

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

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MONTHLY: ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Outlook for the New Year.

Another New Year has dawned upon us and still sees the great bulk of the people in the Allied countries silenced by the bombastic orations of their ruling statesmen, still silently making sacrifices in order to "make the world safe for democracy," and quietly accepting all the manifold forms of regimentation which the Government decrees necessary for the attainment of victory. But underneath the apparently unruffled surface of public opinion an ever-increasing mass of turbulent dissension is gathering force. Events in Russia may have quickened this pulse of feeling, but other causes have also added their quota. The world shortage of essential commodities has undoubtedly assisted to this end. The publication of the secret documents by Russia has made the people realise what a reactionary power is embodied in their respective Governments, and forced them to see the necessity of sooner or later controlling their own destinies. Thus one country after another finds itself caught up by a political or economic whirlwind. First it is Spain that attempts unsuccessfully to throw off the fetters, then Portugal, revolutionary, but tempted to try another change of authority. Finally, we get glimpses of unrest in Italy, Holland, and the Central Empires; and France is still, after many changes of Cabinets, growing wildly excited over the "Caillaux Affaire." War-weariness, very largely nurtured by over-work and under-feeding, is an infectious disease, and it will take some very clever oratory indeed, coupled with great victories, to land the Governments of the Allies safely through this fateful year.

Allies' Aims of Conquest.

Events in the East have, naturally enough, had a tremendous effect upon the Western nations. The publication of the secret treaties and other documents by the Bolshevik Government was a stroke of political genius, and has gone far to dethrone the government idol in this country. The stripping off of the garb of hypocrisy has left the Allied Governments naked and bankrupt, and not all the king's horses nor all the king's men will ever make them appear truthful and honest again. In this country Mr. Balfour and Lord R. Cecil have done some neat acrobatic tricks in order to shield their colleagues. The former's statement that these secret diplomatic documents had nothing to do with this country was characteristic. But the *Manchester Guardian* of December 13, when commenting on this answer, shows how very much they actually do concern us, for it asserts:

These papers show what sort of resettlement of the world the Allies were arranging at various times; the terms discussed or agreed on touch most closely the duration of the war, our future when the war is over, and the great question how far our war aims and those of our Allies accord with the principles for which we are fighting. . . . Have these things nothing to do with this country, or is it not, on the contrary, of prime importance that this country should know at least as much about the policy of its Government and its Allies as does the rest of the world?

Trotsky's Idealism.

The bare fact that the diplomatic relations between modern governments rest upon lies, craft, and subterfuge is quaintly indicated in a leading article appearing in the *Daily News* of December 12. It starts by confessing that the situation in Russia is "extraordinarily interesting," for

The new order in Russia cannot be judged by the ordinary standards of European statecraft. M. Trotsky goes on making speeches which read like bombast, and rest for their meaning upon an interpretation of the world so very remote from the ordinary reading of it in the West that it is hard for the foreigner to believe him sincere. Yet he

probably is, and it is his sincerity which is baffling both the Allies on the one hand and the Germans on the other.

It is easy to say that M. Trotsky is extravagantly over-estimating the strength of his international ideals in all countries other than Russia. No doubt he is, but their triumph, even if it be only temporary, in Russia is a most important factor in the present situation.

This is a confession that the Allies have been found out. Their cant about democracy has not shielded them, and, as the *Daily News* foresees, a new world force has come into being, which has had far-reaching effects in this country. We who in our salad days looked upon honesty as a very common and homely virtue, realise what a rare commodity it can become among diplomatists, statesmen, and politicians sheltering behind governmental privilege.

The Lansdowne Letter.

That there is a steady growth of feeling in this country in favour of peace has been proved by the controversy aroused by the Lansdowne letter. It is idle that Bonar Law speaks of it as a "national misfortune," and other politicians try to explain it away; it does certainly represent the opinion of an ever-growing and influential body of people, for there are some statesmen who realise that victory may come too late, or be purchased at too high a price. They already hear the rumbling of the economic earthquake that threatens to engulf the Empire. Yet as showing just how much out of touch with realities are our rulers, we have only to quote the recent utterance of Lord R. Cecil, which appeared in the public press of December 10:

The fundamental evil of Germany is State idolatry—State above religion and everything else. It has been well described by Mr. Otto Kahn, himself a German by origin, as the demoniacal obsession of power worship and world-dominion. . . . No laws of morality are binding if they are against the State. That is really the foundation of all the trouble with the Germans. So long as the governing classes are infected with this doctrine there is no limit to the wickedness and cruelties that will in time utterly undermine their civilisation.

But, surely, Lord Robert forgot to mention that this is an international disease, and thrives wherever private property exists, and monopolies provide a fertile soil. We might remind him of the old biblical adage: "Cast first the mote from thine own eye."

International Financiers in Conference.

The determination on the part of the Government not to issue passports to anyone wishing to go from England to Switzerland in order to attend the Peace Conference there, and also its threat to consider the withdrawal of passports from any British subject resident in Switzerland who may attend the Conference, reminds us of the meeting at Geneva of international financiers in September last. Although the British Government denied that such a meeting had taken place, the publication of a secret telegram by the Bolsheviks proves it to have been an accomplished fact. The German Government likewise was nonplussed, and, as actual denial was out of the question, von Kuhlmann declared that the awkward secret telegram of the Russian Ambassador in Berne was founded upon "gossip and faulty information." The assumption that diplomatic representatives are paid to communicate "gossip and faulty information" is a delightfully naïve evasion on a par with the British Government's more heroic but deliberate lie.

Whatever form it takes—monarchic, oligarchic, or democratic—the government of man by man is illegitimate and absurd. . . . As man seeks justice in equity, so society seeks order in Anarchy.—**PROUDHON.**

COMMUNISM.

There is one subject about which there is much confusion of thought; one which is much misunderstood, or which is unknown to the majority. That subject is Communism.

The most general conception of Communism is that of the small states, or societies, in which the tools, land, buildings, and products of the society are the common property of the members, or of the government of the society. Usually in these societies, or states, a common kitchen is maintained; the vegetables are all raised together in a common garden by the united efforts of those assigned to that work by the management of the society; individual preference is supposed to give way to the preference of the majority, and a regulation of activities carried on by the central authority. This is the old-fashioned authoritarian Communism, which still prevails to a limited extent. This is the kind of Communism which most persons picture in their minds when the word is mentioned.

While this kind of Communism has many advantages, such as united effort and the increased productive power incident thereto, the saving incident to the abolition of all the unnecessary weighing, measuring, accounting, bookkeeping, etc., yet it is objectionable on account of its authoritarianism.

It is from this kind of effort that most persons draw their conception of Communism. Many who oppose Communism base their opposition on the assumption that these little socialistic states are the true models of Communism, hence their antipathy to such arrangements.

Fun is poked at the "community toothbrush, towel, bed," etc., by those who answer argument by ridicule. No one believes that there would then be any greater Communism in these things than now exists, if he will stop and think a minute. In every hotel and boarding house these tools of cleanliness are used by thousands of different people. In every city there are toilet supply companies who furnish a combination towel-rack, looking-glass, comb, and brush-holder, and take the dirty towels away, leaving clean ones every morning. In this way tens of thousands of hands and faces are wiped on the same towels in the run of a year. But the present promiscuity in the use of articles of various kinds is too apparent to need elaboration. Yet it is warmly championed by the ridiculers of the "community towel."

Many imagine that all persons would live in big houses where the meals would be served in a common kitchen. This is another unfounded supposition. For that matter, see the millions who do eat in common dining-rooms, each getting his roast beef, macaroni and cheese, or ham and eggs, cooked in the same vessels, by the same cooks, cut from the same roast or ham. All these things occur, not because of the communistic genius of present institutions, but because of the opposite tendency. The desire to supply our needs or wants cheaply gives birth to such arrangements and customs. The one who can combine the efforts of a number of persons, in his given line, judiciously, can supply his wants more cheaply than can be done otherwise.

So we see the principal objections brought against Communism are invalid. The first, the charge of authoritarianism, cannot apply to true Communism, but only to miniature State Socialism, usually called Communism; that of promiscuity can be brought with terrible force against the present methods, or any other methods that propose cheapness as the guide to preference. Neither one can be laid at the door of Communism, as I propose to show.

In the first place, the Communism proposed as a social and economic arrangement by the Anarchists who no longer love the fierce struggle of competition, and the wasteful methods of commercialism, is a condition of affairs where all exercise of authority is absent. In such a condition association according to taste would be the rule. All the resources of the earth being then common to all—that is to say, free for all to use but not to monopolise—there would be no necessity to associate with others in productive work or in social matters when such association was not pleasant. Persons who, because of similarity of taste, desired to work in the same kind of undertakings would then associate in their occupation of production or distribution, because it would give them pleasure to do so. In social matters the likes and dislikes, attraction and repulsions which wield such an important influence in society to-day would have full play, and association of a social character would be pleasant because desired by all persons concerned. Under these conditions crime, vice, and contentions of an unpleasant character would be reduced to the minimum, for all these things as they exist to-day are the direct outgrowth of the restriction of liberty, the strained and unpleasant association and relations resulting therefrom.

The common house, towel, etc., would be matters for each one to decide for him or herself. If any number of persons wished to unite their domestic affairs and live in one common house,

using the same dishes, spoons, towels, etc., they could do so. Those who wished to live the most exclusive lives, having their own houses, towels, dishes, linen, etc., made expressly for him or her, and never used by or for anyone else, would be equally free to do so. Those who saw fit to go to neither extreme, but desired to retain much of our present method in these arrangements could go on with their domestic relations as they are to-day.

Wherein, then, you may ask, is the Communism? Simply in this: Production would be carried on, as before stated, by those who voluntarily associated themselves together for that purpose, each according to his or her desire. The land and tools of production, buildings necessary for production and exchange, the means of transportation, communication, and distribution, and the products of united effort would all be held in common, and the right of every one to use to the full extent of his needs and desires would be recognised. It is a well-known fact that if all able-bodied persons were occupied in production for a very few hours per day, an abundance of everything desirable could be produced. If all were assured of plenty, then no one would have an incentive to take more than they could use and enjoy.

In Communism, there being no money or other representative of value, there would be no opportunity to hoard; for the man who would carry home a hundred hats, or fifty umbrellas, or twenty suits of clothes, when the store was well supplied all the time and free for him to help himself, would be ridiculed and laughed at so much that he would surely refrain from any further exhibition of the hoarding proclivity. The sense of security which would prevail would be a sufficient safeguard against anyone taking too much.

Cheapness would never be thought of. Utility and beauty would always be the objects sought to be attained in all lines of production. Shoddy would be unknown. No thought of adulteration of food would ever enter the head of anyone, and only the best of everything would be sought for. Buildings would be erected with the greatest care and substantial enough to last many generations. Roads would be made level, straight, wide, and with substantial foundations; their surface would be kept constantly in repair.

All the necessary and useful occupations of every description would be carried on by voluntary groups, each group doing that particular work for which it was formed. When any work has been accomplished, the group doing it would dissolve into its component parts, the various individuals that had composed it uniting with others in other groups for other and different purposes, as the necessities or expediences of the times called for united action.

Thus the most infinite variety of combinations for specific purposes, either of utility or pleasure, could be formed, accomplish their purpose, and go out of existence, and all the necessities and luxuries of life could be provided without curtailing the liberty of any, and the highest individuality now conceivable be attained,

HENRY ADDIS.

HUNTING DOWN PACIFISTS IN FRANCE.

The Jingo agitation against those who dare to raise their voices in favour of peace, absurd as it has been in this country, has gradually increased in strength in France, and is now approaching terrorism. Not satisfied with the prosecution of Bolo Pasha and M. Caillaux, the Jingoese are demanding the prosecution of M. Briand for having been the recipient of the German peace proposals in August. But an even more drastic and dangerous proposal is the Bill introduced by M. Delahaye, a Royalist Deputy, providing that anybody convicted of having expressed since August, 1914, a "pacifist" opinion shall be condemned to death. This ridiculous Bill is actually supported in principle by M. Nail, the Minister of Justice (!), who says that the law of August 5, 1914, for repressing press indiscretions and alarmist remarks was "inadequate to touch certain conversations that are not public in the legal sense of the term, but are, nevertheless, dangerous. Power must be given to repress private conversation if it relates to certain campaigns which we desire to prevent, or stop." The Government, therefore, intended to introduce an amending Bill to meet the necessities of the present. It would not inflict excessive penalties, such as that of death proposed by M. Delahaye; "we shall content ourselves with a maximum of five years' imprisonment." The new law would, said M. Nail, enable the easy and serious repression of "defeatism" and "pacifism."

Now that the ball has been set rolling in France, we may reasonably expect that Northcliffe and Co. will try to introduce it here. A guillotine on a tank in Trafalgar Square would be a splendid attraction for the sale of War Bonds to carry on the great struggle for Liberty. A lottery might be held in connection with the sale of bonds, the lucky winners to have the pleasure of guillotining the pacifists found guilty by the Courts.

THE LABOURER'S HIRE.

(Continued.)

The history of the labouring classes from 1760 until 1845 is one long drawn-out struggle between the labourers and their oppressors. When we consider that at this period the English workers were among the most illiterate in all Europe, we cease to wonder that the numerous revolts that periodically occurred showed neither co-ordination nor unity of action, and thus were ruthlessly crushed by the owning class. In *The Village Labourer*, a study of the government of England between 1760 and 1832, by J. L. and Barbara Hammond, we are told: "A body of men holding a meeting in a village where famine and unemployment were chronic, and where hardly anyone had been taught to read or write, might very soon find themselves becoming what the Act of 1714 called a riotous assembly, and if a magistrate took alarm and read the Riot Act, and they did not disperse within one hour, everyone of them might be punished as a felon." *The Village Labourer*, composed as it is of particulars taken from Home Office papers, abounds with evidence of the ferocious methods adopted by the governing class against the poor who dared question their lot.

The condition of the labourers was, at this time, pitiable in the extreme—starvation and degradation was their reward for strenuous labour. The introduction of machinery in agriculture had had the same effect upon them as upon the labouring artisans, and that and other causes had reduced them to a deplorable condition. As *The Village Labourer* tells us: "Their blind blow had been struck and it had been answered; they had dreamt that their lot might be made less intolerable, and the governing class had crushed that daring fancy for ever with banishment and the breaking up of their homes. It only remained for them to accept their fate with a look of stone upon their faces and a curse of fire in their hearts."

The Special Commission that went through the Eastern and Southern Counties where revolts had broken out justified its existence by sentences of death, transportation, and imprisonment. The misery that followed these acts of "justice" was indescribable. The families of the convicted men (and who was not convicted who had dared raise his voice against his fate?) were reduced to utter despair and starvation. Yet though over 600 men and boys had been sentenced to transportation for life, many others hanged or imprisoned, the powers that be felt secure in their smug satisfaction that justice was being done, for Lord Brougham informed the House of Lords in 1830 that "within a few days from the time I am addressing your Lordships the sword of justice shall be unsheathed to smite, if it be necessary, with a firm and vigorous hand, the rebel against the law." And on Christmas Eve orders were given to the Archbishop by the Privy Council to prepare "a form of prayer to Almighty God on account of the troubled state of certain parts of the United Kingdom," the prayer being especially noteworthy for its request to "Restore, O Lord, to Thy people the quiet enjoyment of the many and great blessings which we have received from Thy bounty," and ending up with the declaration, "that we may serve Thee with one accord, in duty and loyalty to the King, in obedience to the laws of the land and in brotherly love towards each other." Thus was Christianity again used by the State to bolster up its authority, and to give a fresh exhibition of its "brotherly" proclivities.

But all this halo of sanctity could not succeed in wiping out the crime committed by the Government, and the memory of its atrocious acts lingers to this day in some of the villages of the South. Yet as we have seen the English peasant is, with a few notable exceptions, docile and law-abiding. Memories of the brutalities of the Government of a hundred years ago have not shown him the better way, for the parson and the squire still hold sway in the villages, and the education given by the authorities only aims at keeping the people ignorant. So there has been no definite revolt of the labourer since 1832, though his condition has only slightly improved. He still lacks the vision which has come to many town workers of a life that shall know no wage-slavery. But we must not overlook the fact that the very isolation of the rural worker has been against him; his mental development has been consistently slower, though just previous to the war there was some evidence that his class-consciousness was awakening, and though it merely took the form of Trade Union activity, it represented nevertheless a movement towards the betterment of his class through unity of action.

During the period of revolt, one attempt at the palliation of the labourer's plight must not be overlooked. It was the endeavour to establish a scheme of home colonisation undertaken by R. M. Bacon, Editor of the *Norwich Mercury*, and Lord Suffield. It suggested the application of public money for the purpose of establishing labourers on land of their own. *The*

Village Labourer tells us that it was a scheme "to make the labourers independent of the farmers, and to substitute the competition of employers for the competition of employed." But the revolt had not been sufficiently successful to force the Government into accepting the remedy. Had such a scheme been adopted, by its creation of a large class of peasant proprietors it might have made definitely for reaction, as would have been the case in Russia had Stolypin's similar remedy been more universally employed. It is, however, a notorious fact that our statesmen have until recently been singularly short-sighted in their treatment of Labour. And even the recent case of the establishment of a minimum wage of 25s. weekly for agricultural labourers bears out this charge. It has, by the Government's failure to grasp essential facts, again made the labourer realise what he has to hope from Government. It is more than ever likely to lead to a quickening of activity against those who are still demanding fresh sacrifices. Lloyd George's speech of December 21 last is a proof of this. After treating the labourer to honeyed words about doing "credit to their ancient craft, the oldest in the world," he continued:

Every labourer ought to feel a prouder man to-day when he knows that whereas he used to handle the plough he can also handle the rifle and any other weapon that may be necessary in order to defend the country. I want those at home to make a special effort. I am told it would make a very great difference if, during the cultivating season, it were possible for them to give an extra hour a day when the weather is good. I appeal, therefore, that where it is necessary in order to make the best use of the weather to put in extra time that they should do so.

The first part of this exhortation may well bear a two-edged interpretation, but the speaker now, as of old, is endeavouring to trade upon the native generosity of the toiler. It is convenient for him to forget history and even the remembrance of the debate in the House of Commons in July upon the minimum wage for agricultural labourers. It is convenient to ignore the indictment brought against the class he represents by such impartial critics as the Hammonds, who, after an exhaustive inquiry into the life and conditions of the labourers and comparing them with the class that exploited and sat in judgment upon them, declare:

That class has left bright and ample records of its life in literature, in art, in political traditions, in the display of great orations and debates, in memories of brilliant conversation and sparkling wit; it has left dim and meagre records of the disinherited peasants that are the shadows of its wealth; of the exiled labourers that are the shadow of its pleasures; of the villages sinking in poverty and crime and shame that are the shadow of its power and its pride.

(To be concluded.)

FIGHT TO A FINISH.

The boys came back. Bands played and flags were flying;

And crowds of Yellow-Pressmen thronged the street

To cheer the soldiers who'd refrained from dying,

And hear the music of returning feet.

"Of all the thrills and ardours war has brought,

This moment is the finest" (So they thought).

Snapping their bayonets on to charge the mob,

Grim Fusiliers broke ranks with glint of steel.

At last the boys had found a cushy job.

* * * * *

I heard the Yellow-Pressmen grunt and squeal;

And with my trusty bombers turned and went

To clear the butchers out of Parliament.

SIEGFRIED SASSOON in *Cambridge Magazine*.

By no process can coercion be made equitable. The freest form of government is only the least objectionable form. The rule of the many by the few, we call tyranny. The rule of the few by the many (Democracy) is tyranny also, only of a less intense kind.—HERBERT SPENCER.

Did the mass of men know the actual selfishness and injustice of their rulers, not a government would stand a year; the world would foment with Revolution.—THEODORE PARKER.

In general, the art of Government consists in taking as much money as possible from one part of the citizens and giving it to another—VOLTAIRE.

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LET US HAVE PEACE!

Now that the Russian and German Governments have practically decided on peace, the question arises as to how long the coming of peace will be delayed between the Allies and the Central Powers. Although the press is almost unanimous in refusing the overtures made by the Central Powers during Christmas week, there were one or two notable exceptions; and it is quite certain that there will be many telegrams between France, Italy, and England before the Governments definitely refuse. Even with the utmost American help, there is not the slightest hope of that crushing military victory which the Allied statesmen proclaim as their aim. If it was not possible when Russia was holding the Germans and Austrians on the Eastern front, it certainly is not possible now. Trade relations between Russia and the Central Powers will be reopened immediately, and all hopes raised by the blockade vanish, because as soon as the Russian peasants return home food production will increase, and the German people thereby obtain the grain and other foods which they obtained from Russia in pre-war days. A military victory or a victory by starvation therefore is out of the question, even if the British workers desire to crush the German workers.

In these circumstances, the people may well ask themselves whether the differences between the war aims of their respective Governments cannot be settled otherwise than by prolonging the slaughter of the manhood of Europe and the starvation of the civilian inhabitants at home. After three and a half years of war, in which directly and indirectly millions of them have met their death, the Russians and Germans have ceased fighting each other. Can any person state one thing that has been gained on either side that was worth the death of one soldier? And when the Allies and the Central Powers have ceased fighting will the result be any more profitable to those who have done the fighting? Suppose Mesopotamia and Egypt and the German Colonies in Africa are added to the British Empire, will that be worth the blood and treasure spent in acquiring them? Then let the people speak out plainly and courageously and say the war must stop. The secret treaties between Russia and the Allies recently published by the Bolsheviks have thrown a fierce light on their war aims, and show how hypocritical is all the oratory of their statesmen when they talk about "crushing Prussian militarism" and "making the world safe for democracy." And if the Jugo-Slavs and the Czechs and the other small nationalities are to decide their own form of government, will that right be extended to the populations of Tripoli, Morocco, Egypt, India, Ireland, and the many other countries "protected" by the Allies?

The pretence of fighting for civilisation and democracy can be kept up no longer, and it is for the peoples themselves to force their rulers to make peace. Their sacrifices and sufferings during the past three and a half years entitle them to the right to do so, and now that the peoples of the Central Empires are holding out the hand of peace, it is their opponents' opportunity to grasp it, and then prepare for the only war that is worth while—the war against Capitalism and its weapon, the State. The Russians are fighting Capitalism and have almost abolished Landlordism. Let us go a step further and abolish the State also. As long as government of man by man exists, wars will rage and oppression exist. By making war on our enemies at home we will abolish international war, thereby achieving what Governments can never achieve—a durable peace between peoples.

NEWS AND VIEWS.

The chairman of the Coats Cotton Thread Trust, on announcing a dividend of 30 per cent., warmly repudiated the charge of profiteering brought against the firm by certain people, probably of German extraction. But the main point of his speech at the last shareholders' meeting was that the Bolsheviks have handed over the Russian branch of Coats to the workers, who are to run it on their own, and dismiss directors as it pleases them. No language could be too strong to describe this barefaced robbery.

In view of the uneasiness expressed in capitalist quarters re the likely repudiation by Russia of her loans from the Allies, Bonar Law assured them that he thought the money advanced to Russia would be recovered sooner or later. As he explained, should a "stable government" arise in that benighted country, it could not carry on without further loans, and these loans would not eventuate until the previous ones were repaid. What the English capitalists are hoping for is such a "stable" Government as would tax the Russian workers mercilessly in order to repay the loans plus an incredible interest.

A recent letter appeared in the press from a member of the British bourgeoisie in a Russian town. It is typical of the real attitude of these parasites toward the Russian workers. This estimable young lady writes: "At present most of the people do not know what freedom means. For instance, you give an order to your coachman to prepare the carriage at three o'clock, as you wish to drive. Three o'clock sounds: no carriage. You go round to the stable and find the coachman smoking. You exclaim: 'Why isn't the carriage ready?' He answers: 'I wished to smoke.' 'But the carriage was ordered for three.' 'Now it is Freedom!'—and out he goes, leaving you alone in the stable. You discharge him and get another, and so on *ad lib.* By hook or crook these people's notion of freedom will have to be knocked out of their heads and a very carefully prepared definition hammered in instead."

After some months, the Anarchist Communist *Le Réveil*, edited by Léon Bertoni, and published at Geneva, has reappeared with a decorative heading and entirely new type, towards the cost of which an appeal is made for funds. We learn that the Swiss authorities continue their campaign of expulsion against "dangerous" Anarchists on allegations of desertion or any likely charge, in spite of the rights of asylum. The latest victim of these persecutions is Antonio Pezzotti, an Italian resident at Schaffhausen.

The following item comes from Paris: "A boy Anarchist, named Maurice Barrion, son of a captain at the front, has been arrested here and handed over to the military authorities on a charge of engaging in pacifist and 'defeatist' propaganda. The youth, who is 16, is a disciple of Helène Brion, the school teacher who with several associates is to be tried by court-martial on similar charges. Barrion corresponded with Sébastien Faure (Editor of *Ce qu'il faut dire*) and other militant Anarchists, and a quantity of tracts urging soldiers to revolt were found in his rooms. In spite of his age, he is regarded as a really dangerous character. During the Paris work-girls' strikes in June, he was arrested while urging soldiers to turn their arms against the police."

Sébastien Faure has been the victim of a "campaign" carried on by *L'Abjection Française* and other Jingo papers, suggesting that his paper, *Ce qu'il faut dire*, has been able to support itself, and was even started, by German gold. "Mauricius" takes up the cudgels in Faure's absence through illness, and makes slashing attacks on Léon Daudet, the Editor of *L'Abjection*. Daudet had suggested that Faure's paper should be stopped in the interest of "national morality," so "Mauricius," commenting that Daudet should be an excellent judge of morality, recalls Daudet's having, as a young man, walked down the Rue Siffiot without even the traditional fig-leaf to cover him, his adventures with the "Canary Princess" (a valet given to onanistic practices at a certain flat), and the obscene revels on the other bank of the Seine at a notorious rendezvous known as "Palmyr's Bar," where Daudet set guards at the doors whilst the *habitués* held high revel.

The French Censor has forbidden the publication of resolutions passed by French Trade Unions against the persecution of pacifists, notably women like Helène Brion, Marie Mayoux, and others.

L.A.M.

THE PERSECUTION OF "SATIRE."

The pettiness and spitefulness of the authorities responsible for the administration of the Defence of the Realm Act was never so apparent as in their treatment of *Satire* and its Editor, our comrade Leonard Motler. In response to the shrieking of the Northcliffe Press, the Home Secretary instituted a series of raids on pacifist and anti-war organisations, and *Satire* was singled out for attack. As we stated last month, the campaign opened with a raid on our offices, and also on the printers of the paper. Finding little of value, the police then raided Motler's lodgings, making a clean sweep of his correspondence, MSS., business books of *Satire*, and all copies of the paper. Finally, a raid was made on some London newsagents, and copies of the December issue seized. All these raids gave one the impression that the authorities considered *Satire* a high explosive, for the manufacture of which the Editor would be at least liable to a charge of treason-felony or high treason. What else could one expect after so many raids? The comrades waited in fear and trembling, as a Londoner does when he receives warning of an air-raid.

Then the blow fell! Going home in his dinner-hour on the Wednesday prior to Christmas, Motler found the heroic raider, Inspector Sandercock, waiting for him. After a few introductory remarks, the Inspector handed Motler two summonses to appear at Clerkenwell Police Court on Thursday, December 27, to answer to a charge of—here Motler held his breath and feared to read further, as visions of Tower Hill at dawn flashed before his eyes, but pulling himself together bravely he read on—to answer to a charge of running a lottery in connection with *Satire*, contrary to the Lottery Act of 1823! The mountain had laboured and brought forth a mouse! Just imagine the situation. All the brains of the Home Office and Scotland Yard and the Northcliffe Press trying to find in Motler's correspondence some damning evidence on which to prove to the British public what a dangerous man he is, and then to have to descend to such a paltry charge as running a lottery! We almost expected that when Scotland Yard considered the case later on, they would withdraw the charge to save the Law from the ridicule it would bring on itself. But, no; lacking a sense of humour or even of proportion, the charge was proceeded with to the end.

On Thursday, December 27, therefore, Motler appeared at Clerkenwell Police Court before Mr. Bros, the magistrate who sent Lilian Woolf and Tom Keell to prison. Our comrade being deaf and dumb, an official interpreter was provided in the person of a reverend gentleman connected with the Deaf and Dumb Society. It is unnecessary to dwell on the evidence, except to say that the lawyer who acted as prosecutor avoided dealing with the gambling side of the case, but devoted his energies to vilifying *Satire*. He said it was a "horrible production" which, happily, had had a short existence; and poured out his best adjectives when describing the October issue, in which a notice of the draw appeared. He also tried to make Motler's offence appear more dastardly because our office is not an imposing edifice in Fleet Street, but simply a two-storied edifice in Ossulston Street.

Motler, who had pleaded "Not Guilty," then handed to the interpreter a written statement of his defence, which was read to the Court. He said that as the draw was for propaganda purposes, and not for personal profit, it did not come within the meaning of the Act of 1823. In support of this contention, he gave instances of some draws advertised in the *Voice of Labour*, with which he was connected. He also pointed out that in current issues of Socialist and Labour papers the results of Christmas draws for the benefit of various political organisations were openly advertised. And as a last effort to show the spitefulness of this prosecution he pointed out that on December 20 a "War Bond Draw" took place at Selfridge's, Mrs. Lloyd George drawing the winning numbers, and a police sergeant turning the wheel, the newspapers publishing full details of the result. But Motler's efforts were in vain. The magistrate's taste in satire was evidently only equal to *Punch* and similar so-called humorous productions. Curtly ignoring our comrade's arguments, he bluntly said: "Twenty pounds fine and five guineas costs." When asked if time would be allowed in which to pay, he said Motler would go to prison if the fine was not paid. Then he picked up his papers and went to lunch with the calm serenity that comes to a man who does his duty to his God and his King. Although not expecting such a heavy fine, the comrades scraped the money together, and Motler left the Court a wiser, but not a sadder man.

In the foregoing we have tried to put the ridiculous side of the case, but we wish to point out what the authorities have tried to achieve, because, after all, there is a method in their madness. Knowing that at the present moment there is a strong feeling against prosecutions for anti-war propaganda, they have sought to cripple our work by hitting us in our finances, and for this purpose they have used the Law in this ridiculous case to

deliberately rob us of £25. So far as the result is concerned, they have adopted the methods of the footpad, who holds you on the ground whilst his pals take your money and other possessions. Scotland Yard and the Home Office simply used the Lottery Act of 1823 as a means to the same end, and the magistrate and police court officials did the rest. We did not expect justice at Clerkenwell, and did not get it.

We now confidently appeal to our comrades and friends to show the authorities that their attempts to cripple our papers financially are in vain, and we ask our readers one and all to send at once whatever they can spare. Let us help to repay to our comrades of *Satire* the £25 of which the Law has robbed them, and let us do it now. Contributions and postal orders should be addressed and made payable to "The Manager of *Satire*, 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W. 1." All sums received will be acknowledged in *Satire*.

ANTE BELLUM.

There is a septuagenarian journalist who is at present engaged in drawing the wages of great ability from two of the most notorious newspaper trusts in this D.O.R.A.-ridden country. This venerable gentleman's name is Alexander M. Thompson. It is admitted that the patriarchal age is associated with wisdom. The patriarchal wisdom of Alexander the Greatest can be read in various papers which a dislike of advertising in an Anarchist paper forbids me to name. The juvenile unwisdom of the same journalist may be perused in "Patriotism and Conscription," now unfortunately out of print.

The mental somersaults of great journalists will have made us proof against surprise when we read at the conclusion of this relic of pre-war sanity that:

We look upon the tyranny and slavery of professional soldiering as a curse, and will, therefore, oppose conscription to the last—even, if need be, with the weapons that it may thrust into our hands. The British people shall not become, if we can help it, "the conscript appanage of any stronger Power"—not even a conscript appanage of the British Stock Exchange.

Brave words—especially "even, if need be——." And the weapon conscription has thrust into the hands of this over-age journalist is a pen at the service of the Conscriptionists. A.M.T. has become "the conscript appanage" of the Harmsworth-Hulton Press. "Make the word cheap," to quote Alex. M., "and its horror will wear."

But perhaps D.O.R.A. will not allow us to quote even the pre-war A.M.T. in detail, with his dark suggestions that "soldiers are dogs trained not only to steal their neighbours' meat, but to protect it for their masters against their own hunger." And here cometh the world-famine. Sir, I perceive you are a prophet.

"The danger of war arises in these pursy times through one invariable cause—the greed of the ruling classes." Nothing about Belgium, Serbia, or even Lenin, alias Zederblum. For "the Russo-Japanese War was due, as all historians agree, to the greedy speculations of Russian Grand Dukes in Manchurian forests and mines." Lenin, alias Uljanov, must have read his A. M. Thompson carefully, for he is recklessly publishing the secret treaties in the Petrograd archives and other documents referring to the Straits of Constantinople, Alsace-Lorraine, and the Financiers' Conference in Switzerland. (Again, mum's the word about B——m.)

Referring to the South African War being engineered by Cecil Rhodes and Co., according to Lecky, the Tory historian, our own "Dangle" comments:

By such lying and fraud are wars promoted. By such chicanery Great Britain annexed, during the twelve years preceding the Jubilee of 1897, a territory of 2,600,000 square miles, a territory out of which one might make twenty-two Great Britains and Ireland! . . . The odious system of conscription springs from the same greed and rapacity that everywhere turns the blessing of work into a scourge. . . . A greed and rapacity which will apparently not be appeased until another great war has been fought, a couple of thirty-million-pound fleets blown into matchwood and scrap-iron, half-a-dozen great cities converted into dust-heaps, and some million men of the common people chemically resolved into their component gases by means of the newest kind of chemical shrapnel.

Again we hold our breath and murmur, "Sir, we perceive——"

A great deal of ink has been shed to prove the inviolability of treaties and the like, but our Mr. Thompson will have none of it.

He tears aside the veil with a roughness at present only found in the person of Lenin, alias Lehmann.

Our friend, Mr. J. D. Sutcliffe, while visiting the Caucasus, expressed wonder to a British Consul because he found the Treaty of Berlin openly ignored. He was answered with a laugh, that the famous bond of "Peace and Honour" never was anything more than a record of financial victory for the Rothschilds. They it was who forced the treaty upon Turkey and Russia, and maintained it so long as it suited their interest, simply for the development of their petroleum mines. It was for this they caused war to rage and blood to pour!

Compared to Rothschilds, Bolo Pasha is a saintly gentleman, who can safely put odds on the chance of his having a front seat in the Kingdom of Upstairs should an ungrateful France introduce him to Madame la Guillotine. You will remember Fashoda, when we had a slight "incident" with the French: the credit for keeping the horse of war out of the chariot shafts has been ascribed to our late lamented Kitchener: our Comrade Thompson disposes of this canard:

At Fashoda time, a French messenger was already on his way with papers which broke off diplomatic negotiations with this country, when he was recalled by a declaration of the Rothschilds that, on the day war was declared between England and France, the equivalent of £350,000,000 would be withdrawn from France.

Again the Rothschilds. "The masses of the people have no quarrel. . . . But they have nothing to do with it. While they are professing mutual regard on the banks of the North Sea, their masters, the Lords of the Moneybags, are brewing hate and strife on the shores of the Bosphorus or Gulf of Persia." They are not talking of the rights of small nations, they are scheming over the road to Bagdad; they are not prattling nonsense of the sacredness of treaties, they are exchanging other scraps of paper in Switzerland; they are not indulging in verbiage about freedom, honour, etc.; they are pouring sugar in the North Sea and letting potatoes rot in order to the more effectively fatten on the peoples. "The classes reap; the masses bleed."

If the *Clarion*, responsible for having published this "Pass On Pamphlet" in its youth, could be persuaded to reprint—but, then, here comes D.O.R.A. with her newest regulation for all pamphlets and leaflets dealing with the war to be submitted to the Press Bureau. And we doubt whether even Blatchford could tame D.O.R.A. with his glittering eye: she would be too much amused by the spectacle of an Ancient Mariner turning mental somersaults.

L.A.M.

Quakers will Defy Censor.

The clumsy drafting of the new regulation relating to the censorship of leaflets has been rendered still more clumsy by an amendment which perhaps only adds to the drastic character of the original decree. Notwithstanding this fact, it is encouraging to learn that there is at least one section of the people—the executive body of the Society of Friends—that intends to defy the law. In a resolution recently passed they state:

We realise the rarity of the occasions on which a body of citizens find their sense of duty to be in conflict with the law, and it is with a sense of the gravity of the decision that the Society of Friends must, on this occasion, act contrary to the regulation and continue to issue literature on war and peace without submitting it to the Censor. It is convinced that in thus standing for spiritual liberty it is acting in the best interests of the nation.

We hope their courageous action will be copied by others.

OUR APPEAL.

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

MODERN JUSTICE.

For selling bread which had not been baked for twelve hours M. Fisher, of Mile End, was recently fined £40 or three months' imprisonment. For aiding and abetting H. B. Peck was fined £5.

John T. Gardner, a butcher, in Smithfield, and the proprietor of a number of famous city restaurants, was summoned at the Mansion House recently for allowing more meat to be consumed at five of his restaurants than was allowed by the Food Controller. The counsel for the prosecution said the case was a very bad one, as at one restaurant alone 4,213 lbs. of meat had been consumed in excess of the Order. The penalty was £100 in each case. The alderman, however, inflicted nominal fines and costs amounting to £18 in all. Perhaps the alderman dines at one of the places.

At Clerkenwell Police Court, on December 27, the editor of *Satire* was fined £20 and £5 5s. costs for running a draw to provide funds for the paper. On the same day on the London Hoardings posters could be seen advertising a "Petticoat Lane Tombola," tickets 5s. each, for which hundreds of prizes were offered. But "Justice" and Scotland Yard turned a blind eye to this Society gamble.

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