C.I.R.A.

Freedom

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NOTES.

Moral Conscription.

The resources of the recruiting authorities for devices to entice the manhood of the country into the Army are being sorely tried. Lord Derby, the erstwhile leader of the Liverpool Dockers' Battalion, has been appointed Director of Recruiting, and since his appointment an elaborate classification has been made, by means of the National Register, of all men of military age. Those engaged on war work or necessary industry have been starred; the remainder have been placed in forty-six groups, and are to be chased and harassed until the weaker of them are either frightened into joining or heartily sickened of such persecution as this form of *voluntary* enlistment is tantamount to. It must surely be patent that those who are anxious to serve their King and country have enlisted long ago, and any who come forward now are moral conscripts; thus the system of recruiting in free England for a war for freedom is even more obnoxious than whole-hearted compulsion. The letters and plaintive appeals that have emanated from Lord Derby would suggest a lamentable slump and uneasiness in high places, and we sympathise with the victims of these outpourings. Is the objective to so circularise and canvass that after a certain period it may be said, "We have done all we can to get men to enlist; those who have not yet joined *will* not come; they are real slackers. We must make them come"? This is an ingenious method of obtaining conscription, and one which is calculated to disarm the opponent of compulsion by the false cry of "We are only roping in the slackers." Let us not be deceived by any subtle moves of our statesmen, whom we know to be absolutely unscrupulous when military necessity demands it. Military conscription is but the forerunner of industrial conscription, of which we already have a taste.

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Commerce and Conscription.

The opposition to conscription is assuming more powerful proportions, not, as one would suppose, among the workers, but among that privileged class of humanity which represents commerce in the House of Commons. A committee composed of Members of the House having been formed, a long statement has been issued by them showing that Britain is best helping forward the war, not by conscripting its wage-workers, but by expanding its trade with a view to financing the Allies. Although patriotism is the keynote to this manifesto, yet beneath the surface appears the motive that is inspiring many of our captains of industry. The absorption since the outbreak of hostilities of the normally large army of unemployed, and the ever-increasing dearth of skilled wage-workers, is causing acute difficulty to our industrial masters. Hence their opposition to conscription. But they are by no means averse to a form of industrial conscription which would guarantee to them good docile workers not only now, but after peace has been declared. The settled policy of the Government and, of course, the people whom the Government really represent, has been the drawing of the claws of Labour. Ever since the Defence of the Realm Act became law, and the Munitions Act was passed, this end has been kept steadily in view. We are all to be brought under one vast scheme of industrial serfdom superior in its thoroughness to anything to be found in that home of thoroughness, Germany.

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The Enemy at Home.

When the Scottish peasants who went to fight the battles of their lords in the Napoleonic wars returned, they found their lords in possession of their holdings. History repeats itself, except that very few of the soldiers fighting now have land to be seized. They have, however, houses of a sort, it is true, and wives and families left to the tender mercies of a beneficent State and the landlord. A flagrant case was recently reported from Glasgow of a man who returned from the front to find his wife and family evicted by a patriotic landlord. We now have a similar case from Wellington, Somerset, where a notice to quit was served upon a soldier's wife. It was impossible to obtain another house, so the order was not complied with. The landlord appeared on the scene, armed with building materials, and commenced pulling off the chimney and tiles to enforce his order. The woman, in a fit of desperation and despair, attempted suicide in a stream near by. Thus are served the interests of those who fight their masters' battles. These are not isolated cases, but only vivid examples of what the masters can and will do despite the talk of common interest. There can be no such thing between the masters and workers, and yet the workers are fighting their masters' battles. It would be infinitely more logical and productive of more good to themselves if these men devoted their lives to fighting their real enemies, Landlordism and Capitalism.

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Machines or Men.

We recently commented upon the prosecution and subsequent imprisonment of Harold Pugmire, a Heywood schoolmaster, for refusing to fill in the National Registration form. The following extract from the *Manchester Guardian* gives the sequel:—

> "At a meeting of the Heywood Education Committee it was reported that he [H. Pugmire] was now absent from school, and it was resolved that as his conduct was incompatible with the due discharge of his duty, and was prejudicial to the interests of the local education, he be discharged from the service of the authority."

What fools these local bigwigs are! We can understand the popular clamour that when a man is down he should be kicked down still further. But we would have thought that the wiseacres who control the educational destinies of the youth of Heywood would have risen superior to it, and seen in a man who would go to prison rather than violate a principle that he held (however much they may have disagreed with him), a man who was principled and possessed of moral honesty and courage, and just the man to guide the young. Of course, there is always the possibility that his teaching would have been tainted with a contempt for authority, the inculcation of which into the winds of the future citizens is of more concern to the powers that be than their moral uprightousness or their courage. They prefer, in fact, machines as teachers rather than men, and thus ensure that the product of their schools will be subservient workers.

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Marriage as a Profession.

In one of the daily papers there recently appeared an article by a parish priest on "Problems of Womanhood after the War." The difficulty confronting the writer was no real complex problem, but an inquiry, which is receiving considerable attention just now, as to what will be done with the immense number of women for whom no husbands can be found after the war, seeing that there will be a great preponderance of women. He asks:—

> "What provision is to be made in order to find work for wages for the vast number of girls who under normal conditions would have found their vocation in marriage and motherhood? Already a movement is on foot to relax the regulations of the marriage laws to meet the supposed needs of the emergency. It is demanded, for instance, that separation orders should now be allowed to admit of remarriage, in order that girls who would otherwise remain single may have the opportunity of marriage. Yes, but at what a cost! The maintenance of the strength of the marriage-tie remains of paramount importance. Is not one of our most precious national possessions our English ideal of what a home and home life should be? At all costs this must be maintained: we dare not tamper with it to meet a temporary emergency, however serious."

This holy piety with which respectable people view the sanctity

of home and home life is appalling. We wonder if they have ever heard of the women who work in factory and workshop in normal times after marriage? What of their homes and home life? But the chief point is the admission that marriage to-day is to most an alternative vocation to factory or other work. No question of sanctity ever enters into it. It is, in fact, prostitution with another name. We never expected our criticism of marriage to be corroborated by a parson. Much more could be said in criticism of this champion of home and home life, but the effusion, such of it as we give, is surely its own commentary.

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The Press has been foaming at the mouth over the execution of Nurse Cavell in Brussels by the German military authorities. The facts will doubtless be fresh in the minds of our readers, so great has been the outpourings concerning it. We do not minimise to any degree the horror and barbarity of wanton murder; but, as in many other cases, the "Lusitania" for example, the pious expressions of outraged feelings by the capitalist Press fill us with disgust. To shout with horror at one particular atrocity in a whole series of wholesale atrocities which constitutes the sum total of war is, to say the least, hypocritical humbug. It is a case of the mote and the beam again. Passions are inflamed, it is made a fresh excuse for keeping alive racial and national hatreds, and the greater horrors of wholesale murder on all sides is pushed into the background. It is not enough to say, with uplifted hands and eyes, "Oh! but this is a woman engaged in nursing, shot in cold blood." Can there be any degree in barbarity? Does it mitigate the crime if you arm a man and train him and send him out to murder a man from another country? War is war, and humanity and civilisation take a back seat when it enters the arena. No Power at war holds a monopoly of virtue; the methods of the barbarian are equally distributed among them, to be used when military necessity demands.

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"Sing a song of a few millions of souls and of pounds, and I'm *your* man," seems to be the song sung by the little Balkan monarchs to the big pots of the Allies and of the Central Powers. In the race for the war stakes it is Ambition first and Patriotism, Brotherly Love, Decency, and the rest—not placed! Has there ever been in the world's history so shameless an exhibition? It has come to such a pass that there is no longer any pretence of concealment. Is not the picture of the eagles and the lions and the other armorial animals gathered round Greece enough to make one almost despair of human nature in high places? It's simply bribery and corruption, against which there is not any International Law, which is concerned in the protection of capitalist interests and takes no account of honour or of human lives. Will the workers never realise the meaning and aim of all wars? Will even these present lessons be unlearnt by them? Is it any use again pointing out that war is the pastime of the rich and the hell of the poor, that it is waged to give more to those who have and to take away what little they have got from the poor?

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They are all out a-cursing the Germans, who indeed are accursed in so far as they are to blame for the present state of the *civilised* world! But those who are so busy over this cursing business might well remember that for years past they have been holding up Germany as a country to be admired, respected, and copied. Of course, anything—however true—that an Anarchist gives utterance to is suspect. So let us repeat the words of a quite respectable historian, the Italian Ferrero. Listen to what he says:—

> "We admired Germany not only as giving an example of industry, of order, of enterprise, of ability in organising the forces of individuals, but also, and chiefly, because she had been victorious in two wars; because her riches, the number of her sons, her fabric, and her power grew visibly; because she forged much iron and made many machines; because she was reputed invincible; because we feared and envied her."

Is not every word of that true? Is it not equally true that we are now trying to adopt her methods in order to smash the idol we have so long worshipped? The Golden Calf and the Iron Man have been the gods we have been brought up to worship, and woe to those of us who refused to bend the knee. Fortunately, sooner or later the gods of Justice, Mercy, and Truth take vengeance on those who have been false to them. Let us not pray, but *wish*, that in this case it shall be sooner, not later, and that these wars will awaken the people to the meaning and the aims of Government: government of the poor people by the rich people for the rich people.

Here is more of what Ferrero says of Germany:—

> "We did not blame her, rather we praised her, for seducing our minds with her philosophy to the point of absurdity, confounding the criteria of truth and falsehood, of good and bad, that men had held as most sound and clear: for adding, by her science, every year new arms to the arsenal of violence and fraud. And what did it matter if Germany too often snatched away trade from competing tradesmen with every sort of mercantile cunning, falsifying and imitating and destroying the standard of the just prices of things! Germany was strong, stronger than her neighbours and rivals. Germany had conquered, was conquering, and would conquer! Germany therefore was in the right!"

He says that of his Italy; we can say it of ourselves. Success is the modern standard of right; failure is the measure of wrong. Yet we are now bidden to reverse our beliefs and curse the successful—when they do not happen to be ourselves. It would be a farce were it not a tragedy.

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What will be the outcome of all this turmoil? Not much to the good, if rulers, politicians, statesmen and their *masters*, the capitalists, have the settling of the matter. There will be a busy time for the map-makers, that is all, for doubtless many boundaries will be shifted. But the dividing line between capitalists and workers will not be moved, unless the workers take a hand in the settlement. Will they do so? That depends upon themselves. They might long ago have stopped all preparations for war, refusing to make armaments or to be armed and drilled. They failed. They might have prevented the war at the last moment, by refusing to work the railways, the factories, and the mines. They failed. When the war is over, if it is ever finished and does not end in a stale-mate, they can settle the terms of peace, if only they will remember that the war is not a war of peoples, but is a struggle between peoples and their rulers; that is the only real war as far as the workers are concerned. In this country, shall it be Asquith, Grey, Balfour, Carson, and the capitalists who determine the future, or shall it be the workers? Will the workers fail again? It will be the greatest opportunity they have ever had; will they let it slip? The best hope lies in the fact that many thousands of workers, now soldiers, will find it difficult to return to the old conditions of wage-slavery, and that the Labour Party, the State Socialists, and all that fry have shown themselves to be the tools of the people's enemies. Yes, there is hope, especially for the Anarchists, who see clearly who are the enemy, and who base their policy on reason and truth, not on complaisancy and compromise. Compromise has killed many a good cause. Let there be no more of it as far as concerns the fight to the death between Capital and Labour. The worker must kill or be killed.

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The question of preventable infant mortality—old as Capitalism, and for ever with us—is at last seriously alarming our beneficent rulers, and various Eugenic preachers have held forth at length on the need for State action. So a national campaign has been started to make the nation realise the meaning of the falling birth rate and rising infant mortality. This new movement is supported by many shining lights of Church and State, whose sentiments Mr. Walter Long probably echoed when he declared that statistics proved that poverty was the least of the operative causes of infant mortality. "To-day," he declared, "there were an enormous number of men serving their country on sea and land. Their women and children received liberal allowances from the Government for their maintenance. Were they quite sure that in all cases this money was being wisely and well spent? . . . . . He could assure them that no official in his Department would be allowed to stand in the way of the successful performance of this great and sacred duty."

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Other speakers emphasied the relation between population and power, Mr. Herbert Samuel lamenting the fact that while the population of the United Kingdom increased in ten years by about three and a half millions, the population of Germany increased in ten years by eight and a half millions. Sir James Crichton-Browne thought attention should be given to the Neo-Malthusian propaganda, which was largely cutting off reinforcements of infant life; and hinted at a sum being voted by the State in order to help to insure these reinforcements. He stated that doctors' babies have a four times better chance of life than a miner's child. Yet a previous speaker declared poverty to be the least operative of the causes of the evil! What, then, is it that induces a miner or factory worker to live in a fœtid slum and a doctor to choose a salubrious neighbourhood? Merely

better power of discrimination, we suppose. But, as in all else, we see the cloven hoof of Capitalism in this campaign. Supplies of human material must be obtained for the maintenance of Britain's industrial supremacy, and the potential mother and child must be supervised by a paternal State anxious to obtain for Capitalism the greatest return from its industrial slaves.

Now that war is wasting human life on a colossal scale, the State must, as one cynical observer put it, "give to human life a little more of the care we have for property, and save for England in thirty years more British lives than there are at the front to-day." That plenty of healthy victims may be provided for the Juggernaut car of profit which in times of peace claims its yearly toll of victims. Such is the benevolent object of this movement. It need not deceive any one who realises that in proportion as the State obtains more control of the individual, so we lose that independence and initiative which, as intelligent entities, should be our birthright.

The State is deeply concerned that a herd of healthy tame slaves should be raised. In that respect it would emulate the ancient Peruvian State, where, according to Buckle, "the personal labour of the masses was placed under the entire command of the State, where laws were contrived by which, even in the most minute matters, freedom of action was controlled. The people were so shackled that they could neither change their residence, nor alter their clothes, without permission of the governing powers. To each man the law prescribed the trade he was to follow, the dress he was to wear, the wife he was to marry, and the amusements he was to enjoy." Is it not time we understood that the State can only exist and wax powerful at the expense of the individual? When this fact is grasped by the workers they will be less eager to be dragooned by the Government, and will begin by striking a blow at the vested interests that support the State.

The following extract taken from *John Bull* gives yet another illustration of how the Defence of the Realm Act is being used to interfere in a totally indefensible way with the liberty of the individual:—

> "We take humble leave to direct attention to the alarming case of Mary Hayes, who keeps a little shop at Pontefract. As far as we know, Pontefract is not a seaside resort, nor a fortified city like Margate or Scarborough; yet not only does Supeintendent Akroyd summon her 'for having the door of her shop open,' but when the Magistrates mulct her £1 for that heinous offence and she says she will 'go down' rather than pay, he announces that he will search her and, if she has the money, he will ask the Bench to appropriate it as the fine. This announcement made, the police search her: that is to say, they take money forcibly out of her pocket, the Superintendent subsequently reappearing in Court to state that 'she had 27s. in her possession.' On this information the Bench give him authority to retain £1. The Law Officers of the Crown will know much better than we do whether or not this is some new game or sport under the Defence of the Realm Act or the Lighting Regulations, originated for the amusement of the police. So much law and stuff has gone into the melting pot since the war that we care not to express any opinion on the matter. If we did, we should have to say it was a little Prussian, and therefore a little brutal."

Seeing that this very elastic Act can rob us of every vestige of civil liberty, perhaps the patriotic editor of *John Bull* can tell us what we will gain out of this war. Certainly not more liberty—a brass collar with our registration number on it seems much more probable.

Rent strikes seem to be all the fashion just now, for news reaches us from several quarters where patriotic landlords have found themselves confronted with this powerful weapon after having raised their rents. A placard exhibited in the window of one of the strikers bore the inscription, "While my two sons are fighting for our existence and freedom from German oppression, the landlord is trying to persecute and crush us by extortionate rises in rent." To carry this logic a stage further on, would make the people realise the cosmopolitan nature of exploitation, and how incompatible it is with freedom. Why not go a step further and recognise the kinship between British and German oppression? Both have their origin in Capitalism, and both are equally dangerous.

In a leading article of October 18 the *Evening News* talks seriously to all members of the community about the need for rigid economy. It says:—

> "There are men in high places to whom in times of peace we pay high salaries—hoping thereby, though the hope may not always be justified, to obtain the best brains for the Government of the country. We pay most of the Cabinet Ministers £5,000 a year, and our Lord Chancellor £10,000 a year. Surely these rulers of ours, patriotic as we know them to be, could exist on half the salaries that they are now getting. Then we have three retired Lord Chancellors receiving £5,000 a year each for having been Lord Chancellors at a princely wage, and a certain number of ex-Cabinet Ministers who are pensioned in proportion. Cannot they be convinced of the need for an example of self-denial for their country's sake? Again, there are the Law Officers of the Crown, whose salaries and fees together make even a Lord Chancellor look poor. Have they nothing to render back to the country which has paid them so lavishly in time of peace?"

There is much more in the same strain, but the real gem is contained in the following lines:—

> "Those who need that example most, because they think the least, are the artisans and labourers whose wages have enormously increased on account of the war. We are officially told that the sales of luxuries are increasing . . . . . We believe one principal cause is the increase of wages in certain industries, and the lavish spending of money which has been easily earned. There are men who, thanks largely to the recklessness of Government expenditure, are earning double and treble what they did in time of peace, and these are the people who too often buy rump steak and the best fresh butter, while the middle and struggling professional classes are content to halve their butcher's bills and eat margarine."

Cease, thou unthinking artisan, feasting thy epicurean soul on rump steak and best fresh butter, and instead go pass the hat round for those struggling members of the middle class whom the war has made penurious, until such time as your very prosperity shall attract them into your ranks. For who shall deny the magnetic attraction of rump steak and fresh butter?

The following from the Sydney *Sun* only serves to emphasise the reactionary character of the Australian Labour Governments, which FREEDOM has always insisted on:—

> "At a combined meeting of the Newcastle (N.S.W.) Trade Unions to discuss the amending Trade Unions Bill, which has been read a first time in the Legislative Assembly, the measure came in for a lot of adverse criticism. Mr. Waters, representing the Butchers' Union, said that if this was the best thing they could expect from the Labour Government after 25 years' hard work, God help the workers! This lot, he said, meant the wiping clean out of the spirit of Trade Unionism, and the wiping out of the Unions. Mr. A. Terris, treasurer of the Colliery Employees' Federation, condemned the Bill as an attempt at over-regulation. Mr. Geoghan, Ironworkers, said as the Bill stood it was a worse Coercion Act than that introduced by the Wade Government, and would breed disunion and autocracy in the conduct of the Unions. It was decided to write to all the Labour Members asking them to withhold their support from the Bill until it had been thoroughly considered by the Unions."

They still show their faith in the Labour Members, however.

Viscount Bryce has been distressed because the Churches have not done as much as might have been hoped. He finds that "they have followed whichever way their States took them. We had seen a State in these days recognising no moral responsibility to God or to humanity or to moral law, but simply wickedly acting in a way which suited its own interests." Does Viscount Bryce imagine that the German State would act against its interests, or that the Church would so far fail in its duty as not to sanctify anything undertaken by the State? The Church and State—those twin forces of oppression—must always be in agreement, or else the Church would be superseded by an institution that would perform the function required by the State, of sanctifying murder when required.

Dr. Macnamara has discovered a great truth, which he has divulged to the munition workers of the East End. He declared that every man and woman in the nation were members of one great union. Odd that it should require a war to make a member of the Government discover that fact.

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ASQUITH'S STATEMENT.

The people of this country will find small satisfaction in the Prime Minister's statement on the progress of the war, delivered in the House of Commons on Tuesday, November 2. It was, however, such a confession of complete failure all round that those who cannot learn a lesson from it must indeed be slow of understanding. Here we have a Government which we are told has within its ranks the best brains in the ruling class, and which has had practically the whole of the manhood and wealth of the country placed at its disposal to carry on a war which it entered with its eyes open. Nothing has been stinted in the way of means to that end, and the opposition has been paltry. Yet the Government has failed—and failed ignominiously. The people have always been taught that the affairs of a country can only be managed by a strong centralised Government, and having blind faith in their teachers they have placed their affairs at the disposal of their rulers. Now they can see the result of their confidence in Governments. To put it briefly, they have been betrayed and brought to the verge of ruin. For many years to come, they will curse the men who have so disastrously abused their confidence.

One would have expected that, considering the tragic results of their policy, the Government would have given their dupes some excuses for their failure, but, instead of doing so, the Prime Minister hid himself behind the plea of "military necessity." Even when dealing with the ghastly Dardanelles business, he seemed rather proud of it, although admitting that its failure was a keen disappointment to him. But of the awful losses of men he had nothing to say, except a few cheap compliments on the bravery of those who had been sacrificed. When we remember that in this affair alone there have been 100,000 killed and wounded, besides 78,000 invalided home owing to sickness, the callousness of his attitude is disgusting.

But we look in vain in Asquith's speech to find the objects sought as an excuse for all the bloodshed. There were the usual vague phrases about carrying "a righteous cause to a triumphal issue," but as to what the Governments of Britain, France, Russia, and Italy would regard as a "triumphal issue" we are as much in the dark as ever.

The hypocrisy of the cry about the "rights of little nationalities" has been shown by the landing of troops at Salonika. The Greek Government has been compelled by force to let the Allies land, and, as Carson suggested in his letter of resignation to the Premier, "Greece is afraid of the Central Powers; we ought to make her afraid of us: our naval supremacy enables us to do this." So this war which has been lauded to the skies as one of high ideals is now degenerating day by day.

And what shall we say about the position at home? At last, the people are beginning to doubt the wisdom of their rulers. The loss of life is being felt in every other household, and questions are being raised as to when the end will come. The fearful lists of casualties appearing in the papers since the last "great advance" at Loos give some idea as to what is meant by "driving the Germans out of Belgium"; and if the object could be achieved by the discussion of peace terms, it would be welcomed by those who will suffer the most. Every suggestion to that effect is howled down by our patriotic Press as leading to a "premature" peace; but as it would pass the wit of any man to show what advantage would be gained by the prolongation of the war, we fail to see how any peace could be premature. The peoples are fighting now to save the "dignity and honour" of a few diplomatists and statesmen, and we do not consider that object worth the bones of a single man. The war is rapidly becoming a war of exhaustion, without any definite decision one way or the other in sight; and the time is ripe for those who are opposed to the war to concentrate on driving that point home, and insisting that the bloodshed shall stop.

Asquith's remarks on compulsion show that he has been won over by the Conscriptionists, who are desperately afraid that the war may cease before they have put the chains of military despotism on the workers of this country, who they fear are becoming disillusioned, and may prove very difficult to keep in check when the war is over. Even now the workers disbelieve the reasons put forward for going to war, and are only induced to help in carrying on the war because of some indistinct idea that the "country" is in danger. But if they once lose faith in their rulers, the outburst may "stagger humanity." And the ruling class know it and fear it, hence the frantic efforts to forge the chains before a "premature" peace takes place.

For our part, we shall continue to point out the facts of the situation to the people who have been betrayed, and urge one and all to be steadfast and of good courage in the hour of trial which is sure to come sooner or later—perhaps sooner than we imagine.

War and Clericalism.

The injustice and horrors of war are making themselves keenly felt among the unhappy nations who have become involved in the present fratricidal struggle at the instigation of their rulers. Evidence of misery and mourning are visible everywhere, and the slaughter of millions of the flower of the human race only stimulates the governing classes of Europe to find fresh victims for the well-nigh universal carnage.

How are we to end the war? Will war ever be utterly abolished? These are questions which an ever-increasing number of thoughtful people are asking to-day. The answer to both questions is the same. Wars will cease to be waged when the mass of the people refuse to take up arms and kill one another at the bidding of their Governments. Without the assent and co-operation of the masses war is impossible. The peoples of Europe are fighting each other to-day because from childhood the minds of those millions of soldiers have been warped and perverted by the poison of false ideas. The most deadly of these are the religious conceptions which have been assimilated through the persistent efforts of the clericals of all denominations in every country in Europe.

In view of the fact that on October 12 revolutionists the world over were in some way commemorating the murder of the great idealist and pacifist Francisco Ferrer y Guardia, the victim of Spanish Clericalism, who fell, shot in the Montjuich Fortress at Barcelona, in 1909, it is interesting to observe the prominent part which Clericalism of every variety is playing in the present war. Priests of all creeds stand forth as the ready champions of "the truth and justice" (!) of the cause for which their nation is fighting. While Protestants in Germany liken the Kaiser to an Angel of Light, equally devout English Protestants find no difficulty in discovering in him "the Anti-Christ of the Revelations." The same is true of the Roman Catholics. In Germany the priests curse "infidel France" with gusto, whilst in England they pronounce the ravaging of Belgium to be quite in accordance with the ethics of the followers of Luther. In both cases they deliberately ignore the most obvious facts that would be fatal to their case, and exploit the horrors of the war to further the interests of their church.

There is nothing surprising in all this. Priests in all ages have ever been ready to pronounce the blessing of their god upon the cause they upheld and to quote whole chapters of Scripture in support of their attitude. But the influence of Clericalism upon war is not restricted to the futile professional performance of dealing out blessings and cursings as circumstances require, it is in itself one of the most powerful causes of war. A glance through the pages of history reveals the fact

that the great majority of wars have been definitely "wars of religion." For hundreds of years Europe has been the scene of the most sanguinary struggles between groups of nations goaded on by religious zealots. The history of Ireland presents what is, perhaps, the most terrible example of what a curse religious fanaticism is to a nation. The root cause of that civil strife wherein Irishmen have killed and hated each other for centuries is to be found, in the final analysis, in a difference of opinion as to the attributes and dictates of a god whose very existence it is impossible for any one to demonstrate. To-day, as never before, England is utterly enslaved in the clutches of the State. And the strongest supporter of the State is the priest. The more reactionary that State is, the more he approves of it. Priests swarm and are all-powerful in Spain and Russia. Notwithstanding their most strenuous efforts and most open overtures, the Allies have failed to gain the whole-hearted support of the Vatican. Why is this? Because the Pope realises full well that the German and Austrian autocracies are the most efficient in Europe, and priestcraft will flourish like the proverbial bay tree where the people are bound by the chains of conscription, and are at the mercy of a powerful military ruling class. Hence it is more politic for the Papacy to protest but mildly against the destruction of churches in Belgium, and to treat the anti-Christian activities of the Turk as matters of no importance.

The most enthusiastic advocates of conscription in England are the most religious and most reactionary of politicians and publicists. The strength of Lord Northcliffe's religious convictions are not generally known, yet these find a constant reflex in the leading articles of the *Times*. Whilst the people are absorbed in the anxieties the war has brought upon them, the clerics, like the profit-mongers and the politicians, are using the war as a means to strengthen their hold upon the nation. The utmost advantage is being taken of the awakened and agitated emotions of the people to turn those feelings—which might be welded together into a powerful instrument to stop the war—into religious channels. There are clerics who do not hesitate to assert that those who fail to pray for "the success of our righteous cause" will ruin their country and damn their souls. Others indulge in cheerful speculations as to the cause of the war, and attribute so low a standard of morality and justice to the god they worship as to declare that this blackest of all horrors is a "divine visitation." But the Iron Cross for the most absurd religious pronouncement on the subject must in justice be awarded to the Bishop of London, who says that the English are not yet good enough to win the war! The delay in the march to Berlin has hitherto been ascribed to lack of munitions and military skill; it now appears that the real stumbling block is a deficiency of prayer and praise to the complaisant (alleged) omnipotent God who sits above viewing the slaughter beneath his feet. And yet such is the standard of intelligence in England to-day that there are thousands who will accept in all seriousness the buffooneries of this episcopal charlatan!

Nearly every church and chapel in the land has been turned into a recruiting office, and cartloads of tracts and Bibles are being distributed among the soldiers. Above all, in the schools children are taught to associate religious ideas so closely with those of patriotism aud militarism that these at length entwine like venomous serpents round the mind of the child with deadly and lasting effect. Let it be clearly understood that the ideas which are now being implanted in the minds of little children —the flag-waving, the praying, the drilling, and the cheering for King or Kaiser—are like so many seeds which will, if not destroyed, germinate into future wars. The Capitalist, the Lawyer, the Priest, and the Soldier—fitting symbols of the degradation and enslavement of the workers! These four are the foundations of the modern State.

Let us frankly recognise our enemies. Capitalism, Militarism, Nationalism, and Clericalism—our deliberate aim is the destruction of these by every means in our power. And it is from the work of the martyred Ferrer that we may learn many valuable lessons as to how our fourfold task may be accomplished. First and foremost, Ferrer realised the importance of the child. He recognised the supreme value of implanting right ideas about man, society, and Nature in the plastic mind of the boy or girl. Here is a vast field for activity which will better repay our efforts than any other—yet it is left almost untouched by the majority of revolutionists. Surely work of this kind was never more needed than at the present time, when the whole world is reaping the fatal effects of the neglect of it in the past! If but half the time that Socialists devote to controversies among themselves were spent in training the young in the principles of Communism, and setting them on their guard against the sophisms of the enemy, that time would be used to better purpose. The best way to commemorate the life of Ferrer and to avenge his death is to carry on his work. We may well copy the capitalist in this respect. Why is money spent so lavishly on Boys' Brigades and Junior Imperial Associations? The Boy Scout movement is already proving one of the most powerful weapons the militarists possess. It is well known that the aged head of the Standard Oil Trust is a very active supporter of his Church Sunday School. Does Rockefeller serve God for naught? Let that question be answered by the miners of Ludlow!

To fight against war, then, we must fight against Clericalism. The first step towards preventing wars in the future is the extension of anti-militarist propaganda, especially among the young. The Socialist movement has for many years been so obsessed with petty reforms, which, as events have proved, have been perfectly useless to them, that it has largely forgotten its first principles. The bright light of the old three-fold idea of the French Revolution must be always before the eyes of the people—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity! All true Socialism is implied in these three words. Liberty means the downfall of the State and all it stands for; Equality necessitates the end of classes, and therefore of class ownership and the class war; Fraternity speaks of the brotherhood of man and of the passing away for ever of war. Let there be no slackening of propaganda during the war; rather let us redouble our efforts to bring about that change in society which alone can secure a true and abiding peace.

OTTO LEROY.

"DEFENDING THE REALM."

Our comrade J. B. Bailey has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for "writing certain statements likely to prejudice recruiting." He was tried at the Monmouth Assizes on October 30, after having been bandied about by the military and civil authorities for nearly two months. The judge, in sentencing him, said that if the more serious charge had been gone into the maximum penalty was death. A letter from our comrade was published in the October issue of VOICE OF LABOUR, from which it appears that he was first charged with being an enemy alien at large, but that charge was dismissed by the magistrates. On leaving the court, he was immediately rearrested on the above charge, with the result stated. To speak frankly, it seems that by such sentences the authorities are themselves prejudicing recruiting, as it is impossible to believe that a Government capable of such actions can be fighting for freedom. Their own deeds discredit their words. Bailey's case does not stand alone: similar sentences or heavy fines have been imposed all over the country.

In Australia the same sort of thing is happening. On September 4 in the Central Police Court, Sydney, Tom Barker, editor of an I.W.W. paper, *Direct Action*, was fined £50 or six months' imprisonment with hard labour, and also ordered to find sureties in the sum of £100, with the alternative of another six months, to observe Regulation 28 of the War Precautions Act for the period of the war, for publishing and distributing a poster bearing the following words:—

TO ARMS!!
Capitalists, Parsons, Politicians,
Landlords, Newspaper Editors, and
Other Stay-at-Home Patriots,
Your Country Needs You in the Trenches!
Workers, Follow Your Masters!

From a report of the case sent us by the Barker Defence Committee, it appears that the action was instituted by the authorities because the poster offended the susceptibilities of a few politicians prominent in the recruiting campaign, who were anxious to find a scapegoat in order to cover up their own blunders and incapacity as recruiting agents. The Defence Committee say: "In these days, when autocratic legislation is making such dangerous inroads on the liberty of the subject and freedom of speech, it behoves all progressive associations, and especially members of the working class, to enter an emphatic protest against the Prussian-like tactics of the State Government authorities." A fund is being raised to fight the case in the courts; but the judges are not likely to alter the sentence dealt out in a Government prosecution.

It is not by the wax and parchment of lawyers that the independence of man can be preserved. Such things are the mere externals; they set off liberty to advantage; they are as its dress and paraphernalia, its holiday suit in times of peace and quiet. But, when the evil days set in, when the invasions of despotism have begun, liberty will be retained, not by those who can show the oldest deeds and the largest charters, but by those who have been most inured to habits of independence, most accustomed to think and act for themselves, and most regardless of that insidious protection which the upper classes have always been so ready to bestow, that in many countries they have now left nothing worth the trouble to protect.—T. BUCKLE, "History of Civilization in England."

GREAT MEN OR A GREAT PEOPLE?

Two ways of progress are laid before us by those of our kind we esteem thinkers. One set tells us that the first thing necessary is an increase in our great men; the other tells us that the most important thing is a better average. I suppose both sets would agree that the more great men we have and the higher the average, the better it will be for society. But the question is, which must be our chief concern? Upon which must we put the chief accent? Men like Carlyle and Ruskin will say: "Look after your great men; let them bear aloft the torch as supermen." Men like Tolstoi and Bakunin will say: "Improve your material conditions and raise the standard of your multitude, or the appeal of your great men must be useless." And I do think that our Carlyles and Ruskins, and all the host of scribes demanding supermen, have utterly failed to show what good can come from the supermen if they fall into a society utterly unable to understand and appreciate them. I wish some of them would address themselves to this side of the problem in earnest, and not leave it to a poor obscure scribe like myself to raise it.

What doth it avail my being a giant in intellect if I have to appeal to a people without intellect? What is the use of my being a giant in poetry, if my poems have to fall upon a mass with no soul for poetry? What is the use of my worshipping at the shrine of Beethoven, and composing soul-enthralling music, if the level of my audience be "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay" or "It's a long, long, way to Tipperary"? What the use of producing beautiful literature and art, if the people are satisfied with the literary offal poured out by the modern Press? I wish the savants who keep shouting for the advent of more supermen would clear up these points. Why ought I to desire to be reincarnated into the world as a Demosthenes, if only to orate to a garden of cabbages?

I vow when I depart this earth I shall have no desire to return to orate to cabbages, or to write books for such as prefer the productions of the Press, or to compose or play good music for such as find their solace in music-hall ditties. And unless some high priests of the superman cult can descend to clear up these vulgar points, some vulgar minds like my own, in close touch with mundane reality, will begin to think that there is something akin to bunkum in the superman theories.

Of course, we may have to admit that if a few persons having quite settled it with themselves that they were superior beings, drew out and sat on an alabaster throne and savagely railed at the common herd down beneath them, they might get some sort of pleasure from it. But in this case one would be seriously led to ask, Are they mad, or will they not soon become mad? Is the exercise healthy? One cannot live long and well without fellowship, and if there is a great gap between your great men and your average, then your great men cannot help the average, and your average cannot help the great men. So to poor scribes like myself the main business of society seems to be to so change the material conditions as to raise the average standard of life. This done, the great men may be left to take care of themselves, and the greater they are the less they will care for the homage of those who laud them as supermen, and the more they will feel their kinship with the average people, who must be their inspiration.

Great men, or a great people? It seems to me that a great people will always have its great men. A good soil does not condemn to any dead level or dull uniformity the oaks, elms, beeches, and pines that inhabit it. There are always the few towering up into the clouds; there are always the few scrubs and dwarfs. Good conditions do not obliterate differences of character, they only give scope for life. But if a great people should fail in great men, being rich and ripe in their own natures, I think they would manage to be quite happy without them. On the other hand, I cannot conceive of your great men without the great people. Abnormalities, monstrosities, portentous and awful creatures with all manner of strange obsessions you may have as a reflex of a corrupt society, but not men great and sane.

And so I think that the Anarchist, who lays principal stress upon the instincts, faculties, and powers of the ordinary individuals, and not upon the exceptional powers of the few who vary from them, points the real way to progress. Not a few great men, but a free society emancipated from all privileges, should be the aim of all revolutionists.

JOHN TAMLYN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE MOVEMENT AND RE-ORGANISATION.

(*To the Editor of* FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—It is evident from Comrade Wood's letter in September FREEDOM that my letter in the August issue has failed to make clear—to him, at any rate—the meaning I intended to convey. I did not attack (as Wood seems to imagine) the position that Anarchist organisations in all countries should act together whenever desirable and possible: indeed, I am strongly in favour of such joint action, to which, moreover, I have never heard of any Anarchist being opposed. But our comrade says that we must "organise internationally," and thus (inasmuch as Internationalism implies the recognition of Nationalism) blesses the fetish which he himself, elsewhere in his letter, affirms to be one of the main factors in the exploitation of Labour.

Now, the Anarchist does not recognise "the nation" as an entity; to him, *the individual* is the sociological unit, and the nation is but an aggregate of individuals. How, then, can the Anarchist be said to be "national"? He is necessarily not an *Inter*-nationalist, but an Anti-nationalist. I believe that the Nationalist superstition (as well as the superstitions relating to gods and governors) will have to be destroyed before it will be possible to revolutionise the material conditions which are *dependent on the acceptance of these beliefs by the masses.* Thought is the herald of Action, and we Anarchists should surely avow our antagonism to the State-imposed grouping involved in Nationalism. In Anarchy, individuals will form their own groupings, small and large. The fact that we at present exist under Nationalism is the very reason why we should proclaim our movement anti-Nationalist as well as anti-Capitalist and anti-State.

Some may possibly consider all this a trifling matter—a quibble over "mere words." I submit, however, that (as words are our principal means of conveying ideas) an accurate terminology is a valuable aid both to clear thinking and to the fertility of our propaganda. Anarchists should remember that, though they themselves understand certain expressions commonly used in the movement, they cannot expect the speedy, or perhaps even the ultimate, conversion of poople to whom those expressions may be hopelessly obscure. In my humble opinion, Anarchist terminology stands in urgent need of revision, and I trust the subject will receive from comrades the serious attention it merits.

With regard to the Co-operative movement, I suggest that (though Anarchists may usefully join it as rank-and-file members in order to spread our ideas among Co-operators) it is surely too late in the day to hark back to the old, old idea that the Revolution can be effected by the labour and energy of revolutionists being applied to *co-operative manufacture and shop-keeping in competition with the capitalists.* Political Reformation is discredited in the eyes of Anarchists: how is it, then, that some comrades still seem to cling to the antiquated belief in reformism in the industrial sphere?

As to our Syndicalist friends, let us Anarchists work with them whenever and however we can; but let us never forget that our goal is something finer and deeper than a mere bread-and-butter revolution—that we stand for the liberation and highest possible development of the individual personality.

Whilst indulging on leanings towards Co-operation and Syndicalism, let us not be unduly impatient for concrete results. We shall attain Freedom when there is a sufficient number of possessors of the *Will to be Free.* That way lies our mission—*the making of conscious Anarchists.* It is the *only* way. As Ibsen once said in speaking of politicians: "Partial revolutions, revolutions in externals . . . . . are mere trifles. There is only one thing that avails—to revolutionise people's minds."—Yours fraternally,

T. S.

"PAYING THE PIPER."

(*To the Editor of* FREEDOM.)

SIR,—The deplorable ignorance the writer of the note with the above heading displays in reference to the proposals of Single Taxers (for the taxation of land values) might be allowed to pass but for the effect his statement is calculated to produce on the working man. He says the fact that Labour pays all taxation is an effectual answer to the land-taxer (*sic*). Does he know that this particular tax is paid twice over, first in the form of rent to the landowner and then in rates and taxes to the governing authority? Whatever may be the writer's animus against Single Taxers, surely he is not in favour of handing over two or three hundred millions sterling per annum to the land-owners—the potential value of the land of this country would yield nearly one thousand millions per annum to the community if the land was put to its full use.

If the writer does not agree with the principle of the Single Tax on Land Values, he is a "land-taxer." We are not land-taxers; we are value-taxers. The present blundering and oppressive system is one of land-taxing—*i.e.*, taxing land according to its use. We propose to tax land according to its value—an entirely different thing. The land monopolists, who are the foundations and buttresses of all other monopolists, are quite safe from interference so long as we have ignorant people like the writer of this note, who evidently prefers that the workers should be taxed on their food and on their wages rather than that the landowners should be taxed on the value of their lands. Happy landowners!—Yours truly,

JOHN BAGOT.

[Why this anger? The writer of the note said it did not matter

who paid the taxes, as the workers produce them before any one can pay them—whether capitalist or landowner. Was he "ignorant" in saying that? Again, to speak of taxing land values is not correct. You really tax the landowner. If he is a worker, he pays; if he is not a worker, he must first squeeze the tax out of some one who is. The result is the same in any case—the worker produces the wealth from which the taxes are drawn.—ED. FREEDOM.]

POSTMEN AND CONSCRIPTION.

(*To the Editor of* FREEDOM.)

SIR,—Kindly allow me to correct a slight misapprehension which was apparent in a FREEDOM comment made on the Walthamstow postmen's resolution against Conscript Slavery. The comment said:—"They apparently suffer from none of the delusions filling the minds of so many of the workers just now, that our enemies are the workers and rulers of other lands; and though servants of a beneficent State, they realise that the fight is against the masters, whether disguised as State employers or otherwise, and it is a fight which must be kept going."

This might be misunderstood by some persons to mean that we postmen regard the workers and rulers of other countries as being our friends. It is true that the workers of some other countries are being forced, against their own wishes, to murder Britons. But it is not correct to say that the rulers of all other countries are the friends of British postmen. They are not always our friends, but are often the bosses and oppressors of workers generally.

The so-called "rulers" of this country, Britain, are in reality a few aged money-maniacs, who try to use the King as a gorgeous cloak for hiding their own corruption. Their highest thought is a mania for constantly increasing their ill-gotten wealth. They would try to pauperise the Ministers of the King if those Ministers dared to advise his Majesty to exile the money-bugs. They therefore could not be exiled by the King, who is constitutionally allowed to act only on the advice of his Ministers.—Yours truly, A POSTMAN.

[No one would accuse Anarchists of saying that the rulers of other countries are the friends of British workers, and the sentence hardly bears that interpretation.—ED. FREEDOM.]

BOOKLAND AND ELSEWHERE.

It is strange that so little great poetry has been inspired by the war of the classes; Morris, Francis Adams, Shelley, and a few more have given us of the best, but considering how many poets have sung the glories and greatness of bloody war, it *is* strange that there has not been more written about the war between the poor and the rich. But the reason is not far to seek; so few realise that it *is* war, and always war, between those who have and hold and those who have not. There is the main difficulty that faces the Anarchist; it is so difficult to prove to the worker that alliance of any kind with the capitalist cannot ever result in anything but advantage to the latter; only by war can freedom be won and justice be satisfied. In *The Red Dawn*, published at 6d. by the Northern Division "Herald League," Albert Young gives us some fine, stirring verse. Occasionally he seems to be writing because he wants to do so, but often because he *must*, and then his lines ring true and hit hard. He is at his best, which is really good, when, so to speak, in a temper.

Quite different matter is *The False Mysticism of War*, by Muriel Matters, of the Society of Friends (2d.). The Friends are, as far as we know, the only Christian body that has attempted in these evil times to *practise* the teaching of Christ; the churches and chapels resound with preaching and the columns of the newspapers reek with sophistry. Christ was a man of peace: there is no getting away from that fact except by lying. The Church of Christ has done a vast deal of that lately. This pamphlet is well and soberly written, but we fear that most so-called followers of Christ will look askance at it.

Bruce Glasier has done good service by writing the two pamphlets issued by the Independent Labour Party, *Militarism* and *The Peril of Conscription*. They are excellent—as far as they go—and provide telling arguments against the blaring patriotism and sordid militarism of to-day. But, of course, they do not go far enough. Like all State Socialists, the writer forgets that to substitute one form of government for another is only taking a King Stork in place of King Log. Governments always have depended and always will depend upon property and force. It is not another kind of government we desire, but *freedom*, and until one obtains that there will be wars and militarism. Will the people never realise that? Nevertheless, we are grateful for these two pamphlets—as far as they go.

N. EMO.

VOICE OF LABOUR.

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ENLIST OR——!

The coercive form recruiting has assumed since the appointment of Lord Derby has been recently manifested in many startling ways. The British Government, apparently jealous of its claim to the title "perfidious Albion," appears to disdain conscription of the Continental genus. Nevertheless, an insidious form has actually been thrust upon the British which is operating far more unfairly than any German or French system. Enlist or starve is now the only alternative, and even those workers who for any reason are ineligible are being brought under a scheme of industrial conscription. The Government telegraphists, many of whom were refused permission to enlist when the war broke out, have now received circular letters from the Postmaster-General, the desire evidently being to place the State servants under the operation of the Munitions Act by obtaining the signatures of the men to the declaration that they will do their duty to the country in a civil or military capacity if called upon. Below is a copy of the letter from the Postmaster-General, who, two years ago, was fighting these same telegraphists in their demand for a living wage and improved conditions. We trust that the men may be spirited enough to oppose such an obvious menace to their liberty:—

October 29, 1915.

DEAR SIR,—Your name has been given to me as that of a man with telegraphic skill and eligible in point of age for military service. You are anxious, I have no doubt, that your services should be used to the best advantage for the benefit of the country in this war. They would not be used to the best advantage if you enlisted in an ordinary combatant unit of the Army. And a very large number of telegraphists must be retained to do indispensable civil work at home, and cannot be released even to serve in the Royal Engineers Signal Service. Telegraphists can best serve their country at this crisis by placing their skill unreservedly at the disposal of the Government and expressing their willingness to serve either in a civil or a military capacity as required. The Director of Army Signals will then be able to know that he has a body of men available who can be called upon whenever needed to undertake military service in the Royal Engineers, and carefully planned arrangements can be made to provide for the needs of the Army. A great number of additional volunteers for the Royal Engineers Signal Service are required at once to meet the normal demands of the armies in the field; and still more telegraphists must be forthcoming in the future as the number of men on active service increases. Every Post Office telegraphist of military age should, therefore, realise that there is an urgent call to him to volunteer now for military service, leaving it to Colonel Ogilvie, the Director of Army Signals, to call him up as the exigencies of the military situation require. I have been proud to hear the praise given to your colleagues who have for many months been engaged, sometimes in trying and dangerous circumstances, in maintaining the communications of the armies in the field. Many of these have already won distinctions which have reflected honour on the Post Office Telegraph Service; and I am confident that in asking you, like them, to place your whole services at the disposal of the State, I am only offering you an opportunity of usefulness to the country which you will be eager to accept.

HERBERT SAMUEL,
Postmaster-General.

To the POSTMASTER-GENERAL, London.

I will do my duty to the country in the Post Office or in the Royal Engineers Signal Service if called upon.

Name.
Address.

This form of declaration is followed on the original by certain questions as to age, marriage, children, dependants, etc.

WIND-BORNE.

The wand'ring wind brings o'er a freight
Of dying moans from dread Termonde,
And sings a dirge for Manhood's fate—
Our sighing, storm-swept shores respond:
His angry snarl is harsh with hate
And loud rings out the battle shout;
He blusters by with bully's gait
And roughly roars the bloody rout;
The roars die down to tones of doubt
As even sways the deadly strife:
Then hissing falls Red Russia's knout,
And whistling cuts the Tyrant's knife—
But last he flings at Priest and State
The free-born laughs he learned from Life.

NORMAN YOUNG.

Modern Science and Anarchism.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

112 pages; Paper Covers, 6d. net; also in Art Cambric, 1s. 6d. net. Postage, paper 1½d., cloth 3d.

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL.

We had quite a successful gathering at Marsh House on the Sunday following the anniversary day of the murner of Ferrer, perpetrated by the Spanish Government on October 13, 1909. The School was there in force, together with many adults. We had the pleasure of hearing several comrades express their views upon education and the life and work of Ferrer, and these included our comrades Millie Witcop, Bessie Ward, Dawson, Heaford (one of Ferrer's executors), Pell, and Rudolf. The proceedings were brightened by a song from Annie and a recitation by Bonar Thompson. We anticipate another good gathering on the occasion of the Chicago Martyrs Anniversary, which will be held at Marsh House on Sunday, November 14, at 4.30 p.m., to which all are invited. It is well that during this period of patriotic humbug and the cramming of distorted history of military and naval heroes into the heads of young and old of to-day, that, as an antidote, we should have a little light thrown on industrial history, and those workers who have glorified it.

Ashburton House, Globe Road, E. JIMMY.

In Aid of Political War Prisoners.

Some time back we appealed on behalf of the fund raised to assist our comrades who have been interned as political war prisoners, and now we wish to repeat this appeal. There are about forty of them, and much can be done to lighten their captivity by the purchase of little luxuries or grants of money. This fund is very low, and we hope the response will show that our comrades are not forgotten. A Masquerade Ball on behalf of the fund will be held on Saturday, November 27, at the Crown Hall, Redmans Road, Stepney. We shall be pleased to receive and acknowledge any money sent to us.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(October 1—November 4.)

FREEDOM *Guarantee Fund.*—A. Smith 1s, M. Shear 1s, A. Baron 6d, W. Ms. 1s 6d, V. Garcia 1s, A Friend (Bristol) 1s 3d, W. C. Meek 6d, S. Corio 1s, H. W. Journet 2s, S. Peck 2s. 6d. *Marsh House* (socials and sale of refreshments and literature), week ending September 18, 5s 8d; September 25, 2s 6d; October 2, 3s 5d; October 9, 5s 11d; October 16, 11s 8d; October 23, 11s 8d; October 30, 5s 7d; members' subscriptions—September, 16s 6d; October, 15s 6d.

FREEDOM *Subscriptions.*—F. V. Johnson 5s, B. Black 1s 6d., R. Moore 1s 6d, J. Ratigan 6d, W. Ms. 1s 6d, O. Werner 1s 6d, E. M. V. S. 1s 6d, J. Hoffman 1s 6d, A. Sanders 1s 6d, T. L. Thomas 1s 6d, H. G. R. 1s 6d, J. Hodgson 1s 6d, S. Peck 1s 6d.

Marsh House.

Library—Open every evening to comrades.
Thursdays—Discussion, 8.30 p.m.
Saturdays—Social Evenings, 8.30 p.m. (Members only).
Sundays—Social Evenings, 8.30; Collection.

Chicago Martyrs Anniversary.

A meeting in commemoration of the legal murder of the Chicago Anarchists will be held at **MARSH HOUSE** on **Sunday, November 14,** at 4.30 p.m. All are welcome. Tea supplied after the meeting.

A MASQUERADE BALL

IN AID OF THE

POLITICAL WAR PRISONERS

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Burns, New Bailey Street.
Manning, Lower Mosley Street.
Walker, Church Street, Newton Heath.
Collins, 326, Oldham Road, Newton Heath.

Liverpool.—E. G. SMITH, 126 Tunnel Road (Wholesale).
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