

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XXIX.—No. 320.

DECEMBER, 1915.

MONTHLY: ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Asquith's Ideals.

Asquith has once more stated the position of the Allies and the ideals for which they strive. Speaking at the Guildhall banquet (which was a gorgeous feast, despite so many injunctions to rigid economy), he said: "Be the journey long or short, we shall not pause or falter till we have secured for the smaller States of Europe their charter of independence, for Europe itself and for the world at large its final emancipation from the reign of force." It sounds inspiring and noble to talk of charters of independence, but how hollow and mocking when the independence will, as always, amount to nothing more than these smaller States being the buffers between the greater trading monsters, ever on the watch and suspecting each other always of a sinister motive to capture the others trade supremacy. And while this lasts the world will never be emancipated from a reign of force, because upon that rests the power of Governments and the whole capitalist system. Asquith knows this, but he is a past master in the use of meaningless grandiloquent phrasings. The ideals he pictures will only be realised by putting him and his class down and ending exploitation, whether by nations or individuals.

Obey Orders or—

It is refreshing to learn that the workers are beginning to doubt the spoken word of our politicians, and place little faith in their promises. It is a tardy recognition when they have so often been made to suffer as a consequence of trusting their leaders and rulers. It appears that the miners had a doubt as to the use that would be made of them in the event of labour disturbances, after they had enlisted under the group system, to be called up when needed. Of course, they should have inquired before joining; but, being in, they were not without remembrance of the infamous conduct of Briand in the French railway strike. They had questioned the Home Secretary, who had given an assurance that they would not be used to quell civil disturbances, etc.; but they demanded a fuller assurance, which was given on behalf of the Government, that under no circumstances would they be called upon to serve for any purpose except for military purposes—fighting the enemy and defending the country. Thus were the miners appeased—but we wonder where they will stand when they are told that the first duty of a soldier is to obey orders? We rather fancy that Governmental assurances will not stand for much when trouble arises.

Minority Rights.

One of the most important concessions to those who claim the right of the minority as against the rule of the majority, was made recently in a letter from Lord Derby to Asquith. He said there that if a considerable number of men, in all respects eligible and not exempted by virtue of special trade or other reasons, did not offer themselves for enlistment under his scheme, they would be compelled to serve. But, on the other hand, he said, "If the number should prove, as I hope it will, a really negligible minority, there would be no question of legislation." Is this a frank admission that where a conscious body, even though a negligible minority, refuse to obey the law, the law is powerless to compel them to do so? It is evident that the strong opposition to conscription which has been raised, and the fearless expressions of determination to resist any measure to enforce service, have had their effect, for now a graceful retirement can be made with the excuse that a negligible minority only has failed to respond. In reality, it is this negligible minority who will have saved the situation and vindicated anew the powerlessness of rulers against an unsubmissive populace.

The Value of Action.

It is not generally known, thanks to the rigid censorship of a Press subservient to the powers that be, that a very successful and wholehearted one-day strike recently occurred near Glasgow. The factors in the district had attempted to raise the rents of the tenants, the majority of whom are munition or shipyard workers, and, according to the factors, earning higher wages than ever. Hence the rent-raising. A no-rent campaign was embarked upon, and so successful was it that eviction notices were asked for in the local court. But on the morning that the cases were to be heard, over 10,000 men left their jobs and attended the court, declaring their intention of remaining "out" if the eviction notices were served. This despite the heavy penalties under the Munitions Act to which they were liable for even leaving their work. Their action had the desired effect—the notices were not served. This agitation against rent-raising has spread to most of the districts where munitions are being made, so the Minister of Munitions has intervened, and a Bill has been brought before Parliament by the Government to prohibit by law what the men had made impossible by their action—rent-raising. This is one further example of the efficiency of direct action. If a thing is needed or objected to, it is of no use waiting upon Parliament to sanction or prohibit it. Decisive and determined action will always accomplish what Parliament does, and accomplish it more thoroughly and without needless delay.

Panicky Prosecutions.

The growing feeling of revulsion against the war may account for the panicky activity of the Public Prosecutor. He has a Defence of the Realm Act to play with, and the power given in that repressive Act is so great that it is hardly safe to breathe a word of criticism of the Government of Britain or the Allies. It is a measure to protect the public from being contaminated with the truth; to arrest them on suspicion, to try them without stating any charges beforehand, and then, having charged them, instead of proving their guilt, leaving it to the victims to prove their guiltlessness. It is a measure which gives to the Executive through the "competent naval or military authority" full power to arrest anybody or anything. The latter may sound queer, but it is a fact that pamphlets may be seized, and instead of charging the author or printer for printing seditious or revolutionary literature, he must come forward and defend his offspring against the death in the flames that awaits it. A man was fined for saying that he thought that the Kaiser had as much sense as the King; another for saying that, if the war cured some of the evils this country suffered from, the Kaiser should be thanked. Any man who, when accosted by a recruiting sergeant, attempts an explanation of his objections to military service or the war can also be charged. The cases under this Act, unreported mostly, are trivial, petty, and, as we have already said, panicky. It is very clear that a Government which upholds such prosecutions must be sore afraid of a free expression of opinion upon their acts or the war, and equally afraid of a much-lauded public getting sceptical about the nonsense that has been ladled out to it in order to inspire some enthusiasm for the war. The latest, and by far the most serious, case under this Act is the suppression of the *Globe*. For the suppression of the *Globe* we shed no tears, but it is a serious matter that the vital parts of a printing machine can be seized whilst no charge is preferred and no opportunity given for defence. This is a case which must make the Russian police feel jealous of their position of "suppressors in chief." In a war for freedom it is an ironical situation, but one which will surely bring its own reward.

Peace, Revolution, or Ruin.

Signs are not wanting that some at least of the people of this country, to say nothing of other countries, are beginning to get heartily sick of the war. Peace is in the air. We have had two

speeches in the House of Lords, the trend of both being a plea for a reasoned view of the whole ghastly situation, and calling for a cessation of hostilities. If that was all it would not be of much significance, but we are hearing on all sides the same query, "When will the war end?" Not "Shall we crush Germany?" "Shall we secure this or that?" but when will it end? In the *Socialist Review*, the editor sums up the situation thus:—

"To minds not overmastered by the passion of war or obsessed by the glamour of military victory, it is, we think, becoming clear that all the countries engaged in the struggle will, at no far date, have to choose between peace on the one hand and revolution, or anarchy and ruin, on the other. What flames of long smouldering social revolt may burst forth once popular wrath takes blaze—who shall say?"

It is in the peoples' hands to say how long this thing shall last, and our rulers will not be slow to choose the safest path once they realise that the people they have led for so long are no longer following, but threaten to revolt against their leadership.

Lord Devonport, retired grocer, has again come forth in his rôle of guardian of the State. It was in 1912, during the Transport Workers' fight against the Port of London Authority and the Shipping Federation, that this man exhibited to an admiring world those qualities which have contributed so undeniably to the commercial "greatness" of England. Unable for a moment to forego the policy which had raised him from an obscure grocer to a seat in the House of Lords, he evidently found the job of crushing the Transport Workers very much to his taste. We all of us remember the poor, heroic, futile fight led by Ben Tillett and that worthy's engaging prayer that the Lord from whom no secrets are hidden should see fit to order the early demise of Devonport. That the Almighty either did not hear or heeded not, is evidenced by the present increased liveliness of the transgressor. The Transport Workers lost their fight because they had not learnt to distrust leadership, and because they had not realised that we have long since left the holy days recorded in the Bible behind us, when the Lord saw fit to hearken to the prayers of his devotees. The Transport Workers, starved into submission, have proved themselves only too anxious to enlist and so help to save England for oppressors like the noble Lord. And in the House where the Lords Temporal and the Lords Spiritual sit cheek by jowl, and unanimously pass laws for the enslavement of the toilers, this particular luminary has been helping to save the Empire by his keen insight and business acumen. For he "urged that the Government should allow no family to continue in the enjoyment of a greater income, as a result of a man enlisting, than they enjoyed when the man was at home and following civil employment." He mentioned cases of agricultural labourers who earned £1 a week at home, but who had enlisted, and as a consequence the family income had jumped up to 30s. or 35s. a week.

Would this guardian of Empire, in his zeal for national economy, produce a statement of weekly expenditure in his own household? Will he further cause an inquiry to be held into those cases of gigantic pensions granted to judges, lawyers, and other notorious gaolers of the State "prison," who after a few years of so-called service lighten the National Exchequer by several thousand pounds yearly? But Devonport's brain, it seems, cannot wrestle with pounds sterling; the few poor shillings paid by the robber State to the exploited is all that his mental capacity can successfully negotiate. The incident can, however, press home to the worker the fact he so often overlooks, that Lord Devonport and the class that has adopted him are his enemies all the time; and when the recruiting sergeant talks of patriotism let him remember the practical form which the patriotism of his exploiters assumes when the question is under discussion of remitting to the exploited a small percentage of the plunder "lifted" hourly, daily, and for ever from him.

It is no surprise to those who study the psychology of the profits made from the manufacture of armaments, to learn that the profits made by Krupps amounted last year to £4,320,000, as compared with £1,695,000 in 1913; and that a dividend of 12 per cent. has been paid. The grim business of war is the most profitable of all trades to those whose lust for grab makes of human life a mere part of the mechanism of the profit-producing machine. We well remember the outcry raised by Liebknecht three or four years ago, when he unearthed the fact that this firm actually paid agents to foment differences between nations so that new orders might bring grist to the Krupp machine.

But we know that this firm is not alone guilty. All the big companies in the great armament Ring have been stirred by the same divine instincts of profit-mongering, and the Governments of all the European countries have been their faithful allies.

It is very significant that there are still some people who believe that the termination of the war will see the end of these monuments to our civilisation. Many people actually delude themselves into believing that this is to be the last war. But a few of the exploited are beginning to understand that exploitation and all its grim paraphernalia will continue until we decide upon its destruction, and that time will only arrive when each wage-worker realises his responsibility and determines to end the tragedy of war by destroying its root cause—exploitation. Until then Krupps, Armstrongs, Vickers, Maxim and Co. will continue to exact their ghastly toll. And let us remember that the 12 per cent. profit also represents the nine millions of able-bodied men who have been killed or disabled. How long shall the horror of tolerating this lie to our eternal discredit? Is it not about time we stormed our Bastille and rid ourselves of this accursed tainted "civilisation"?

The news that a working agreement has been established between the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the National Transport Workers Federation, comes as a shock of surprise. Surprise because of the past history of these Unions. The three together, acting in unison, can give our social organism some decidedly nasty electrical shocks; but we know too well in the past that each has endeavoured to fight the masters separately. The first-named were considerate enough to give the bosses some six weeks' notice of their intention to strike, and actually performed overtime to cope with the orders from those desirous of increasing their stocks against the period of inactivity. The National Union of Railwaymen put their faith in politicians and leaders, and have been chewing the cud of thoughtfulness and more or less servility ever since, and the last-named fought a strike on prayer and were starved into submission. If this working agreement, therefore, is the outcome of the combined unhappy experiences of these Unions, then there may be hope of a real fight between Capital and Labour before long. But so long as the Trade Union member trusts to leadership and a centralised bureaucracy to lead him out of his industrial wilderness, then so long will he remain in the bondage he deserves. When he learns that economic freedom is not a thing that can be presented to us, he will understand what part he must play in the coming social revolution. Meanwhile he might ponder over the lesson of the South Wales Miners' strike of July last, and the more recent one-day strike of the 10,000 Clyde workers. These two cases will provide valuable lessons in the usefulness of direct action scientifically applied.

The Law is still endeavouring to parade before an awe-inspired world in its well-fitting garments of smug hypocrisy. Every now and again the community is startled by an announcement that there has been a raid on a fashionable club, or a disorderly house or teashop. The State, in its pathetic desire to outwardly at least keep a watchful moral eye upon its subjects, has recently caused raids to be made upon certain City teashops, and a desire has been expressed by the Assistant City Solicitor to obtain further legislation in order more effectively to deal with such cases. To us it seems at least odd that the State should, by aiding and abetting exploitation, and thereby fostering immorality, pretend righteous indignation when the natural results of our vicious system of society manifest themselves. The mask of hypocrisy can only further one end, that of still further deluding the people into believing that they are governed for their own good by a very paternal and moral State.

A meeting was recently held of the London clergy, called by the Bishop of London, to hear a "solemn charge concerning the proper attitude of the National Church in the present crisis." The Bishop referred to the "cause for which we are fighting," and continued:—"Our failings were summed up in forgetfulness of God. We had become luxurious, materialistic, vague in our religion, self-satisfied, unwilling to think things out, 'uppish,' critical of God and patronising, querulous and impatient at any interference with our comfort, unprepared, and with a weakened sense of sin. We were slowly waking, and yet we were only half-awake to the claim of God." We would have thought that the claim of the God of the Christians would have been "Thou shalt not kill," and the attitude of the National Church should be one of hostility to every form of "sin,"

including robbery and suppression, and not one of participation in robbery and murder. Surely they are slowly waking, and whilst but "half awake to the claim of God," we would say they were dead asleep to the claims of the people.

The *International News Letter*, which is a synopsis of facts relating to the world's Trade Union movement, contains a note upon "Apprehensions in Regard to Returning Soldiers." It draws attention to the great problem that will confront the Trade Unions of all European countries on the termination of the war; of the effect upon the labour market of the return to civil life of the workers now serving in belligerent armies, or mobilised in neutral countries. It speaks of demands being made for a permanent relief for soldiers of the working class who on their return home do not immediately find work and a living. It is a question that has always arisen, and we hope that the workers will not be satisfied with paltry State relief, but, having learnt from the war who are their real enemies, will gain a real "permanent relief" by proceeding to dislodge them from power and thereby gain that free life on the land from which they have been so long divorced.

The *News Letter* has also an interesting item upon the importance of the Trade Union movement to Russia. In an extract from a Russian paper it shows how the Trade Union movement has been of value to the various Governments in their need for workers, and how the lack of them in Russia has been her handicap. It is a case of the biter being bit and is an ironic commentary upon the uses and value of the Trade Union movement, whether in Russia or elsewhere—instance our own Munitions Act. The article in question is from the *Russkija Wedomosti*, and is expressed thus:—

"In the meantime the absence of workers' organisations is undoubtedly one of the causes accentuating the difficult position our country is in. Increased production in the existing factories to meet the requirements of the war, removal of the factories from the evacuated territory, the opening up of new branches of production, distribution of the numerous refugees of the working class according to the demands of the national defence industry, abolition of the aimless wandering about of workers now when every hour of productive labour is of the utmost importance—all these are tasks the Trade Unions would have helped to solve, to the infinite benefit of the country. The experience of our Allies and our enemies have proved that the State requires the co-operation of the workers' organisations. *An enlightened working class is a factor of such importance in the organising of victory that it would be an unpardonable illusion to imagine that one could possibly do without it.* The possibility of organising must be accorded to the workers. The right to form Unions and the liberty of the Press, of which they have been deprived, must be restored to them. This, of course, does not exhaust the programme of the Labour question, but the two measures named require the most urgent attention."

The *News Letter*, however, adds this piece of information which makes a different tale:—

"The Russian papers of the last few days, however, teem with news of quite another complexion—of premises being searched and arrests taking place. In the light of this information there is little chance that the hopes of the *Russkija Wedomosti* will be realised. There are signs, however, that dawn is breaking at last on the horizon of the Russian working class."

The rulers of England have long recognised the value of Trade Union co-operation, and Trade Union officials have also realised the personal value of co-operating with the State. But no one would ever pretend that this co-operation brings any benefit to the workers.

If proof were wanting that every form of Government is essentially despotic, the present performances of those in power in this country would be convincing evidence. It was always a farce to talk of England as a free country; now it is a tragedy. We must say again what we have often said before, and keep on saying it until it is no longer true. The people of this country live under despots in fact though not in name. But "what's in a name?" Slavery by any name is slavery; that's all there is to it. Take this present war; as we have again and again pointed out, it is not being waged on behalf of freedom, and it is sheer untruth to say that we are fighting for democracy. The war was manufactured by our rulers, and is being waged by our rulers, without the people of this country having any

voice at all in the matter. We were told that we were going to protect the independence of small nations. How nice of us. Now we are busy protecting the independence of Greece, by telling her that if she does not do what we want her to do, so much the worse for her. Oh, glorious cause! But we must not suspect our Despots; they are true-hearted democrats all! We must trust them; we must not criticise any of their doings and sayings—which are often so seemingly contradictory. And we must cry "fie" on those who in Parliament or in the Press dare to question the wisdom of our Despots! They are true-hearted democrats all, and lovers of freedom!

What on earth—as far as English earth is concerned—is there to complain about? This is the land of Freedom! Really it is stupid to say that we are not living as free men simply because we are being driven into the Army by the threat of conscription; because our Press is muzzled; because there are tribunals all over the place, from which there is no appeal, and which can and do drive and harry the workers; because we may not drink when and where we like; because the military may do with us as they choose; because war was declared by our Despots without reference to the people, and peace will be made in similar fashion; because diplomacy is a close preserve for the well-born, and is carried on in secret; because all taxation falls on the shoulders of the worker; because economy is preached to the poor, who always have practised it, and means no hardship to the rich; because—but an end to all this grumbling! Our dear Despots will guard our freedom, they are true-hearted democrats all! Don't we know that every Cabinet Minister has set us extravagant folk the fine example of cutting down his own salary? Don't we know that all drink regulations hold good in the House as well as the publichouse? They are true-hearted democrats all, and their one ambition in life is to sacrifice themselves in the cause of freedom and on behalf of the worker. Hurray!

The money juggle goes on famously. The worker saves money, this he lends to the Despots, who spend it on employing workers to make ammunition, etc., who in turn are asked to save it again, and so on. Each time the money is lent the workers' taxes are increased in order to pay $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on it! Hurray! The war need not have cost the country anything, except for certain articles and materials which have to be bought from abroad. If the Despots had used their despotic power, they could feed the country and supply the Army with everything necessary out of the possessions of the rich. But, hush! That would never do; the Despots are kept in power by the rich—the country is ruled by the rich for the rich, that seems to be the essence of democracy, judging by England, France, and the U.S.A. When we tot it all up, in what are we better off than those wicked Germans and Austrians? It is really very puzzling, until the fact is grasped that all Governments are alike, and no matter what their adjective may be—republican, autocratic, democratic—they all come to this: the exploitation of the many by the few. But never mind; England, at any rate, is a free country; let us all cheer up and throw up our caps, and go—to fight or make ammunition to preserve the freedom—which we have not got.

The "Merry" Christmas time is coming, when all really nice people will be singing about peace on earth and goodwill among men! Hurray! But, when we think it out, what cant and hypocrisy it all is. If only a quarter of the nominal Christians in Europe had acted as such, there would have been no war. The trouble is that Christianity will not work while Governments last. It is impossible to conceive a Christian Government, for the simple reason that no Government would be needed for men who acted up to the teaching of Christ. Yet on Christmas Day the church bells will be ringing out lustily the tidings of great joy, that nineteen hundred years ago or so the Prince of Peace was born! In Belgium, Northern France, Galicia, Poland, Servia, unfortunately the church bells have been melted down for guns and ammunition, so that fellow Christians may go on slaughtering one another. "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you;" dear me, what fine Christian spirits there are among European rulers! These remarks are introductory to the announcement that a new organisation has just been founded, "The Society for the Conversion of Christians to Christianity." The Council propose starting work with a special mission to Bishops, and in a minor way with a special effort on behalf of the young men and maidens who perambulate the streets about Christmas time, singing of the coming of the Prince of Peace. The society has its work cut out.

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post-free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

Annual Subscription, post-free, 1s. 6d.; U.S.A., 40c.; France, 2fr.
Foreign Subscriptions should be sent by International Money Order.

Wholesale price, 1s. 6d. per quire of 26 post-free in the United Kingdom.

All communications, exchanges, &c., to be addressed to

THE MANAGER, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

Notice to Subscribers.—If there is a blue mark against this notice, your subscription is due, and must be sent before next month to ensure receipt of paper.

Money and Postal Orders should be made payable to T. H. Keell.

Workers and Economy.

Since the war started, many and strange have been the appeals to the workers to help in carrying the war to a successful conclusion; but the most extraordinary and humorous is surely the appeal for economy on the part of the working classes, made at the conference of organised Labour held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on December 1. Only the pen of a Swift could do justice to the spectacle of three Cabinet Ministers (Asquith, McKenna, and Runciman) urging the workers to practise thrift and put their savings at the disposal of the Government. The three "Right Honourable" gentlemen are all in receipt of £5,000 a year from the public funds, besides their private incomes. Evidently it was therefore considered that they were well fitted to preach economy. By what kind of hypnotism, however, the Trade Union delegates were persuaded to attend at all, we cannot make out; but as all the expenses were paid by the National Advisory Committee (which, we are told, works with the Minister of Munitions), it is quite evident that although the "big guns" knew what they were there for, many delegates came to London for a cheap holiday. That workers' representatives, however, should have sat and listened seriously to the pompous platitudes and mixed figures of these rich and well-fed politicians passes all belief. What do these Ministers know about economy? What do they know of the struggles of the workers year in and year out, to exist on the paltry wages doled out to them? And yet they come and ask them to "save"—surely this is a huge joke!

What were their arguments in support of this strange appeal! The Prime Minister said that 4,500,000 workers had received an increase of 3s. 6d. per week since the war started. But as he admitted that the cost of living had also increased by 30 per cent., there does not seem much margin for saving. Besides, he also admitted that about two-thirds of the workers were really worse off in wages than when the war started. How much they can save, he did not say. This lawyer's logic seems very faulty—and he is Prime Minister! Then came McKenna, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who deals in the House with hundreds of millions of pounds. His greatest point in favour of saving was that if the worker "will keep his money he will get three joints of mutton in the future for the price he is paying for two now." He also said that the workers should not buy pianos now, for "they will get a far better piano after the war for the same price." Just think of it, this genius is one of the five members of the War Council that is engaged in running the war!

One would think the delegates had heard enough for one day, but with a heroism worthy of an Iron Cross they stayed and listened to Runciman, President of the Board of Trade and a shipowner, who told them that the Government purchases of sugar, meat, and wheat was "Socialism on a business basis." On these grounds, he also joined in the appeal for greater economy; but what connection there was between the two subjects he did not explain. The real reason for the conference, however, was hidden away in the Prime Minister's speech, in which he gave a hint that the high wages that are at present being earned in a few trades may be taxed to pay for the war—what he would call "taxation of war profits." He also asked the Labour leaders to use their influence to prevent the workers pressing their demands for higher wages—after he had previously admitted that very many of them were much worse off than when the war started.

Had these Labour representatives possessed a sense of humour, they would have laughed the Ministers out of the hall.

It is really very difficult to write seriously about it all. Here we have a body of men and women who have been engaged year after year in agitations for the "right to live" and "a living wage" for the workers, and who have been paid their wages by the workers so that they could fight on their behalf for a higher standard of living. The war started, and immediately the workers had the chance of their lives to squeeze their masters. But instead of their "leaders" helping them in the fight for better conditions, they have done all they could to hinder; and this conference was a recognition of their efforts by the ruling class, who desire them to continue to prevent the workers taking advantage of their rulers' difficulties. These difficulties are of our rulers own making, and while talking of a united nation, they are using the war as an excuse for still further enslaving the workers. There may be a political truce, but there is certainly no industrial truce.

But what a sordid game the whole thing is! The men who are loudest just now in their devotions to Freedom and Justice, are those who are engaged in preventing the people obtaining either. While drawing their salaries from the workers, they are betraying them to their enemies. Many of the workers, however, are beginning to see through it all, and the day of reckoning may not be far off.

Our Vanishing Liberties.

If there is one thing which "the average Britisher" (as he is described in the bookstall war novels) professes to value above all others, it is Liberty. English people are never tired of talking about their liberty. It was won for them, they say, by their fathers in times past, who wrested it from alien foe and domestic tyrant alike, until to-day "there is freedom for all beneath the shade of the Union Jack." However much the truth of such sentiments may be open to dispute, the claim is unhesitatingly made that at the present time we are fighting to recover the liberties of the smaller nations of Europe. In point of fact, the present terrible plight of these smaller nationalities is likely to render them somewhat sceptical as to the power of England and her Allies to rescue them from the clutches of the Prussian Eagle. It may further lead them to reflect seriously whether such national liberty as they have at any time enjoyed is really worth the so far futile effort to regain it. Be that as it may, the fact is becoming daily more apparent that while the attention of the English people is being directed to the liberation of Belgium, Serbia, and Poland, they are being deprived of their own liberties wholesale by the governing classes at home.

To what extent England was a free country before the war began, an appeal to the facts of history must decide; but it cannot be disputed that she is in no sense a free country to-day. Freedom of press, speech, and action are gone. The Censorship and the Defence of the Realm Act are two powerful weapons with which the State controls the nation absolutely. If a statement in a newspaper is regarded by the self-appointed powers that be as "detrimental to the national (?) interests," that newspaper is suppressed for an indefinite period without any reasons for such autocratic action being given by the authorities. Strikes may be going on in three or four industrial areas at once, and not a word about it appears in the Press. Under the infamous Munitions Act, men are brought before the tribunals on the most trivial charges, tried and sentenced—and rarely the slightest reference is made to the matter in the newspapers. The Censor has "blue-pencilled" it! These facts are well known to newspaper men, yet they hardly ever see light in the Press. The following comment on the working of the Munitions Act is extracted from a recent issue of the Liberal weekly review, the *Nation*:—

"If the Act is impotent to coerce large and united bodies of workers, it is none the less a very powerful weapon against individuals and smaller organised bodies. In all the great armament centres the employers are making constant use of the Act for the purpose of coercion. Trade Union rules are abrogated right and left—often it would seem without any attempt to arrange for their abrogation with the workers in a conciliatory manner. Those who refuse to yield are brought before the tribunals and sentenced. The Munitions Act is working, and, from the employers' point of view, working astonishingly well."

Comment is unnecessary. It is to be regretted that this interesting disclosure cannot be printed in poster type and put up in a prominent position in every munition factory in the kingdom.

The general public are quite unaware of the fact that the

Press Censorship applies not only to military and naval intelligence, but to news concerning industrial and social matters as well. Hence serious events take place in the country, and very few people outside the locality affected by these incidents are ever one whit the wiser for it. Further, it is very difficult to arrive at anything like a correct estimate of real public opinion under these circumstances. It is, of course, generally known that "public opinion" is manufactured by the Press to support the Government and vested interests; but, apart from that, there is a large section of the workers who fully recognise the guile, lies, and hypocrisy of the Cadbury and Northcliffe journals, and the views of this section of the community find little or no expression in modern journalism.

Restriction of speech and action confront one at every turn. A chance word in a publichouse or a barber's shop may land a man in prison at any time. Correspondence to and from neutral countries is opened and read by Government officials, and it is no uncommon thing for letters from abroad to be "lost in the post."

Not only in respect to social and industrial matters, but also in the sphere of political action, the Government completely ignore the opinions of the people, and act entirely on their own initiative without the slightest restriction. Governments and "antagonistic" parties dissolve before our eyes and are remade without any "appeal to the people." Not a word of protest is heard when five political incapables coolly take the destinies of the nation into their own hands and form themselves into a "War Council" with no one's authority but their own! And this is Liberty! The old farce of "representative government" is played out at last, and he must be a besotted politician indeed who fails now to realise that Governments represent no one but themselves. The people are enslaved by an oligarchy, and are fed with the lies of a corrupt Press. It is not suggested for one moment that things are any better in Germany or France—they are certainly far worse in Russia. The terrible results of this system of government appear on the battlefields of Europe. The people of Germany have no real quarrel with the people of England. Yet both nations are slaughtering each other wholesale in the name of Liberty! They are the dupes of their respective Governments, and have been deluded into the belief that, because a strip of water or a frontier divides them from their fellow men of another nationality, therefore these are their enemies, and not the State capitalists who rule and rob them at home. It is a colossal misunderstanding. It is the most awful and tragic mistake that history has ever witnessed. Those who by every instinct and interest should be co-operating as brothers are killing one another at the instigation of their common enemy—the governing classes of capitalistic Europe. If the horrors of this appalling carnage—in which already several millions of men have been killed—enable the workers to realise the true facts of the situation, there will indeed be some compensation for it. The entire complicated and piteous position is due to the fact that the mass of the people in each country are owned and controlled by the small ruling capitalist class. The capitalists own the workers, because the capitalists own the means of subsistence without which the worker must die of starvation. The terms on which the workers obtain these means of life are determined and dictated by the master class. That the capitalist class control the workers is at once apparent from the facility with which every vestige of their alleged liberties is swept away by a stroke of the politician's pen.

It is also unfortunately true that the whole trend of what is generally termed "modern Socialism" has been to restrict individual liberty in every way. The confused utterances and muddled thinking which are so characteristic of much of what passes current as "Socialistic" literature, is nowhere so apparent as when attempts are made by its writers to deal with this question of the liberty of the individual. The average Socialist is fully alive to the danger of permitting the capitalist class to have unrestricted liberty to do as they please. But he generally fails to grasp the fact that it is not only individual liberty that the capitalists possess, but, by virtue of their ownership of the means of life, they have also the power to enslave the workers to produce profits for them, and to decide on what conditions the rest of the community shall exist. This power is quite a different thing from individual liberty. The reformist Socialist, having confused these two distinct ideas, naturally fails to realise that the only solution to the problem is not to reform the conditions under which the workers are enslaved, but to abolish entirely the class that enslaves them—and that, of course, means social revolution. Ignoring this obvious solution, the reformist looks about him for some external power that is strong enough to clip the wings of the capitalist vulture. Is it surprising that he hails the almighty

State as the deliverer? The State enacts laws, and everybody appears to obey them. The State therefore could pass a law dispossessing the capitalists of the ownership of the means of wealth-production, and Capitalism would pass peacefully away. Such in the final analysis is the simple logic of the reformist politician.

Unfortunately the problem is not to be solved quite so easily as that. The State is the political expression of the capitalist class itself, and to therefore ask the State to abolish Capitalism is to ask the capitalists to commit suicide. The only practical result of the efforts of these middle-class reformists has been a series of laws which, entangling the workers deeper and deeper in the meshes of Capitalism, have culminated in the Defence of the Realm Act and the Munitions Act. The net outcome of it all is that the physically fit, free-born Briton has now the pleasing alternatives of shooting or being shot by Germans, or being turned adrift to starve if the shooting process has no attractions for him. Truly may the cry re-echo to the skies above with deeper significance than ever before: "O, Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!"

OTTO LEROY.

VOICES FROM PRISON.

The following manifesto was written in prison by two Anarchist comrades, who were the victims of the French Government in 1912. At that time, during the Balkan War, they were members of the Anarchist Federation of Paris, and were collaborators with H. Combes and others on *Le Mouvement Anarchiste*. The strong anti-militarist attitude of that paper, almost the only one opposed to the Balkan War, roused the wrath of the Government. The paper and press were seized, some of the comrades sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment, and others expelled from the country; while their organisation lost its best and most devoted members. The comrades who have written this manifesto give us an example of courage and self-sacrifice by issuing it for publication at a time when they are still in the hands of the tyrants who oppress them and also the people of France.

To Anarchists, to Syndicalists, to Men!

For a year already, thirty millions of men, provided with the most perfect instruments of murder, have been thrown one against the other. For a year there has been over all of Europe an unheard-of slaughter before which the most frightful records of history pale. More than seven million corpses have already strewn the gigantic field of carnage. More than seven millions of invalids embarrass the hospitals, or are brought back with their flesh mutilated, a living witness of this infernal fight.

Everywhere, mourning, misery, suffering. Everywhere, mothers, wives, and children with hearts tortured with anguish, or ravaged by sorrow. Everywhere eyes full of tears. Everywhere, distress, desolation, and death.

And why? Because it was expedient for Governments, our masters, to send their human herds to this execrable butchery. Because the politics, the interests, the ambitions of the dominant classes demanded it. Because capitalist barbarity, the rivalry of plutocrats for conquest and the exploitation of the world, made this fearful conflict necessary. Because the States to-day engaged in war are all a prey to enormous internal difficulties—economic, financial, political, or social—which it is necessary for them to elude at any cost. Also, and above all, because it is necessary to save the masters from the threatening demands of the international proletariat. Favoured by years of peace, the people begin at last to know themselves and to respect themselves; national hatreds and prejudices are disappearing. The proletarians of all countries are more and more conscious of the identity of their own interests, of the community of their ideals. And the time seemed to be approaching when the pariahs of the whole world, attacking and overturning bourgeois order, were going to establish a more humane and harmonious society.

The privileged class have decided otherwise. To the sane thoughts of their slaves they oppose the most frightful diversion by imposing this war.

* *

To avoid disloyalty amongst their troops—revolts always possible—to create a fictitious enthusiasm in favour of their sinister enterprise, the French, German, or other Governments have carefully deceived and perverted public opinion. An easy thing to do, when one has prudently abolished all freedom of the Press and of speech, and proscribed all independent thought. Ah! one does not tell the mob the real capitalistic reasons for the war. But one muddles it up with sonorous words and audacious lies. Orations by Poincaré or William II., by Viviani or Bethmann-Hollweg—the same phrases, the same invocations to Right, to Justice, to all complacent entities. All rulers throw upon their enemies the responsibility for the drama. And all of them prove their fierce love of peace and humanity by absolutely refusing to interrupt the carnage until "Justice" shall have triumphed—and also certain more concrete interests!

Certainly there are men who have their reasons, very good reasons, for desiring the continuation of the war—war "to the finish." There

are all those who draw enormous advantages from universal misfortune. The Schneiders and the Krupps, whose amount of business is becoming prodigious. All the gang of more or less conscientious Army contractors. The speculators who monopolise corn, meat, and all commodities, and resell at famine prices. The large bankers, to whom the issue of colossal loans brings tremendous commission, the rate of which will grow the more thousands of millions shall be thrown into the whirlpool. Politicians—necessary accessories to stock-jobbers and other financial sharks. Also the small fry of opportunists, intriguers, and journalists who manufacture heroism with the skins of others and who maintain lucratively the business of patriot.

But the disinherited, the workers, the revolutionists, what have they to expect in return for the monstrous sacrifices, for the fratricides, that have been exacted of them? Nothing but an increase of misery and humiliation; crushing taxes; the condition of the wage-earner aggravated by the fact that very many women, deprived of their supporter, will be forced to work very cheap in order to live. Workers' organisations reduced to skeletons; a set-back to all ideas of emancipation; mistrust and rancour between workers of different countries. Behold the benefits of war for the proletariat!

Revolutionists have neglected their duty, have failed in their pledges, in not opposing this dreadful scourge, in not rising in insurrection against those who have dared to inflict it. But if there is much that is irreparable, at least let us have enough energy to put an end to this work of extermination.

Comrades of France, we must regain possession of ourselves!

* *

In all other countries the workers' protest has already been heard.

In Russia, revolutionists and nearly all Socialists are against the war; also thousands of them are languishing in the prisons of Siberia.

In England, the underhand dealings of the capitalists are opposed by strikes, and a large section of the Socialist Party resist the bloody politics of the governing classes.

In Germany, Anarchists, faithful to their principles, have nearly all paid with their liberty for the cleanness of their attitude. From the Socialist side, eloquent and vehement interventions are made against this bellicose folly and patriotic corruption. And we must recognise that the Social Democrats, so severely blamed, so decried, and sometimes so much to be criticised, have attempted repeatedly to lead the Socialist Parties of other countries to plan together in favour of peace, and that these appeals have been, until now, rendered vain by the rabid Jingoism of our own Socialists.

In France, Socialists have accepted every compromise, including the participation by three of them in a Government of dictators, and have become the warmest defenders of warlike politics. The C.G.T. has also failed to justify its past. Those who should have given the example of courage, and of sacrifice have betrayed their organisations and have violated the meaning of Syndicalism by putting it under the guardianship of politicians and at the service of Jingoistic passions.

Shall it be said that all have submitted to the influence of such impulses? We know that the Syndicalists who do not conspire with power are numerous. That Anarchists who have renounced nothing of their ideas are numerous, and also that there are numerous revolutionists who have ridiculed the sophistical arguments of a certain Press. But it is not sufficient to deplore in the depths of one's conscience the abominations of the present time. We shall all be equally responsible for these calamities with those who are the direct instigators if by weakness and cowardice we fear to make the voice of humanity and reason heard.

Militants of France, let us at last combine our efforts with those of our brothers who in Germany, in England, in Russia are fighting courageously, often heroically, against this abominable war. Let us unite our efforts, so that thousands of workers may cease to slaughter each other; so that the Workers' International, whose death the reactionaries proclaim, may come to life again with the glory of having saved the world from the cataclysm born of bourgeois appetites.

Enough barbarity! Enough blood!

Let us demand peace!

Let us impose peace!

LOUIS LECOIN, PIERRE RUFF,
Political Prisoners.

Caen Prison, August, 1915.

"THE WORKERS' FRIEND."

Our Jewish comrades are making a great effort to enlarge the *Workers' Friend* to eight pages at the beginning of the New Year, and for this purpose have agreed to give to the paper all the money they earn on December 3, which is the anniversary of the internment of our comrade Rucker, the editor. To help the fund, a Literary Evening and Ball has been arranged for Sunday, December 26, at the Devonshire Hall, Devonshire Road, Mare Street, Hackney, E., when we hope they will have a big attendance, and thus gladden the heart of Rucker by the knowledge that the paper is still carrying on the good work he had done for so long.

The receipt of a free copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe. 1s. 6d. per annum.

LAW AND THE PEOPLE.

People in social health no more require law than people in physical health require medicine. So that law and physic are merely attempted aids for sick people. And the sick people have to be very careful that the proffered aids do not kill or enslave them. In many instances the aids seem to have the former effect; in very many instances they really have the latter. It is a common saying about physic that, what is one man's meat is another man's poison. It states the truth that no two people are alike, and that in the same disease what will cure one will not touch another, and in a third will kill the person. As to enslavement, it is generally admitted that the more medicine you take, the more you have to take, until by and by you become a slave to medicine. If by rest and change, and the play of your own native vitality and will, you can bring yourself back to health, it is all right; but if you have to call in the aid of medicine it is a great risk. Notice a cat or a dog when they are sick. They do not fret and fume, and fly to medicine; they throw themselves back upon Nature. They lie down and rest, and give Nature a chance to do her work. They get up and take a sip of water, and leave all food for the time. And how often do they recover? Nay, if their vitality is not spent through sheer old age, how often do they fail to recover?

All this about medicine for the physically diseased applies equally to law for the socially diseased. A people socially healthy do not want law, they are a law unto themselves. Their instincts, sentiments, passions, reason, being in a state of healthy equipoise, they act all right both toward themselves and toward each other. When they seek outside law to help them to do the right thing toward themselves or toward their neighbours, it is the beginning of disease. The more they seek law, the more the state of their own inward weakness becomes manifest. They more they seek for something outside to do it for them—Government, Parliament, Council, and Law—the more it becomes evident that they are no longer able to do things for themselves.

We admit without cavil that a community that in everything shouts for more law is in a flabby way. We admit that it is going to its doom, the doom that awaits all worn-out races, races that can no longer do things for themselves, races that must have their own will replaced by officials. The more the official is called in, the more his influence grows. And the official is always a snob. He is the man who thinks he has a mandate from Almighty God to do things for you. He is the superior person—the Superman. He is the man who ought to undertake all things that matter. He finds fresh avenues for his activity in every direction. He pushes his nose into every nook and cranny of your life. Nothing that your instinct, sense, and reason dictate is right. Only what he orders is right. Soon you will have no private sphere left. He is the one who stands for God or Nature. He knows you much better than those who made you—at least, he thinks he does. Once give his egotism play, and there is no limit to it. It grows with what it feeds on. Its food is authority—domination. He cloaks it under the word "service"; he wants to serve you. Yes, but cannot he see that in serving you he steps between yourself and Nature, whose decree is that you shall serve yourselves or perish? Long ago Cyrus the Persian spoke the truth even to his soldiers: "The course of Nature," said he, "is so established, that they who will not think and act for their own advantage must bear to have other taskmasters set over them." Yes, and he might have added: "The taskmasters, once started, brook no limits to their power." And they also take most of the wealth of the people. Of course, from their standpoint, the people are inferior, and ought to live inferior lives. And, of course, if the people permit their domination, they go far toward establishing this claim, and must be prepared to pay the price.

We must make up our minds one way or the other: Will we order our own lives, or shall others order them for us? Will we think for ourselves, or shall others think for us? Will we rule ourselves, or shall others rule us? And do not let us quibble about what we will call the rulers. Kings, priests, politicians, no matter the name, if they are thinking and acting for us, we are not acting and thinking for ourselves, and the effect on our life must be the same. The question is, Are we going to claim the king, priest, and politician for ourselves? Are we going to hold to it, that we have the same faculties as these gentlemen, who demand to do things for us? Are we prepared to develop these faculties, by thinking and acting for ourselves? If so, the people who think for themselves will have no use for a priest; and the people who manage for themselves

will have no use for a Government. Priests and Governments are quacks who thrive on the infirmities of diseased peoples, and the diseased peoples have to pay them.

The way of escape lies in the direction of improving the breed of the average. But here, at every step we are up against the quacks of the people—the priests and Governments, for well they know that could we so improve our environment as to yield a people strong and clean enough in body and brain to undertake the ordering of their own lives, the quacks, like the much-quoted Othello, would find their occupation gone.

JOHN TAMLYN.

THE MENACE OF CONSCRIPTION.

The workers of this country will do well to consider carefully what their attitude is to be in the not unlikely event of an attempt shortly being made to fasten upon their limbs the shackles of Conscript Slavery. The plea of "military necessity," advanced by the advocates of Conscription, is only too transparent: even many of the supporters of the war admit that the number of men who could possibly be made available for replacing the daily "wastage" could not be increased by the introduction of compulsory service. The sinister design of the Conscriptionists is to take advantage of the prevalent febrile condition of mind (a condition which the War-Mania unfortunately induces in the case of the vast majority) to introduce a measure which would provide the propertied few with a fresh and terrible weapon that could be wielded against Labour with disastrous effect; firstly, *during the war*, to subject *all* able-bodied workers to military law and its penalties; and secondly, *after the war*, more effectively to crush the aspirations of the workers towards Liberty and fulness of life.

The pettifogging pronouncements of those *mis*-leaders of Labour who are *opposed to Conscription unless the Cabinet deems it necessary* must be treated with the contempt they deserve. Governments have always found it "necessary" to use all kinds of reactionary methods in the exercise of their dual function of protecting Property and subjugating the propertyless. Furthermore, the workers who have experienced (since the war began) such an unprecedented degree of insult and intimidation—even *without Conscription*—must surely refuse to yield to their exploiters' desire for their further degradation. Conscription—whether Military or Industrial—must be resisted *at all costs*; we workers of the British Isles must stand firm against the menace of this fresh encroachment: by declining to be conscripted, we shall not only benefit ourselves and our children, but we shall render it easier for our Continental brothers, after the war, to cast from their shoulders the intolerable burden of the Conscript yoke.

It is most urgent that the importance of this matter should be impressed upon the minds of as many of the workers as possible during the next few days. Those who are willing to undertake the distribution of literature on the subject can obtain, on application to the Anti-Conscription League, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W., copies of the recently revised and reprinted leaflet entitled, "British Worker! Are you Pro-Prussian?" No charge is made for the leaflets; but contributions towards the cost of printing and postage will be gladly received.

U.S.A. NOTES.

The Francisco Ferrer Association of New York has issued an appeal on behalf of the Libertarian School for Children which has been started at Stelton, New Jersey. It is an extension of the school that has been carried on in New York City during the past four winters, and at present the scholars number twenty-five, ranging from eight to fourteen years. The school is situated in a delightful spot, a farmhouse and outbuildings having been transformed into a school and playhouse. Dr. Schnittkind, the new teacher of the School, does not believe so much in the three R's as in the three H's—Headwork, Handwork, Heartwork. He says: "Give me a race of children who, instead of rattling off the prime factors from one to a hundred in ten seconds, have their heads developed to see the truth; and who, instead of spending the best hours of their life in memorising the capitals of every State of every nation of every continent under the sun, have their hands developed to work for humanity." The physical development of the children is cared for equally with the mental. Like most undertakings of this kind, the greatest difficulty is lack of funds. Much work has been done gratis by comrades and friends, but cash is also urgently needed, and will be heartily welcomed by Joseph J. Cohen, Organiser of the Ferrer School, Stelton, New Jersey, U.S.A.

Our comrades in Chicago are making an effort to stimulate the Anarchist movement in that city. Many meetings have been held, the strike of 30,000 clothing workers having provided a good field for propaganda. The International Propaganda Group is publishing a monthly paper called the *Alarm*, the same title as the paper edited by Albert Parsons at the time of the Chicago tragedy. The November issue contains an article on "The Martyrs of 1887," and also extracts from their speeches at the trial. The *Alarm* is only four pages, but they are packed full of good revolutionary reading. Subscriptions (25c. per annum) should be sent to Theo. Appel, 1605 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"PAYING THE PIPER."

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—The answer to the query at the foot of my letter last month is emphatically "Yes." A study of this question would reveal the fact to you that Land Values stand out in singularity from all other sources of revenue. Where all these sources are concentrated ultimately in the labour of the individual, Land Values are the product of the community. So that whilst the present system of taxation punishes the workers—and the workers only—the taxation of Land Values would only punish the shirkers, who now live on the labour of other people. You are wrong in supposing that under the taxation of Land Values "you really tax the landowner." What would happen is that the worker, instead of paying rent (Land Value) to the landowner, would pay it to the local authority or the Imperial authority. But his payments would stop there. At present he pays twice: first in rent to the landowner, and then in rates and taxes to public authorities. We can only arrive at the solution of the problem which you and I are seeking through taxation. You are in the clouds at present; Single Taxers are hammering away at the question, say, Who shall pay for the war? Surely, if you do not agree with them—because you do not understand them—you can at least refrain from misrepresenting them.—Yours, etc.,

JOHN BAGOT.

COMMUNISM IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—I am not going to wait for Communism until the majority, through the usual propaganda, are convinced of its practicability. If we believe Communism to be vastly superior to capitalism, why not show our faith by putting it into practice? If you do not succeed, try again; or more "direct action" and less talk. The success of a Communist community will largely depend on the people composing it and the locality chosen. Having had some four years' experience in the rural part of Western Australia, I believe it to be a place where we have a chance of being left alone until strong enough to defy interference. Land is comparatively easy to obtain. I therefore advocate the banding together of comrades who are believers in Anarchism, Atheism, and Communism.

On Thursday, December 9, at 9 p.m. sharp, I shall speak at Marsh House on "Pioneering Life and Other Facts from Western Australia," and on the following Thursday (16th) on "How Can a Communist Community Successfully Develop in Western Australia?" To be followed by a discussion each evening.—Yours for the Revolution,

HAROLD BANKS.

Death of Matt Sollitt.

We regret to have to record the death of an old and valued worker in the Anarchist movement. Matt Sollitt, who had spent some forty-six years of his life in Leeds, was known amongst all classes of advanced thinkers. He had many friends in the Freethought and Anarchist movements, to whom his death will come as a distinct personal loss. He will be missed in many circles, but nowhere more than in Victoria Square in front of the Leeds Town Hall, where, in spite of his seventy-five years, he was to be found nightly assisting the cause of Freedom. In these circumstances, it is very regrettable that his end should have been brought about by an unfortunate accident which occurred at his home on November 4. While fixing a shelf, he fell from a pair of steps, the screwdriver which he held in his hand penetrating his ear. He was taken to the Leeds Infirmary, where he died on November 13.

In the absence of any religious ceremony and in accordance with his ideas, our comrade's remains were cremated. The ceremony took place at the Lawnswood Crematorium on November 18; and it would have afforded a wealth of education, from the Freethinker's standpoint, to those who are still groping in the darkness of superstition, and lost in the wilderness of Christian mythology. A short address was given by T. Jackson (Leeds), in which he paid a stirring tribute to the deceased. He told how nobly and how strenuously Sollitt had lived and fought for the ideals which he had so closely at heart. They were, he said, gathered there in a fitting manner to say farewell to the comrade they had all respected, and who had been such a helpful and dear friend to so many of them. The fact that we shall never see him again helps us to realise how great is our loss. His ashes have been interred at Beeston Cemetery.

G. M.

"Voice of Labour."

The new edition of the VOICE OF LABOUR as an eight-page paper is indeed a good step. The November issue, the first of the new series, is excellent in every way. It is well got up, it reads well, its articles are alive, and it has a genuine spark of originality and vigour about it which makes it a paper of worth and interest. It contains a spirited and convincing reply to Lord Derby's letter, two good Trade Union articles, and a leading article on Peace. We congratulate the VOICE OF LABOUR on its new venture, and hope that it will, as the Editor opines, become a real voice of Labour, expressing their discontent and sounding always the note for freedom.

IN AID OF POLITICAL WAR PRISONERS.

The response to our appeal last month was rather poor, and we hope to record a better one next month. When we remember how miserable and hopeless it must be, waiting in an internment camp month after month, with little or no communication with the outside world, we ought to do what we can to help to relieve this monotony by sending gifts of food, tobacco, books, &c., to our comrades. However small these gifts may be, they are hailed by our comrades as evidence that they are not forgotten, and strengthen them in looking forward to the day of release. The following sums have been received at FREEDOM Office:—H. G. Russell, 1s.; Schneider, 2s. 6d.; A Friend, Bristol, 5s.; K. H. T., 1s.

Result of Book Draw.

First prize (20s. worth of books), No. 1588; second prize (10s.), No. 2937; third prize (5s.), No. 3341; fourth prize (2s. 6d.), No. 4904; fifth prize (2s. 6d.), No. 3976. Thirty prizes of the value of 1s. each—Nos. 2426, 2812, 1335, 1662, 4037, 2337, 1321, 1530, 2442, 1217, 3019, 121, 295, 4012, 1391, 248, 378, 3028, 1633, 5001, 816, 2173, 2801, 794, 3782, 5076, 1875, 2421, 195, 3338.

The holders of winning tickets are requested to send them to the Manager, Freedom Press, stating what books they require. Prizes will be sent post-free.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(November 5—December 2.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—C. B. Warwick 1s, H. W. Journet 2s, J. Ratigan 1s, H. Chapman 9d, E. Sollitt 5s, H. G. Russell 2s 6d, H. Termier 6d, R. Sprott 2s 6d, Postman (Hornsey) 2s 6d, S. Corio 1s, A Vegetarian 5s (also 5s VOICE OF LABOUR), O. Werner \$10.00. **Marsh House** (socials and sale of refreshments and literature), week ending November 6, 6s 3½d; November 13, 6s 7½d; November 20, £1 2s 1d; November 27, 5s 2d; members' subscriptions—November, £1 9s 9d.

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—A. Bouju 1s 6d, A. Smith 1s, T. Gunton 2s 6d, S. Tanner 1s 6d, A. McL. 1s 6d, M. B. H. 2s 6d, C. Dukes 1s 6d, W. R. Hall 1s 6d, M. Becker 1s 6d, E. Milstein 1s 6d, S. Levine 1s 6d, H. Fruchter 1s 6d, I. Levine 1s 6d, W. Fanner 1s 6d, C. Whiting 6d, D. Howells 1s 6d.

A FRIEND (Bristol).—The 2s 6d sent on October 25 was divided between FREEDOM and VOICE OF LABOUR.

A VEGETARIAN.—Thanks. Your 10s has been equally divided between FREEDOM and VOICE OF LABOUR.

A. A. MACLEOD.—Thanks for letter and paper.

Marsh House.

December 4—Whist Drive (6d.).

„ 9—“Pioneering Life in Western Australia” (H. Banks).

„ 16—“How Can a Communist Colony Successfully Develop in Western Australia” (H. Banks).

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.

In Aid of the “Workers’ Friend.”

A LITERARY EVENING AND BALL

WILL BE HELD AT

DEVONSHIRE HALL, DEVONSHIRE STREET,

MARE STREET, HACKNEY, E.,

On Sunday, December 26 (Commence at 8 p.m.).

Ball till 3 a.m.

Tickets, One Shilling. Can be obtained from WORKERS’ FRIEND, FREEDOM Office, or Marsh House.

“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.

Leicester.—Socialist Society, 1 Churchgate.

Birmingham.—NATIONAL LABOUR PRESS—100 John Bright Street.

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 M:ley Street.

Walker, Church Street, Newton Heath.

Collins, 326, Oldham Road, Newton Heath.

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

CHAS. J. GRANT AND SON, 8 and 9 Lord Street Arcade.

STANLEY’S, 30 Lime Street.

Plymouth.—W. Tall, Market Bookstall.

Belfast.—W. ROBINSON, 167 York Street.

Falkirk.—J. Wilson, 76, Graham’s Road.

Leeds.—G. Frost, 20, Keeton Street, York Road.

Huddersfield.—H. Francis, 97, Swan Lane, Lockwood.

A. Wadsworth, Outcote Bank, Manchester Road.

Back Numbers of “Freedom.”

We can supply a few complete sets of FREEDOM from 1906 to 1915, all in good condition for binding. Prices:—

1911 to 1915 ... 1s. 6d. per year; two years for 2s. 6d.

1906 to 1910 ... 2s. „ five years for 8s. 6d.

Prices include postage in the United Kingdom.

MOTHER EARTH.

Published by EMMA GOLDMAN.

Offices: 20 East 125th Street, New York City, U.S.A.

Can be obtained from FREEDOM Office. 6d. monthly, post-free 7d.

PAMPHLET AND BOOK LIST.

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

ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

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

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

EXPROPRIATION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

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

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

LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.

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

ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. ½d.

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

WAR. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

WARS AND CAPITALISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION. By George Barrett. 1d.

THE LAST WAR. By George Barrett. 1d.

A TALK BETWEEN TWO WORKERS. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 1d.

THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS, 1907. 1d.

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

ANARCHISTS AND ESPERANTO. 1d.

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

ANARCHY. By ANDRE GIRARD. ½d.

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

DUTY OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE. By H. Thoreau. 3d.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS. With Portraits. 1d.

ANTIMILITARISM FROM THE WORKERS’ POINT OF VIEW.

By Dora B. Montefiore. 1d.

RIGHT TO IGNORE THE STATE. By Herbert Spencer. 1d.

LAND AND LIBERTY: MEXICO’S BATTLE FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

4d.; postage, 1d.

FOR LIBERTY: An Anthology of Revolt. Cloth 7d., paper 3d.

WOMAN’S FREEDOM. By Lily Gair Wilkinson. 1d.

MUTUAL AID. By P. Kropotkin. 1s. net; postage 2d.

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

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

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

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. A New Translation. Paper 6d., Cloth 1s.; postage 1½d. and 3d.

GOD AND THE STATE. By MICHAEL BAKUNIN. Cloth 1s. net, postage 1d. (6d. edition out of print.)

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

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

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

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

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 2s., postage 3d.

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

WHAT IS PROPERTY? By P. J. PROUDHON. 2 vols. 2s., postage 4d.

THE EGO AND HIS OWN. By MAX STIRNER. 2s. 6d. net.

ENGLAND’S IDEAL. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 2s. 6d. and 1s., post. 3d.

CIVILIZATION: ITS CAUSE AND CURE. By E. Carpenter. Cloth 2s. 6d. net, paper 1s., postage 3d.

A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY. By EDMUND BURKE. 1s. and 6d., postage 2d. and 1d.

WALDEN. By H. THOREAU. 1s. and 6d., postage 2d. and 1d.

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

FREE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. By L. SPOONER. 1s. net.

LIBERTY AND THE GREAT LIBERTARIANS. Compiled by C. T. SPRADING. 6s. 6d. net, postage 4d.

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY. By Stephen P. Andrews. 2s. 6d. net.

SELECTED WORKS OF VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE. 4s. 6d. net; postage 4d.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MODERN DRAMA. By Emma Goldman. 4s. 6d. net; postage 4d.

SYNDICALISM AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. By E. PATAUD and E. POUGET. Paper 2s., cloth 3s., post-free.

All orders, with cash, should be sent to

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 OSSULSTON STREET, LONDON, N.W.

Printed and published by T. H. KEEL, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N. W.