused. In the case of the other—a chief reporter—the applicant was exempted *so long as he remained on the paper*.

### No Apology, of Course.

A ticket collector at Plymouth, attested under the Derby scheme, appealed to the local Tribunal on February 21 for postponement on the grounds of having a widowed mother and invalid sister dependent upon him, and was granted one month's extension. On February 28 an armed escort called at his residence, and, finding him absent, proceeded to the railway where he was employed and there placed him under arrest as a deserter. Notwithstanding his request to be taken home, where he could procure evidence of exemption, he was marched through the town under arrest to the Plymouth Corn Exchange, where he repeated his protest. After inquiries it was found a mistake had been made, and he was therefore released.

The *Manchester Guardian* of March 24 reports the following case before the Lancashire County Tribunal at Liverpool the previous day:—

A conscientious objector, a clerk, when asked to what extent he was prepared to make sacrifices for his convictions, replied: "My life. I am prepared to stake my life." He added: "I am not master of my own destinies." The Lord Mayor: "*We are masters of your destiny.*" The Appellant: "I know that." The Tribunal made an order for him to go into combatant service, and refused further leave to appeal.

After such examples of class rule, we may be certain that many will agree with us that the place where Englishmen should fight for freedom is here and not in Flanders.

## When Peace Comes.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

COMRADE,—Asquith has told us that he and his fellows have in preparation a Peace Book, so that when the inevitable end comes the machinery of Government may change its gear smoothly and expeditiously. Governments, it would seem, are fully aware of the advantages of preparation, and it behoves us to learn in this case a lesson from them.

After the war there will be unparalleled opportunities for propaganda work, but unless we are prepared we shall fail to utilise them. The "get up" of many of our pamphlets is hopelessly out of date. They must be reprinted and revised, fresh ones must be written, but there is the handicap of money.

My object in writing is to suggest that a fund be started, call it the Peace Fund, or what you will, having for its object the printing of Anarchist literature and its distribution in likely quarters *when the war is over*. There is sure to be great discontent with the old conditions when the armies return to civil life. Let us strike while the iron is hot.—Yours fraternally,

ANTI-MILITARIST.

## LETTERS TO AN AMERICAN COMRADE.

London, March 22, 1916.

DEAR COMRADE,—Your good letter was welcome, but what on earth do you mean by saying that you think that we are making too much of a fuss about what our autocrats are doing in the Compulsory Service line? Anything in that line is abominable, but when it is accompanied by wholesale lying and chicanery it is despicable as well. We haven't got to the end of it yet, either. As to what is the *end* at which the Government are aiming, let me quote from one of their own organs, the *Morning Post*:—"Between reasonable age limits, every man and woman should be held at the disposal of the State. Those men who are best fitted should be sent to the Army; those who would be more useful in another employment should be allocated to that employment." *That* paper is not punished for attacking the Government, not much!

This Compulsion racket has been a very cleverly worked juggle from the beginning, and who can doubt that, funking a straightforward declaration of the end they had in view, Asquith, Balfour, and Co. walked warily, feeling sure that once again they could gull the people? Perhaps you haven't followed the plot step by step? I'll try to enlighten you. "We must have more men," said they; "but compulsion! oh dear, no, such a thing is abhorrent to us." So they set the married men up against the unmarried, saying to both lots, "*Please* attest, and give us your promise to serve if called on"; also promising the married that if the single to any considerable number shirked they would be *brought* in before the married were called up. The married men fell into line, and then came out Lord Derby's Report, with its guesswork figures, declaring that there were over 600,000 single shirkers. "Of course, we must act as honourable men and keep our promise," pleaded Asquith and Co., and Conscription for the 600,000 and more single shirkers was made law. Tribunals were set up all over the land to listen to appeals for exemption from service of single men who came under this Conscription law. Now mark these further promises! It was distinctly promised that these Tribunals were to be *civilian*; so they are, *technically*. But actually, *no!* Each Tribunal is assisted by a military adviser, who practically tells the civilians what verdicts they are to give. Isn't it a pretty juggle, worthy of these honourable men? Further, Asquith used words which every sane man interpreted as meaning that a widow's only son and support should not be taken from her. That promise has been flatly broken over and over again. Then there was the promise that *conscientious* objectors should be exempted, and here Asquith cleverly evaded any useful definition of what he meant by a conscientious objector. *Need* I tell you the result?

Now there is talk—coming events casting shadowy words before them—of conscription for the married men who have not been roped in, and, as you have seen from the quotation above, talk of universal conscription for men and *women* for either Army, Navy, or factory purposes! Rule Britannia! Britons never, never, *never* shall be slaves.

If it were not a tragedy, this Conscriptionist Plot would be the most brilliant farce ever enacted.

But, as I think I hinted in my last letter, the autocrats are overdoing it. They are drunk with the success of their campaign against the workers, they are intoxicated with the delights of applying Prussian methods to those who during the past few years have dared to make demands for liberty and justice, and they think that having got the workers under their heels they can grind the life out of them. *There are signs of revolt!* Even some of those who are not Anarchists or any kind of Socialists are beginning to ask if, in order to destroy Prussianism, it is not too big a price to part with our freedom and to adopt Prussianism for ourselves. Every shred of freedom we had has gone: freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, freedom of meeting, freedom to strike, freedom to move from place to place and to sell one's labour when, where, and at what price one chooses!

But we are *promised* that after the war all shall be as well as well can be; everything shall be as it was, aye, even better! Promised! Yes, but we know—and the worker is quickly learning—that Governmental promises are worth just nothing.

We are passing through the darkest days that Britain has ever known; we can only hope it will prove to be the crisis of the disease of Government, and that the people will awake from this nightmare of blood and lies, *sane* and determined to take their own and to hold it.

I don't suppose you will ever see this letter; our dear Censor will prevent it reaching you. Even freedom of correspondence gone! Good luck to you!—Yours,

W. T. S.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## Spain.

Since the war began a great labour crisis has reigned in Spain. The price of food has risen so high that the workman's life is made almost impossible. Forced by misery, many workers' associations have asked for higher wages. The masters and the Government have declared that the workers are right; but the masters having refused to accept the demands, the Government has placed itself on the side of the employers. As soon as the strikes gained some importance, and so that the employers' newspapers should not distort them, the workers' association of Cataluna decided to publish a daily supplement of the weekly paper *Solidaridad Obreros*, Andreu Negre and Pestana were the editors. The first daily supplement was published on January 5, and the next day Negre and Pestana were arrested at 6 o'clock in the morning while in bed. Pestana is still in prison, but Negre was released on February 7. The next day he wrote me the news, but the English Censor only passed me the card on March 6—twenty-seven days for a postcard from Barcelona to London! *Solidaridad Obrera* has been published daily since March 1. The strikes increase and the brutality of the Governor and the police has been systematic. Meetings have been dissolved without any reason except to irritate the workers so that they should have an excuse to shoot them. They have imprisoned the committees of the associations on strike, closed the workers' offices, persecuted the associations, and tried to suppress *Solidaridad Obrera*, but I still receive it.

In "La Union," a miners' village near Cartagena, the workers went on strike. After a meeting at the Llano del Beal they were going towards "La Union," when they saw that in the factory "Dos Hermanos," of the Republican Pio Wandoselle (not a Spanish name), they were working. A committee asked the police who were keeping guard for permission to ask the few men that were working if they were doing it voluntarily or compulsorily. The Guardia Civil asked the public, mostly women and children, to retire 100 metres from the factory. They did as they were bid, and while they were waiting for the committee, other mounted Guardia Civil arrived and, without a word, fired, killing and wounding many people. According to *El Radical* of March 10, 12 were killed and more than 60 wounded. The papers from Cartagena, *Diario de Levante* and *La Cierria*, the latter directed by an ex-Anarchist, have ranged themselves on the masters' side, lying with such impudence that the latter's correspondent in the Union, Francisco Flores, has retired from the paper. I hope to give further particulars next month.

At the Peace Congress at Ferrol, which was prohibited by the Government, the delegates from Spain, Portugal, Cuba, and Brazil unanimously decided to reorganise the "Anarchist International," for which they nominated a committee, whose address is that of *Libertad*, Cadena, 39, 2o, 1A, Barcelona, Spain.

The comrades of Madrid are going to publish a weekly newspaper, *El Hombre Libre* ("The Free Man"); address, Monteleon, 40, dupl. 3o, 1A, Madrid. A weekly illustrated sociological and critical review will appear soon in Barcelona, *Los Nuevos*; address, Emilio V. Santolaria, Guardia, 12, pral. Also in Gijon, Calle 17 de Agosto, No. 19, 1o, a monthly review of 32 pages will be published. V. G.

## Australia.

The Labour movement in Australia is seriously alarmed at the growth of Japanese competition. Whilst they are fighting to eliminate German competition, the "little brown man" is seizing his opportunity, and, according to a Sydney correspondent of the *B. C. Federationist*, "Australian shops to-day are crammed to the roof with cheap, shoddy Japanese goods. . . . Even our wool is going to Japan and made into woollens to be brought back again. They are also getting a goodly hold on our markets of frozen meat, hides, and leather." Recently a Japanese consul, at a gathering in Queensland, told the public that what they wanted was Japanese labour for their fields in order to make it a profitable industry. "At which employers nearly howled themselves hoarse with delight, while the daily Press published the 'patriotic' sentiments of our Japanese ally in glaring headlines. Fine reading for the Australian, who has fought years to keep his country white. The Japanese is worming himself into Australia gradually yet securely. He is secure in the fact that he is England's ally; his ships-of-war have guarded our coasts and convoyed our soldiers to Egypt, and he awaits his reward in due time. Of a surety Japan will demand we be engaged into Australia after the war."

The result of the war is an ironical commentary on the gallantry of the workers. Australian Governments persuaded the people to build up a Navy of their own and to agree to compulsory military service, because otherwise the Japanese might swoop down on them and capture the country. And now, whilst they are fighting their masters' battles and being slaughtered by thousands in the "gamble" of Gallipoli, they find their ideal of a "white" Australia shattered, and will return home to compete with Japanese for a crust.

## Austria.

In Vienna, our comrade Rudolph Grossman, known to many of us in London as Morelight, and who, as "Pierre Ramus," edited *Wohlfahrt für Alle*, has been sentenced to twenty years' hard labour. The charge against him was that of anti-militarist propaganda, consisting of the publication of a new edition of an anti-militarist pamphlet that had

been freely distributed and sold before the war. Our comrade was a fervent anti-militarist, and few who heard him will forget the enthusiasm he raised by his speech at the Anti-militarist Congress at Amsterdam in 1907.

## TREATING AND ANTI-TREATING.

"The righteous minds of Innkeepers  
Induce them now and then  
To crack a bottle with a friend,  
Or treat un-moneyed men.  
But who hath known a Grocer  
Treat housemaids to his teas,  
Or crack a bottle of fish-sauce,  
Or stand a man a cheese?"

(G. K. Chesterton.)

The heaven-sent legislators who have ruled our destinies for several years past have crowned the edifices of State slavery—which they commenced with their Un-national Insurance Act—with Conscription, to complete the subjection of the British people, for, be it remembered, Conscription is part of a servile scheme that reaches far beyond this war, and that it is not a way of conquering the Germans, but a way of conquering the English.

The advocates of the present system which has plunged the country into such unexampled horrors, appear to regard Dartmoor Convict Prison as the New Jerusalem of the British. Their one desire is to convert the one-time "Merrie" England into a model convict prison, where everyone shall be regulated by municipal and State officials, from the moment he opens his eyes in a model State maternity home where all the midwives are State servants, until he is put to rest in a State sanitary coffin of standard pattern, to ensure economy of construction, in a State cemetery by State undertakers and State gravediggers!

To bring about this desirable condition of affairs for the ruling classes, orders like the Anti-treating Ukase were inaugurated, not so much to diminish drunkenness, but to prevent discussion. The conviviality of a local hostelry, or public-house, is well-known and proverbial. The public-house is the only place where the average man is able to exchange opinions with his friends and meet strangers through the medium of "a glass." These lead to discussion of affairs of the moment. Discussion begets thought, and thought is the father of action.

State slavery upholders regard discussion, thought, and action on the part of the masses of men as evil and unholy things. Hence the Anti-treating order to burke discussion of their wickednesses.

In this respect they are not original. They are merely walking in the footsteps of that Puritanical pagan, Porcius Cato, that Roman prototype of the modern Puritan Liberal sweater. Indeed, had Porcius Cato lived to-day, he would have been a Progressive Member of the Cabinet, an early closer, an anti-treater, a resolute economiser of poor people's luxuries, and, above all, a determined abolitionist of their amusements in war time, and a fiery conscriptionist!

How dear to the present-day official would the following maxim of Cato's be, as quoted by Mommsen, Book III., page 72: "A slave must either work or sleep!"

Change the word "slave" to "munition workers" or "miner" and our rulers should have it permanently displayed on the front page of the *Daily Mail* and its little brother the *Times*.

Cato made a great deal of money by systematic sweating. He robbed his slaves of their holidays, as he held that "ploughs and oxen should rest, but slaves never."

Strange to say, although he was an anti-treater, he was an advocate of darkness, as he stated that "much useful work could be done by candle-light, and that no work should be done by daylight that could be equally well performed—by slave labour—by candle-light."

What a model modern manufacturer he would have made!

To discourage "luxury in war time," he also decreed that the slaves on his Sabine farm should be deprived of their wine rations. Water was to be their drink, but on days of rejoicing, as cocoa was unknown in his time, they were allowed a "little vinegar." Naturally, a man who commences by restricting the enjoyments of his slaves or workpeople, ends by restricting the enjoyments of his equals!

Cato was instrumental in having an Anti-treating measure introduced in Rome, nearly two thousand years ago. We read in Mommsen, of this remarkable man, that, in order to check wine drinking and drink pledging, drinking in the Greek style—i.e., standing and returning drinks—was prohibited by legislation.

The Food and Coal Pirates, who live by exploiting the necessities of the poor, will rejoice to learn that this model of old-time virtue reduced in high prices and the existence of poverty amongst others.

"It was no wonder," Cato considered, when corn was very cheap in Rome, "that the burgesses no longer listened to good advice"—i.e., economy. "The belly, forsooth, had no ears."

It was this Puritanical domination of self-made Romans like Cato that made Caesarism arise out of the lost liberties of a once free people. In a like manner will our liberties be lost and our people be enslaved by a particularly odious form of militarism, tempered with Puritanism, if the anti-treaters and their fellows are allowed to continue to impose their will on the long-suffering British people.

C. WARD-JACKSON.

### WESTERN AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST COLONY.

A group is now being formed, consisting of: (1) Comrades who intend establishing, after the war, a Communist Colony in Western Australia; (2) comrades who propose to start a similar Colony in England; (3) comrades who advocate a start being made by living together in a communal house in London, whereby they expect to save money as well as to gain some experience, however little, of communal life. The comrades meet at Marsh House every Sunday at 7 p.m. to discuss these schemes. I am now leaving London for the provinces, with the object of finding comrades willing to join either scheme; after which I may, not being affected by the Conscription Act, proceed to Australia to find some comrades there, with whom I could make the first necessary arrangements.

In conclusion, let me mention that our comrades White and Watson have promised to give free Esperanto lessons as well as to converse with any interested comrade in this language, every Saturday evening at Marsh House. Esperanto text-books and literature can be obtained of comrade Watson, the necessary two books for learning the language costing sixpence-halfpenny.

### MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(March 3—April 6.)

**FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.**—R. Peary 6d, C. 1s, Gateshead Group 2s, J. E. Ellis 6d, W. Evans 2s, Felix 6d, H. Evans 2s 6d, H. W. Journet 3s, F. Blake 1s, L. G. W. 6s, H. Termier 1s, F. Crowsley 2s, A. Mattison 6d, H. Hayter 2s, J. Saunders 1s, F. Bosazza 1s, E. Michaels 1s. *Marsh House* (socials and sale of refreshments and literature), week ending March 4, £1 12s. 1d; March 11, 13s 10d; March 18, 7s. 9d; March 25, 12s; members' subscriptions (March), £1 6s.

**FREEDOM Subscriptions.**—G. Marin 2s 6d, G. Senior 2s 6d, J. E. Ellis 1s 6d, H. Evans 1s 6d, F. Rodger 1s 6d, J. Blundell 1s 6d, W. Berg 1s 6d, E. Malatesta 1s 6d, J. Romeyer 1s 8d, E. A. Crompton 1s 6d, H. E. Moore 1s 6d, C. Bonfanti 1s 6d, W. Lagsding 3s, J. Ozolin 1s 6d, E. Rayner 1s 6d, C. Pindar 1s 6d, F. Bosazza 3s.

**Political Prisoners' Fund.**—F. Bosazza 5s, F. Crowsley 3s.

### Marsh House.

Saturday, April 8—Whist Drive, 8 p.m.

Thursday, April 13—Discussion, 8.30 p.m.

Saturday, April 15—Whist Drive, 8 p.m.

**A LITERARY EVENING AND BALL**, in aid of the Anarchist West End Library, will take place at the **Communist Club, 107 Charlotte Street, W., on Saturday, April 15.** Commence 6.30. Ball till 12 p.m. Tickets, One Shilling.

### Modern Science and Anarchism.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

112 pages; Paper Covers, 6d. net; postage, 1½d.

### "FREEDOM" MAY BE OBTAINED OF

**London.**—HENDERSONS, 66 Charing Cross Road, W.C. (Wholesale). NATIONAL LABOUR PRESS, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C. (Wholesale).  
B. RUDERMAN, 71 Hanbury Street, Spitalfields, E.  
J. J. JAKES, 191 Old Street, City Road, E.C.  
QUICKFALLS, 238 York Road, and 61 High Street, Battersea, S.W.  
ISENBURG, Cleveland Street, W.  
W. REEVES, 83, Charing Cross Road, W.  
F. BENDY, 270 York Road, Bridge End, Wandsworth, S.W.  
STEVENS, 56 High Street, Islington.  
GOLUB, 10 Osborne Street, Whitechapel.  
SUGARMAN, 329A Mile End Road, E.  
J. YATES, 114 High Road, Willesden Green, N.W.  
H. ELLIOT, 329 Lillie Road, Fulham, S.W.  
J. WINTERS, 196 Church Road, Willesden, N.W.  
J. FLEET, 109 Upper Street, Islington, N.  
F. Hahn, 450 Harrow Road, N.W.

**Leicester.**—W. H. Holton, 87 Wolverton Road.

**Manchester.**—H. SEGALS, 99A Great Ducie Street, Strangeways (Wholesale).  
HEWKIN, 14A Cannon Street.  
M. Robert, 86 Grosvenor Street, Corner of Brook Street.  
Burns, New Bailey Street.  
Manning, Lower Maseley Street.  
Walker, Church Street, Newton Heath.  
Collins, 326, Oldham Road, Newton Heath.

**Plymouth.**—W. Tall, Market Bookstall.

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