A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Vol. XXIX.—No. 313.

MAY, 1915.

MONTHLY: ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Prices, Profits, and Patriotism.

The rising prices of bread seem to have some other cause than the increased freightage charges for the shipment of wheat. The annual report of a milling concern in Cardiff, Messrs. Spiller and Baker, shows a profit on the year's working of £367,865, which, when compared with last year's profit of £89,352, should surely call for some explanation. It is a glaring illustration of what we referred to some while back, at the beginning of the war, as "fattening on the people's needs." Bread in Glasgow is 7½d. per quartern; in Cardiff, London, and many other places 8½d., or 3d. per quartern more than in August, 1914. And now we see the way the money goes, the explanation being, of course, that they could not help making a profit! A remarkable reversal of the old business days, when the trader had to seek his profit, not dodge it. But Spiller and Baker are not the only concern in the same predicament. No doubt many more will be found—farmers, shippers, coal owners, and the like—whose profits have soared skywards since August last. We would hazard a guess that the shareholders of all these concerns are at the moment thinking patriotically, urging the workers to enlist, to be more thrifty, drink less, and work harder. Yet they are the very people against whom our real fight should be waged. Their actions call for drastic remedies on the part of the workers. Pious resolutions are being passed, and the Government are being urged to do something. Precisely what, we are not quite sure; but it seems futile to expect much. It would be far more satisfactory, and certainly more sure to reduce the profits and prices, if the people, recognising these robbers of their food, proceeded with a little direct action on their own account.

"Delivering the Goods."

The outcry against the shortage in the supply of munitions of war and the drink question has led the Government into the most delightful muddle that it is possible to conceive any body of public men getting into. With a flourish of trumpets, Asquith has been to Newcastle, and his speech to the workers (or as many as were not crowded out by the bosses, who worked the tickets to their own advantage, and cheered on behalf of Labour) was surely the last word in flatulent nonsense. No one, not even his party papers, seems quite clear what he really meant, or what he went up North at all for. Possibly to shed the light of his presence upon the worker! His speech said a lot, and told us nothing. It certainly contradicted Kitchener and Lloyd George, and revealed the fact that the Government had not really made up its mind what to do, or what line of argument to pursue. There may be something in the suggestion that the masters were beginning to fear the rise of an independent spirit among the workers, which could only be checked by appeals to sentiment and patriotism. It is certain, however, that these newspaper scare-lines deceive no one, least of all the workers, who know the real position, and, we believe, realise their power. Their business now is to see that the goods are delivered to themselves. It has always been the business of the worker to deliver the goods to some one else; now, perhaps, he will endeavour to get either the goods or their equivalent for himself. He certainly has a better chance now than ever he did, but the moment he puts faith in the specious promises of Asquith and Co., in that moment he drops the bone for the shadow.

Solving the Drink Question.

Betwixt the devil and the deep sea appears to be the position of the Government in its anxiety to solve the drink question. Total or partial prohibition, State control, ownership, etc., all have been demanded by the various interested parties. The

Chadbands of the temperance parties appeared to be gaining ground in their demand for prohibition; but who can forget the power of the brewery interests? They now hold what was once the proud boast of the Rothschilds, "the power to make and unmake Governments." This power they wielded against prohibition, and gave out the suggestion that State purchase would meet the case. Thus against their friends of the temperance party, strong upon the Liberal benches, the Government have been forced to modify what was obviously their first intention, prohibition with compensation. It may seem strange at first sight that the brewery interest should shout for State purchase, but a closer examination will show that it is really their only salvation. It is certain that many people who are now voluntarily giving up drinking alcoholic liquors will find life endurable without it, and continue to refrain after the war. Thus the brewery interest find themselves threatened, if not with bankruptcy, at any rate with diminished profits; and State purchase now, at pre-war prices, would release capital in doubtful investments which could be used in surer ones—ammunition or bread, for instance. Why, we would ask, should the Government touch the matter at all when by voluntary agreement the drink question will solve itself? To purchase or compensate is simply to save something for the brewery shareholders out of the wreckage, leaving the nation to stand the racket. A nation cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament, but voluntary effort can and will do the trick, and avoid a useless and heavy burden Which course the Government will take is not yet made known, but it can be taken for granted that it will be, as always, private interests first, public necessity nowhere.

The Postal Workers' Opportunity.

The trouble amongst the miners bids fair to reach an acute stage, and it is rather lamentable, knowing as we do the growing feeling of consciousness of power among the miners, that they should ask the Government to secure for them what they have the power to help themselves to, or force the coalowners to give. To ask the Government to intervene and secure a 20 per cent. increase is placing them in an awkward predicament, seeing that they have just replied to their own servants in the Post Office Department, in reply to their demand for a war bonus, that they must be prepared to bear their share of the burden of the war. As if they are not already doing so, and will continue to do so in common with all other workers. The Government have offered to indemnify the railway owners, shippers, manufacturers, bankers, etc.; but their own workers, who are working shorthanded and at high pressure, must bear their own burden; and on top of this they are asked to subscribe to a relief fund the object of which is to supplement the allowances made to dependents of men serving with the colours! We hope the movement which has started of "no bonus, no charity," will spread, and that the postal workers will take advantage of their unique position to show up the patriotic example of the Government. And the miners can reckon upon getting little change out of such a Government.

May Day and the Police.

We learn as we go to press that there will be no May Day demonstration in London. The usual meeting had been arranged to take place in Hyde Park, but at the last moment the police refused to allow a resolution which contained a most justifiable clause protesting against the persecution of our comrades in Russia by their Government. This was the official resolution of the May Day Committee, who have abandoned the meeting rather than have a police-edited resolution. It was further ordered that no reference was to be made to the war! What liberties we Englishmen do enjoy!

GOVERNMENT.

By JOHN TAMLYN.

They are quite right who affirm that the Anarchist who understands his principles is up against all Governments as they exist at present; but if it is concluded from this that the Anarchist believes that if he can discredit the authority of Governments he will emancipate the people from the domination of private property and wage-slavery, they will be quite wrong. The Anarchist has ever his eyes on the economic foundations of society at the back of Governments, which the latter exist to express and defend.

More than this, the Anarchist readily admits that if you could remove the economic institutions which lie at the back of Government, the Governments would fall of their own weight, because they would no longer have any useful function. But, says the Anarchist, you cannot bring the people to make any vital attack upon the economic institutions that enslave them until you have got the people to understand and repudiate

Government.

Instances proving this we have straight before us. During the last thirty years the political Socialist movement has done much to educate the people in economic matters. We have analysed Capitalism in thousands of lectures; we have explained commodity value, exchange value, labour power, and all the rest of it. And then all at once the Governments call a war, and straightway the people forget all their economic teaching, and at the call of the Governments do a stampede to the battlefield, and there blow each other to bits. Why? Because they have not understood Government; because they have not seen the conspiracy worked by Government against them; because they have not realised the efforts of Government to sidetrack them away to the battlefield in order to shelter its economic position,

and give a further lease of life to capitalist society.

Before the outbreak of the war, the Governments prepared themselves for this effort, but the workers did not perceive it. In England it was preceded by a lot of political legislation calculated to destroy the Trade Union organisations of the workers, and bind them closer to the State. Lloyd George produced and carried his pseudo-German legislation-Labour Exchanges and State Insurance—all useful to give the Government and the masters a more exact knowledge of the workers, to enable them to ticket, label, and register them in all their affairs, so that the Government might know when to have them, where to have them, and how to have them. In a sentence, to bind them closer to the State, and make them look more and more to the State for aid, and less and less to their working-class organisations. Further, to break up these organisations, the Government bought over the working-class leaders and all who had got a following, and gave them positions under the Government. Payment of Members was brought forward and carried with the same object, so that the working-class Members with their £400 a year might become independent of the workers who sent them, and more and more the servants of the capitalist Government. And the workers approved of their leaders taking positions from the Government, and even considered themselves honoured in seeing them absorbed by a capitalist Government. Why? Simply because the workers did not understand the nature and purpose of Government.

For these reasons, then, the Anarchist holds that there can come no vital attack upon the economic institutions of society until the workers have come to understand and discredit Government. So long as the workers accept Government as a fetish and a machine to do their thinking and acting for them, and turn away from their own working-class organisations, so long will the Governments be able to sidetrack them into wars whenever there is a danger of economic revolt at home. The words of Catherine of Russia must never be forgotten: "There is only one way," she said, "to defend and preserve our Empires from the encroachments of the people, and that is to engage in wars. In this way we substitute national passions for social aspirations." Yes, and in this way Governments will always put back the people until the people come to see this as the historic role and diabolical object of Governments. So before we can hope to go ·forward with economic changes of a root character, the Anarchist says the people must be educated to understand the evil nature

of Governments.

But before we address ourselves to Government, we will devote a few sentences to the economic institutions which lie at the back of Governments, and which, as Catherine of Russia says, they exist to preserve. What are the institutions they exist

to preserve, whether absolute monarchies, limited monarchies, or republics? Here they are:—

(1) The institution of private property.

(2) Wage-slavery.

(3) The power to tax the people. By the institution of private property a few people are allowed to own the land, and to shake this law-made right in the face of the rest, much as a highwayman brandishes his pistol, and to say: "A certain portion of what you produce from the land you shall return to us in the shape of rent, or you shall not use the land." By this institution, again, a few are allowed to own the machinery, and all the tools of labour, and again, like the highwayman, to say: "Work these under our control, and for our profit, or you shall not work them at all. When you have produced all we desire you to produce, you shall not receive your produce; we will keep the produce. We will give you wages; these wages shall enable you to buy back a certain amount of the things you have produced; the rest shall remain with us. We will sell them, and what we realise over and above what we have given you as wages shall remain ours as profit. If we cannot sell your wares, then you shall stop working until such time as we have sold them; and in the interval, starve, or

shift the best way you can; it is no affair of ours."

If you transfer this institution of ownership from the landlords and capitalists to the State, and have a kind of Collectivism, the workers will fare no better. The control of the land and tools of labour, instead of being in the hands of landlords and capitalists, will now be in the hands of the bureaucrats of the State. These will continue to give the mass of the workers their subsistence wage, or something approaching to it, and the rest will be absorbed in salaries for the politicians and the bureaucrats. The political Social Democrats cannot show that placing the control of wealth under the State would result in any larger portion of the wealth reaching the mass of the people. The putting of ownership and control in the hands of some central authority looks very well in the abstract, but the authority may so work it as to let most of the benefits reach itself or its hangers-on. It is a very convenient way, when playing at cards, to let the same man shuffle and deal; but if he keeps all the best cards for his own little clique, and deals you all the worst cards, the method which is good in theory will not benefit you much in practice. Decentralisation and control by the people is the way out to be sought. Not experts and control from above, but education of the people and control from below.

This institution of private property is the root institution of modern society. This is the institution which divides society into bullies and slaves. This is the institution which compels one man to sell himself to another. The one man holds the land and tools; the other must sell himself to him or starve. The remedy is to let all unite in a social effort, and all equally participate in the social result. I want food, clothing, and housing: you want the same. I will help you to satisfy our common needs, but I will not sell myself to you for a wage; this way slavery lies. Those who begin by selling themselves to their fellow man, finish up by selling themselves to the Government. And the Government, to preserve the game, finishes up with sending them to the battlefield to be used as cannon

fodder.

The second institution of our present society, wage-slavery, is a corollary of the first institution of private property. Taxation is a political institution, by which Governments mulct the people to preserve and extend their control over the people. Some diplomat like Sir Edward Grey comes down to the Commons and says: "After grave and complicated discussion with the Ambassador from Lilliput, we have concluded there must be a war." Then some Chancellor like Lloyd George says: "All right; I'll pawn the future labour of the people for an odd two hundred and fifty millions." I do not require to tell you that when a Government goes after a loan this is exactly what is done—the labour of the people is pawned to the financiers. Straightway the people are taxed in their incomes, bread, beer, tobacco, and tea, to pay back the principal and interest.

Well, such are the economic institutions at the back of all Governments—absolute monarchies, limited monarchies, and republics. There is no difference in them as concerns these institutions. All of them alike exist to support these economic institutions—private property, wage-slavery, taxation of the

people.

Now, if we are wise, we shall no more expect the Governments to educate the people in these economic institutions which form the basis of their authority, and which enable them to exploit and enslave the people, than we should expect a criminal to sign his own death-warrant. Still, we live in an age when

FREEDOM. 35

the spirit of revolt is abroad, and the peoples have made some sort of attack upon Governments. Some sort of education is also abroad, and Governments must pretend some sort of response to it. Consequently we hear an immense amount of talk from Governments and their ally, the Press, about the education of the people. But the education which they favour is education in the surface facts and effects of life, and nothing is ever further from their purpose than the giving of the people knowledge of the economic institutions of society, which would expose their business of statecraft and the enslavement of the people. On the contrary, their chief business becomes more and more a fine art to cover all this up, and to hide the wheels and ropes by which they move the puppets, far away from the sight of the people. The art becomes a more and more difficult one. First they try to divert the attention of the people by stimulating them to the study of all manner of surface facts which do not matter. Then, again, the Press helps them to manufacture all manner of red herrings, and to dose them with all manner of small palliatives and reforms, which leave the wheels of economic exploitation still grinding smoothly.

(To be concluded.)

SIR EDWARD GREY'S "FIXED IDEA."

A remarkable article written by the late W. T. Stead, in the Review of Reviews for December, 1911, makes exceedingly interesting reading just now, and is a caustic commentary upon the writings of his successors, besides giving us an insight into the cause of this war. Written as it was some years ago, it completely knocks the bottom out of the arguments of those who seek to justify this war on the grounds of violation of Belgian neutrality. The article opens thus:—

"It is now admitted that this summer we were on the brink of war with Germany—and why? It was not for the defence of any British interests, not for the maintenance of any treaty obligations. We were nearly involved in the stupendous catastrophe of a gigantic war with the greatest of all the world-Powers in order to enable France to tear up the Treaty of Algeciras by taking possession of the Empire of Morocco, whose independence and integrity we were pledged to defend. It was not to our interest to make over to France a vast domain in Northern Africa. The French, unlike the Germans, who admit us to trade in all their colonies on equal footing with German subjects, have always made it a principle of their colonial policy to give preference, and, wherever possible, a monopoly of the trade to Frenchmen. If we have any security for the open door and equality of opportunity in Morocco we owe it to the Germans, who defended our commercial interests in defending their own. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in order to put France in possession of Morocco, we all but went to war with Germany. We have escaped war, but we have not escaped the natural and abiding enmity of the German people. Is it possible to frame a heavier indictment of the foreign policy of any British Ministry?

"The secret, the open secret of this almost incredible crime against Treaty faith, British interests, and the peace of the world, is the unfortunate fact that Sir Edward Grey, ever since he took office, has been surrounded, influenced, dominated by men in the Foreign Office, and in at least two of the most important Embassies, who are obsessed by the belief that Germany is our inveterate enemy, that war with Germany in the near future is as inevitable as the rising of the sun, and that therefore all other considerations must be subordinated to the one supreme duty of thwarting Germany at every turn, even if in so doing British interests, Treaty faith, and the peace of the world are trampled underfoot. I speak that of which I know. These men who mould Sir Edward Grey as clay is moulded in the hands of the potter make no secret of their convictions. One of them told me without the slightest hesitation that the whole European situation was dominated by the inordinate unscrupulous ambition of Germany. 'Germany,' he said, 'has only one object. She wants to destroy our supremacy at sea in order to seize our colonies. Instead of prating of peace and a reduction of armaments, our one duty was to increase our armaments in order to repel her inevitable attack, and have a powerful Army with which to help the French on land."

Mr. Stead says he repeated this conversation to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, then Prime Minister; but although he was astounded, he was powerless. "Sir Edward Grey has been autocrat of the Foreign Office, and he did not brook interference even from Prime Ministers in his choice of advisers and agents." The writer then goes on to say:—

"This damnable fixed idea dominates Sir Edward Grey, and colours all his utterances and all his actions. When a few years ago efforts were made to bring about more cordial relations between the journalists of the two countries by means of an interchange of visits, the frank and friendly support given by the German Chancellor was in grim contrast to the cold and forbidding attitude of the British Foreign Office.... As it was with regard to the visits of the journalists, so it

was with regard to any and every attempt to establish cordial relations with the Germans.... You may look through his speeches from first to last without finding one hearty generous reference to Germany. It is not that Sir Edward Grey dislikes the Germans. He is a man without prejudices. He is simply to-day, as he has been since he took office, in terror of his life lest any rapprochement with Germany might offend the French. Upon this fear the French and our Ambassador at Paris took such advantage that Sir Edward Grey at last became little more than their marionette. Treaty obligations, British interests, the risk of war—those were as trifles light as air compared with the one supreme paramount duty of keeping in with the French at any cost; nay, even without counting the cost.... On September 7, 1906, the Treaty of Algeciras was signed by Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Austria, Italy, Russia, and the United States. It began by declaring that the independence and integrity of the Empire of Morocco was the basis upon which the international settlement rested. In order to secure the maintenance of the Sherifian Empire, French and Spanish officers were to be engaged as instructors of the Sultan's army, and various other provisions were set forth for the regulation of the Customs, the Bank, and other matters. While it was understood that the French were to be allowed to carry on their policy of peaceful penetration, it was expressly stated that all the other Powers were to enjoy equal privileges in the way of trade. Five years have elapsed, and lo! we find Morocco, with the active support of Sir Edward Grey, converted into a 'new France in North Africa,' without so much as saying 'by your leave' to any other signatories of the Treaty of Algeciras, save Germany, and her assent was extorted by virtual threat of war. And it is after the completion of this astonishing transaction that Mr. Asquith has the amazing assurance to stand up in the House of Commons and claim that the object of his policy was to fulfil Treaty obligations!"

This "damnable fixed idea" of the British Foreign Office has been a great factor in producing the present world-war. What W. T. Stead foresaw in 1911 has become a reality, and those who declare Germany to be alone responsible are blind to the facts. All Governments are ready and willing to tear up any and every Treaty and to wage war ruthlessly when it suits their schemes. Surely it is not too much to hope that as a result of the present orgy of blood the peoples will learn the true character of Governments and purge the world of such festering sores.

ANOTHER POLICE VICTIM.

A case of considerable interest has been in the Courts recently. Those who have had dealings with the police will recognise some features of this case as being part of their stock-in-trade, and will realise full well the danger of any poor victim of their unscrupulous, lying tactics to secure a victim. Briefly, the case is that a Mrs. Morse, née Powell, was arrested at Ross on a charge of deserting two children, leaving them chargeable to the Brentford Guardians. We will now, to obviate any tendency to bias, quote the Daily Telegraph leader on the subject, and leave it at that:—

"Mrs. Morse was taxed with the parentage of the deserted children. She was identified—though with considerable hesitation, as it afterwards appeared—by Mrs. Ker. She continually protested her innocence, and denied all knowledge whatever of the matter of the prosecution. The evidence produced, however, satisfied the Brentford magistrates of her guilt, and she was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, which she underwent. The dramatic clearing-up of this miserable story came about through the commonplace working of the Poor Law settlement system. The Brentford Guardians procured an order making the Poor Law authorities at Witney, in which Mrs. Morse's husband was domiciled, responsible for the two children who had been so long maintained at the expense of Brentford. The Witney authorities resisted this, and the evidence they produced was the evidence that cleared Mrs. Morse. It was proved that another woman, also bearing the name of Powell, also born in Ross, and also an inmate at one time of a Barnardo home, whence she had passed into service, was the mother of the two children. The woman had been found—owing to the further extraordinary coincidence that a person who had known her was, quite by chance, in court during the earlier proceedings in the recent case. She confessed in the witness-box. She was no relation to Mrs. Morse; but there existed between the two women quite enough likeness to account for the one hesitating identification in the case

"Some profoundly unsatisfactory features appear in the story. In the first place, the hesitancy shown by Mrs. Ker in her original identification was not among the facts communicated to the magistrates who passed sentence; and it was further admitted that other evidence in the possession of the prosecuting officials of Brentford, which was strongly in Mrs. Morse's favour, had been similarly withheld. Moreover, a confession alleged to have been made by Mrs. Morse at the police-station at Ross was entirely repudiated by her, and was obviously a fabrication pure and simple. These are thoroughly sinister facts, upon which it is incumbent on the Home Office to take severe action. Whatever may be done for Mrs. Morse, there ought to be a sharp lesson taught to functionaries who have deliberately manipulated or manufactured evidence to fit in with their case; and it is little palliation of a disgraceful business that they believed their victim to be guilty."

Freedom

Monthly, One Penny; post-free, 11d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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.

MAY DAY.

May Day comes upon us this year under sad and distressing circumstances. Never before has such a catastrophe befallen the workers of the world, that their day, the day upon which they manifest anew their international brotherhood and solidarity in the fight against Capitalism, finds them ceasing that war to engage in the wholesale murder and butchery of their fellow workers from other lands. This year, too, should have been for us a special May Day, for it marks a quarter of a century since the first May Day demonstration was held in England. Then it opened full of joy, of hope that in the world-wide struggle of Labour against its rulers we were going to link hands, and, recognising that our enemy was a common one, wage an international war for his overthrow and our final emancipation. Each year since then, with the advent of Spring, this same message of hope has been sounded and new life has surged through the veins of the saddened toilers, to whom the day of freedom appeared as a mirage.

What has happened that 1915 finds us, not merely divided locally or internationally upon matters of policy, but engaged in fierce and bitter warfare, in a desperate endeavour to overwhelm and crush by any and every means our fellow workers? The young men of France who in 1914 left their factories and workshops to join the demonstrations are to-day to be found in the trenches fighting against the young men of Germany, who similarly demonstrated last year even as they did. So with the British. Many a young man now going bravely, if misguidedly, to his death, and dealing out death to the German soldier, was last year filled with fraternal sentiments of goodwill to his fellow workers throughout the world. Well may we ask what has happened. Are they fighting to ensure the freedom from oppression they then spoke of? Are they pushing forward the work of crushing the exploiter? No! By allying themselves with their rulers and exploiters, the workers of Europe are helping to undo the good that their past May Day demonstrations have done. There is hatred now instead of brotherhood, bitter antagonism instead of co-operation. It is not enough to say that their Governments are responsible. It is the workers who must bear the responsibility, for it is they who could, had they so determined, not only have prevented war against their fellows, but have made war against those who would drive them to their death.

But it is not so, and we are on this May Day faced with our weaknesses. It is for us to take the opportunity to look around and see why we have failed, and to rebuild, with the lessons of the failure to guide us.

But there is another aspect which should spur us on. Whilst this May Day may reveal us shorn of all the trimmings of pious expressions of our strength, it reveals also the hypocrisy of our rulers, who in normal times coerce and bind us with silken-covered chains. Now, however, in their brutal frankness, we see to what extent a Government will go to gain its ends and check the rising movement. We have the infamous Defence of the Realm Act, with its many Orders in Council, as an example of the Russianisation of England. The May Day demonstration in London has been abandoned because the Government will not allow the speakers to refer to the war, or, in the resolution, to Russia. Conscription of a subtle kind is introduced by the economic pressure which is brought upon men

of military age. These are the things which make us wonderwhether we can celebrate May Day as Labour Day.

We must, because there are among us some who have not forgotten their principles, to whom the fight for freedom is very real. We at any rate will say to the workers of the world: "We have no quarrel with you. Rise in your might to strike a blow at your rulers now when they will feel it most." May Day, 1915, then, instead of being a day of despair, will be the day on which we determine to wage our war more fiercely because of the tyrannies which this war has brought.

THE CREED OF THE CAVE MAN.

We are constantly being told that war is the supreme test which proves whether or not a nation is fit to survive. That out of it come those types which alone are fitted to continue the work of procreating and perpetuating the human race. It is the doctrine of Might is Right. It is the application to human kind of the principle which governs the animal life of the jungle. Now whichever view a person may hold, it will at least be conceded by all that the first requisite for strong and healthy children is strong and healthy parents. So if war produces strong and healthy men, it will justify itself so far as that part is concerned.

But does war make strong and healthy men? Just at present we are able to look at this matter from a very practical standpoint. If a man wishes to go to the war and offers himself as a recruit, his enthusiasm for the fight is only a secondary consideration in deciding the question of whether or not he will be accepted. The first thing required is perfect physical fitness. His wind and limb must be sound, his eyesight keen, and in every bodily respect he must be the kind of man who, from an eugenic point of view, is physically fit to perpetuate his kind. The weedy, the wilted, and the weakly are not accepted. The result is that if the war is of the magnitude of the present one, thousands of physically fit men are killed, and thousands more are broken and maimed so as to be unsuitable types afterwards for the work of reproduction.

The plain object and result of war is to kill healthy men. It does not seek the survival of the fittest, but their annihilation. That is perhaps even more true in these days than in Roman times. The bodily strength of the individual had more to do with victory then than it does to-day. Men were killed by the strength of men. To-day they are killed by the perfection of applied mechanics. It took a strong man to carry a heavy shield and armour and wield a battle-axe. But it does not require a Goliath to work a Maxim gun, which will kill more men in ten minutes than a man could kill with an axe in ten weeks.

So that instead of modern warfare preserving the fittest from death by reason of their superior strength, it slaughters them under conditions where their strength cannot be used for their protection. As war is carried on now it does not, therefore, eliminate the unfit types. On the contrary, it ensures their survival by keeping them out of the conflict. And to them, along with the fit types who do not go to war, the work of reproducing human kind is left. That means that the proportion of unfits in the community is greater than before. Looking at it from a purely utilitarian standpoint, that is the real result of war, despite all the specious arguments and sophistry put forth by the "blood and iron" school. They are the pests of the earth, hovering like vultures wherever peaceful men and women are striving to purge the race of the cave man. In peace they produce nothing. In war they destroy everything. They are the arch-parasites of the age.—J. W. W., in British Columbia Federationist.

"The Anarchist Revolution."

This pamphlet, by our comrade George Barrett, is a reprint (revised) of a series of articles published in Freedom a short time ago under the title of "A General View of Anarchism." Barrett's clear and logical way of looking at social questions is here seen at its best, and we heartily recommend this pamphlet as one that can be put in the hands of newcomers who want to know what Anarchists want. At the present moment, when the war dominates everything, progress in ideas seems almost hopeless; but we must not give way to the reactionaries. Rather let us feel that greater efforts are called for, and to our active comrades we can confidently say that few pamphlets on our list are better adapted for breaking new ground than George Barrett's "Anarchist Revolution." It is bound in an attractive wrapper, with a striking design by our comrade L. A. Motler.

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

Easter Saturday evening, and passing from the noise and dirt of the town into the dainty, bright rooms of the Stockport comrades, we found a haven of rest after our travels, and a real North Country greeting. There the hours sped in song and merriment, and we Southerners understood a little more of the spirit of Anarchism which is manifesting itself in our big industrial towns. Of course, the abolition of cheap railway tickets had affected the number present, but we were glad to find the following groups represented: Chopwell, Stockport, Huddersfield, Hazel Grove, Romiley, Oldham, Manchester, Gateshead, Ammanford, Boothstown, Liverpool, Bristol, Freedom, Voice of Labour, and Willesden.

On Sunday we foregathered at the charming rooms of the Hazel Grove comrades, and as the day was fine, we unanimously agreed to deviate from the agenda times and seek inspiration in a ramble over the hills.

Settling down to our labours during the afternoon, a report was presented from each group. The war had naturally enough prevented much active work, such as open-air meetings, but the sum total was hopeful, most groups laying stress upon the steady propaganda in the workshop or factory. Many local difficulties had been encountered; in some places the Nonconformist Conscience blocked the way; in others, the official element in the Trade Unions was the enemy. Bristol reported no great activity until the war. They had held a successful public meeting, and the publication and printing of some 10,000 copies of "The Last War" had been no mean achievement. They were also running weekly discussions, which had proved very useful. Indeed, all groups seemed impressed with this particular form of spreading the gospel. Chopwell reported that work had suffered since the war. Some colliery owners had deliberately closed the collieries excepting for a day or two a week, ostensibly to force the miners into enlisting. Among their most promising work had to be reckoned the starting of a Sunday School, which was going well.

The London reports were distinctly encouraging, proving as they did the growth of a definite English Anarchist movement in the South. Much work had been done by the Modern School, the children of which produced the spirited little journal Liberty. The opening of Marsh House had provided a rallying place for comrades, and given an enormous impetus to the cause.

There seemed a general consensus of opinion against too great reliance on speakers, and groups emphasised the absolute need for making each individual active, and therefore direct propaganda by means of literature was most hopeful. The discussion on Anarchist journals brought forth a generally expressed desire for local sheets, but it was held that more active support should be given Freedom and the Voice of Labour, and the group representing the latter particularly appealed for suitable items for publication from the workers themselves. It was thought there was enormous scope in this direction if the war against exploitation and tyranny is to be successfully waged. The comrades present realised too great reliance can be placed on intellectuals, and that no Moses would ever achieve the task of leading them out of their industrial wilderness.

"The Formation of a New International" led to a spirited debate upon the necessity for successfully combating the forces which the workers of all Europe were up against. Urgent need existed for the linking up not only of all groups locally and nationally, but internationally, and for this last purpose a secretary or interpreter was needed; but stress was laid upon the necessity for each group taking action. One speaker made the pertinent remark that while a new International would be useful in preventing another outbreak of war, it was necessary to remember that the class war was always being waged in our midst. Industrial war inevitably led to wars between nations. Each country must fight its common foe-

the exploiters. The old International, it was contended, had been harmfulit had created an atmosphere of false security. The spectacle of Labour and Socialist leaders speaking against war internationally before the war, and speaking in favour of it when war became an actual fact, was pitiable. The workers, too, had protested against the war, and then worked overtime in order to increase output, and so aid the Government. Unity was the great essential, and that must come from the individual experience of the workers. This must provide the material for revolt,

when the inconsistency of trying to stop war between Governments, but quietly putting up with industrial war at home, would cease.

"Anarchism and its Attitude to the War" produced a heated discussion. All agreed that the Anarchist cannot logically support any Government or any governmental "war of liberation." He is an internationalist, or his Anarchism becomes a meaningless thing. We were out against any kind of war, any kind of rule, and the abolition of war must mean the abolition of industrial war.

"The Support of Anarchist Journals" led to a generally expressed promise to push the sale of FREEDOM and the VOICE OF LABOUR vigorously. The urgent need for the reprinting of many pamphlets made it necessary to obtain more funds if this very useful part of our activity was to be carried forward. Help was promised, and it was decided to approach newsagents to press sale of the papers.

One other important matter was dealt with before the Conference closed on Easter Monday evening. A London comrade raised the question of comrade Keell's connection with FREEDOM (both as editor and manager) since the beginning of the war, and he read a protest from some members of the Freedom Group, in which Keell's actions were denounced in very strong terms. Being called on for an explanation, comrade Keell gave a long and detailed statement of his position, in which he vigorously defended himself against the charges brought forward. Many comrades took part in the discussion which followed, and eventually the Conference decided unanimously that Keell was fully justified in taking the steps he had to keep Freedom an anti-war journal, and that no evidence had been produced in support of the charges made in the protest, the bitter terms of which were especially deprecated.

Before breaking up, the Conference agreed to send its greetings to the comrades in Europe who have fought so vigorously against the world-war engineered by the financiers, statesmen, and diplomats of the countries concerned; and hoped they would continue their efforts, thereby keeping faithful to

Anarchist principles.

It was agreed that the Conference next year should take

place in London.

The Conference from first to last was not only a success, but an inspiration, for it showed a spirit of quiet determination to get to work that was indeed heartening. The keen critical attitude of the comrades made one realise that the movement was really alive. But, apart from the actual discussions, the bon camaraderie manifested by all comrades was good to experience. To the comrades of Stockport and Hazel Grove, to whom the successful organisation of the whole business connected with the Conference, together with the necessary catering for some fifty people, must have proved a heavy task, our hearty thanks are due, for we realised a little of Morris's meaning when he wrote "Fellowship is life," as we partook of their hospitality, and our "Utopian dream" seemed nearer realisation as we spoke of the dawn and the day to come.

М. В. Н.

TO WAR POETS.

Unsing, ye bards, your hymns of hate, Your praise of martial glory; Leave kings, and peers, and men of State To chant that mad, sad story.

Remain our shy, fame-spurning seers Who seek for Truth and Beauty; Not gold-bought scribes to profiteers Who misname Murder "Duty."

Tell men, when stilled lie Hates and Fears, A baby's joyous prattle Shall make more music in the spheres Than all the skirl of battle.

NORMAN YOUNG.

NOW READY.

TWO NEW PAMPHLETS BY GEORGE BARRETT.

THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION

AND

THE LAST WAR.

Price One Penny each; usual prices wholesale.

"THEN-WHAT?"

After the war, peace. For whom? For the workers? Before the war there was no peace, after the war there will be no peace for those who are employed by others. The wage-earner's life is a continual warfare with adverse circumstances over which he has no control. He is born to work, to live for work, not to work for his livelihood. His struggle for existence ends with either the grave or a pitiable old-age pension. He fights for life. Note the difference between the treatment meted out to him and that given to the soldier; the difference between the man who fights for himself and the man who fights for others. The soldier is a hero, well-deserving of his country; well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed—comparatively; a pension when his service is done which enables him to undersell his fellows in the labour market; his wife and family well looked after when he is away fighting; sung by poets and praised by politicians—a hero! But the worker, upon whom the well-being of the country depends in times of peace and of war-no security of livelihood for him, no pension until he is seventy, no clothes or shelter or food provided, no care for his wife and kiddies; not a hero by any means, just a rough, coarse, drinking, stupid man-machine, to be cast aside when worn out or when times are bad for the employer. Times are always bad for the employed. Who would not be a soldier?

But there is no call to be troubled. After the war there will be peace and plenty. There never have been such times as then there will be. Everybody will be happy; trade will flourishand, then—what for the worker? It is always dangerous to prophesy, because one never knows for certain what will happen! But, occasionally, one can be quite sure what will not happen. When peace comes, the capitalist will not have turned from a wolf into a lamb. As far as concerns his attitude towards the men who make his money for him, there will be no change; he will take as much and give as little as possible. Then the workers will think of the days of war as of days of promises made which it was never intended to keep. There will be plenty of reasons found for not keeping those promises of peace on earth and goodwill between employer and employed. Those promises will be broken because the workers do not use the power that is theirs in order to insist on their being fulfilled. There lies the tragedy of it all! The workers have the power to do what they will, and to take what they desire—but the enemy cleverly leads the workers to dissipate their power in wrong directions and in futile efforts.

In early days the employer feared the Trade Unions; now he uses them as a subtle and powerful weapon. The law allows them, Parliament patronises them, Lloyd George uses them as State-aided charitable societies; their leaders are bespattered with praise, and shackled by pleasant berths until they become the blind leading the blind. For the worker there is no peace, and will be no peace until he wages relentless and ruthless war upon his only enemies—the capitalists. The worker can exist without the capitalist; the latter cannot exist without the former. When will the workers grasp that fact? When will they realise that they must win if only they will fight and have no parley with the enemy, and be content with no half-measures? That is the thing to make them understand and act on. There is no halfway house to economic freedom.

There are a great many idols which must be toppled off their pedestals, their altars overturned, and their priests destroyed. This idol, for example. There is no need for work to be done for any profit-making. The one right aim of work is to provide the necessaries and seemly luxuries of life; no more. Work to live, not live to work. When that fact is grasped by the workers, then—what? Then the beginning of a better day.

Oh! But all of this has been said so often before; it is all so obvious. Yes, truly; but it is so easy to overlook the obvious. The workers have not yet grasped these simple facts; generation after generation they have been taught untruth; it will not be a day's labour to teach them the truth; they will scarce even listen to it. That is the chief fact for Anarchists to face—we are up against a tragic ignorance; we are enveloped in a dense darkness; we have to conquer that ignorance, and to disperse that darkness. That is why the prosaic work of propaganda is the first duty of the Anarchist; he must convert the heathen. Each of us can do our little bit. Is each one of us doing it? If we are, then—what? Then we are marching on to a victory which is certain, and may be nearer than any of us expect. If we are not—the victory will never come.

W. TEIGNMOUTH SHORE.

SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

The capitalist papers are just discovering that child life is precious, that it must be protected. A system that has permitted the callous waste and spoilation of child life in the past, that has left the girl-mother to go to the gutter with her illegitimate child, has actually turned right about face. Why? The reason is not far to seek. "To-day, more than ever," says the Weekly Dispatch, "when the flower of her young men are falling thickly, Britain cannot afford any waste of child life; and these warbabies, the children of strong young soldiers, will physically be among the pick of their generation. Britain cannot afford to lose them." To spend human life so lavishly that as many soldiers are slaughtered in one battle as in the whole of the Boer War, is to menace Capitalism with a serious shortage of labour, and Capitalism must flourish on a big army of unemployed. So there is no help for it: capitalist morality must become elastic, it must no longer put the illegitimate babies outside the pale of humanity, for it knows how great a percentage of these little "unwanteds" die in infancy. So with an eye to the preservation of more human material for exploitation, succour must be given, despite the protests of the titled charity-mongers who, we learn, resigned from the War-babies' aud Mothers' League when it was decided to give assistance to the unmarried mothers. For Capitalism demands this considerate treatment, and capitalist morality must forthwith be amended.

The dear old family life which the State has been so anxious to defend against the iconoclasts is, after all, breaking down. For it is impossible to take some 3,000,000 industrial workers and turn them into soldiers without interfering with this very sacred institution. The women must take the men's jobs, and the war babies must be cared for by the community. So the elements of disruption have done their work, and, like Humpty Dumpty of old, all the King's legislators and all the King's laws won't put the home together again; and with the final break-up of the home will come the demolition of Capitalism, for its roots have been deeply embedded in the monogamous family, which has proved the strongest support of that institution. The monogamous family has reared the wage-slaves, and they in turn have been fettered by the necessity of supporting a family; so revolt has been crushed, and the wage-slaves have remained wage-slaves. We rejoice, therefore, that Capitalism is compelled to strike at its own foundations. Let us assist the demolition.

For pure sophistry, perhaps, the speeches made against the prohibition of alcoholic drink in the House of Commons would be hard to beat. No one supposed for one minute that the arduous work in that Chamber could possibly be accomplished without the orthodox liquid refreshment provided there. Prohibition would have robbed the "best club in Europe" of its chief charm, and our laws would surely have suffered in consequence. Our lusty legislators must be congratulated upon their heroism. Their patriotism is beyond praise, and a grateful country will not forget.

The Premier has been adopting a new rôle, that of the working man's champion; and the papers have been delirious over the enthusiastic Tyneside meeting held on April 20. No doubt the men of Newcastle liked to be told that "every one of them is a patriot and a combatant." No doubt, too, they forgot that when the workers showed their patriotism some years ago and demanded better conditions of life, and when they became combatants by going on strike, Asquith, as Home Secretary, ordered out the military to fire on the strikers. But Featherstone and the enemy at home are forgotten; and the Government's enemy and the Government's war appear as of mighty personal interest to the slave who will tolerate exploitation and tyranny if it be of British extraction, but label it any other nationality, and it then becomes a hideous menace, against which he must fight relentlessly. Isn't it time he turned his attention to the enemy in our midst, and did a little thinking on his own, without letting politicians and subsidised newspapers do it for him? Then, when his frantic desire to "deliver the goods" has passed, he might be able to see just where he comes in.

The Labour leaders are still busy suppressing any symptoms of revolt visible in the masses. Indeed, the war could hardly have been waged without these very useful adjuncts of Trade Unionism. This is the sort of soothing syrup the workers are asked to swallow: "Every stroke of the file, every hammer-stroke, is a blow for the freedom of nations, for justice, and for

truth—and truth cannot pass away. On behalf of the men, I can state that we shall live and labour fully in the faith that right makes might, and continue so till the victorious end." Thus Mr. Wile at the Tyneside meeting. And yet no selfrespecting Trade Unionist has pointed out the absurdity of it all. But Mr. Wile tells us that truth cannot pass away, and the truth is that prohibition of alcohol will be introduced into certain districts, in case riotous living (on the war bonus, we suppose) may interfere with output. The truth is that Conciliation Boards are robbing the truth-seeker of his long-cherished right to withhold his labour; the truth is that men are being fined for absenting themselves from work; that men are being prosecuted for going to sea under a false name; that collieries are being deliberately closed in order to force men into enlisting; and yet, strangest "truth" of all, we are fighting for freedom, for justice, and for truth. The irony of it all!

The unique strike commenced in the village of Burston, Norfolk, in April last year, is still in active existence. Originating in the dismissal of the village school teachers, Mr. and Mrs. T. G. Higdon, because of the former having assisted in the organisation of the Agricultural Labourers' Union, and the refusal of all requests by themselves, the Union, and the parents of the scholars, for an enquiry into circumstances which public opinion declared to arise out of prejudice because of Mr. Higdon's public activities, the protest took the form of a practical withdrawal by the parishioners from all the village institutions. Their children were taken from the Education Committee's school, and taught instead by Mr. and Mrs. Higdon, at first in the open, and later in premises secured for the purpose. Similarly the villagers declined to attend the services at the church and chapel, but flocked to the green for services conducted by visitors from other towns. As illustrating the state of opinion in the village, while fifty-three scholars are on the books of the strike school, only eighteen are attending the Council school. With such an example, surely it should not be difficult for us to organise our own affairs, and strike against the Capitalist State and Government. To the determined and courageous all things are possible.

M. B. HOPE.

BOOK NOTES.

A BOOK ON WHITMAN.

In "Walt Whitman and his Poetry" (Harrap, 1s. net), Mr. Henry Bryan Binns, one of the biographers of the "Good Grey Poet," makes his contribution to the "Poetry and Life" Series of books designed to interpret various poets by tracing the connection between the events of their lives and the resulting effects upon their work. Whatever may be one's opinion as to the soundness or otherwise of this method of interpretation, judged from an artistic standpoint, the fact remains that the author has produced an attractive and readable introduction to Whitman's monumental "Leaves of Grass." He emphasises the point that, as Whitman himself tells us in the lines—

"Camerado, this is no book; Who touches this touches a man,"

the volume "Leaves of Grass" is an intimate personal record of the experiences, thoughts, and aspirations of the poet himself: it is, in a word, a wonderful example of that individual self-expression which is the keynote alike of Art and of Anarchism.

To the Revolutionist, the chief attraction of Whitman is his fervent insistence on equality and selfhood, and on the essential dignity and cleanness of Sex. Whitman's attitude towards the pharisaical bourgeois may be aptly illustrated by the following extract:—

"I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contain'd,

I stand and look at them long and long.

They do not sweat and whine about their condition, They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins, They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God,

Not one is dissatisfied, not one is demented with the mania of owning things,

Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago,

Not one is respectable or unhappy over the whole earth."

The present volume (which is well "gotten up," as our American friends would say) abounds in quotations, and some of the poems appear in full.

T. S.

The Tyranny of the Super-State. By Edward G. Smith. 1d. London: Hendersons, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

For many years Anarchists have been pointing out the dangers of the modern State, and in spite of the work of the State Socialists, who look upon it as a sort of benevolent despot, people are beginning to realise the truth of the Anarchist position. The author of this pamphlet, who is a pronounced Anti-Statist, deals with the idea so constantly fostered, that this is to be the last war; that after Germany is defeated, armaments will be reduced, and an International Police Force organised to keep the peace, which would mean placing the whole world under the tyranny of one State machine. As our author says, it sounds so easy: the idea is so simple. But when he comes to analyse the State, he shows that this remedy is no remedy, but is simply "to introduce a new and more gigantic power of evil and reaction."

Mr. Smith is under no illusions as to the real purpose of the military machine. "It is for foreign wars and those expressions of civil war known as industrial disputes. In recent years all manifestations of insurgent labour or insurgent starvation all over the world have been met and crushed by the military machine, which, like almost all machinery on a large scale, is in the hands of organised capitalism and seems to have made of rebellion a hopeless adventure. It is quite certain that the international military machine would be equally under capitalistic and bureaucratic control, and would be used with unshrinking impartiality to crush insurgent misery in whatever country it strained at its shackles. But this is forgotten in the polite exercise of perfecting the machine."

He ridicules the idea of the Super-State machine, which is a product of the lazy thinker. "It is not by the easy way that great things are done, the great objects attained. The international super-state may seem an imposing specific to the automatic thinker: to the humanist it suggests intolerable tyranny." Among nations, he says, progress and salvation depend upon mutual aid and not coercion. "Councils of coercion are the hideous phantasms of brains drugged by habit and officialism. They are the expressions of negation and denial. The world has had too much of the 'shalt nots.'" Altogether an excellent little pamphlet, full of the Anarchist spirit.

A Letter to an Ex-Pacifist. 1d. Same Author and Publisher as above.

A splendid pamphlet on the war, to which the author is opposed, as he can see no good result from the victory of either side. He says: "Let us pause for a moment to think what the triumph of Germany— Northern Germany—would mean. It would not in any especial sense mean the triumph of military force, because the triumph of France or Russia or Great Britain would mean the same thing. What the triumph of Germany would mean would be nothing more esoteric or objectionable than the triumph of mechanical order; and that would be objectionable enough, in all conscience. The spirit which has produced the German army is the spirit which has produced the German factory: the same spirit as that which has produced Pittsburgh and the Fabian Society. Prussia is nothing more alarming than Sidney Webb in a spiked helmet, and I can imagine nothing more alarming than that. Sidney Webb's ruling caste of Tothill Street is the Prussian ruling caste of Potsdam. The pitiless, organised conquering force of Treitschke and von Bernhardi is but another expression of the pitiless, organised conquering force of Morgan and Rockefeller. The Americans are the more sordid. That is why my whole soul turns desperately against the idea of the triumph of Northern Germany; and that is why my soul can find no comfort in the idea of the triumph of any party..... The enemy is at home as well as abroad. This war is strengthening his hold on us. Victory for either side means, it is much to be feared, the victory of the god of mechanical order. Peace might have saved the world."

Other Publications Received.

Persia, Finland, and our Russian Alliance. 1d. London: Independent Labour Party.—Describes, among other things, how Russia and England tore up the "scrap of paper" by which they made a mutual agreement to "respect the integrity and independence" of Persia.

British Militarism: a Reply to Robert Blatchford. By C. H. Norman. 1d. London: National Labour Press.—The author has fought steadily and persistently against the Jingo spirit engendered by the war, and in this pamphlet exposes the frothy futilities of Blatchford: but it will not have much effect on those for whom it is intended, as the people who would regard seriously the ravings of Northcliffe's henchman are beyond the power of reason.

The Chronicles of the Bomb Shop. 6d. Huddersfield: The Worker Press.—A series of humorous sketches describing the various characters—Anarchist, Socialist, Secularist, etc.—to be met with in "Flymm's" forum, the Bomb Shop, situated not a thousand miles from the Haymarket, Bristol. All shades of the Socialist movement are here to be found, from the deep red of the ultra-revolutionist to the delicate rose-pink of the Fabian.

The Force of Pacifism. By Edward G. Smith. 1d. London: Hendersons, Charing Cross Road.

Dio non Esiste! By Sebastiano Faure. 10c. Lynn, Mass, U.S.A.: Cronaca Sovversiva, Box 678.

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

Tarrida del Marmol-An Appeal.

An appeal is made on behalf of the widow and children of our old friend Tarrida del Marmol, whose death we announced last month. The Committee say: "We appeal now to the believers in the many causes that he befriended, and to those friends who knew and loved him, to show their appreciation by doing something for the widow and the children he has left behind him." The appeal is signed by William Archer, P. Campbell, W. Heaford, A. Lynch, J. McCabe, J. Ramsay Macdonald, E. Malatesta, Mme. Sorgue, W. Tcherkesoff, and G. H. B. Ward. Correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary of Marmol Committee, 92 Selwyn Avenue, Higham's Park, London, N.E. We heartily endorse this appeal, and will acknowledge and forward any sums sent to us.

The Secretary begs to acknowledge the receipt of the following amounts:—Ferrer Group at Abercrare (received through V. Garcia): Group 10s., V. Muir 2s., J. San Isidoro 2s., M. Esteban 1s., B. Cantizo 1s., Uno que piensa 1s., A. Lopez 6d., G. Esteban 6d., E. Buenas 6d., C. Franco 6d., V. Esteban 6d., C. Rapado 6d., M. Fernandez 6d., V. Lafuente 6d., J. Rodriguez 6d., V. Zamona 6d., A. Minon 6d., P. Rodriguez 6d., H. Escribano 6d., L. Sueldia 6d., J. Escribano 6d., H. Quinta 6d., R. Sanchez 6d., B. Escribano 6d., M. Abascal 3d., A. Perez 3d., Un rebelde 3d.; Total £1 6s. 6d. Spanish Group at Dowlais (received through V. Garcia) 10s.

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL.

Our third number of the school magazine, Liberty, is now in the hands of the typist. We are anxious to effect a good sale, as it is one of the chief means of the school's upkeep. We have very interesting lectures on natural history every Friday evening at 8.30, by comrade Newman; also usual Sunday lectures and discussions at 4 p.m. Our physical drill class still continues on Wednesday evenings. We have acquired a number of games—chess, draughts, etc.—to bring the youngsters together on other evenings. Children in the district from the age of five are heartily invited.

Donations for April—Gateshead 5s., Stockport 3s., School 17s.

JIMMY.

Ashburton House, Hertford Place, Globe Road, E.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(April 1—April 29.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—T. D. C. 8d, R. J. A. 6s, W. G. Orr 5s, H. Bool £2, C. H. Grinling 1s, C. Warwick 1s, J. Welch 1s. F. Sibley 1s, M. Booker 1s, N. Young 2s, M. B. H. 7d, L. Withington £2, S. Corio 1s 6d, A. W. Journet 2s. Marsh House (socials and sale of refreshments), week ending April 4, 7s 3½d; April 11, 13s 9d; April 17, 10s.

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—W. Lewcock 1s 6d, J. Blundell 1s 6d, M. Turner 1s 6d, S. D. F. 1s 6d, T. E. Jordan 3s, W. H. Thresh 1s 6d, E. Rayner 1s 6d, J. Klau 2s.

Marsh House.

Library—Open every evening to comrades.
Thursdays—Discussion, 8.15 p.m.
Saturdays and Sundays—Social Evenings, 7 p.m.
May Day—Social and Dance, 6d.
Saturday, May 29—Monthly Social and Whist Drive, 6d.,
in aid of Freedom and Voice of Labour.

VOICE OF LABOUR.

Monthly (15th), One Halfpenny.

127 OSSULSTON STREET, LONDON, N.W.

"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).

W. Reeves, 83, Charing Cross Road. W. B. Ruderman, 71 Hanbury Street, Spitalfields, E,

J. J. JAQUES, 191 Old Street, City Road, E.C. Quickfalls, 238 York Road, and 61 High Street, Battersea, S.W.

ISENBURG, Cleveland Street, W.

F. Bendy, 270 York Road, Bridge End, Wandsworth, S.W.

STEVENS, 56 High Street, Islington. Golub, 10 Osborne Street, Whitechapel. Sugarman, 329a Mile End Road, E.

J. YATES, 114 High Road, Willesden Green, N.W. H. Elliot, 329 Lillie Road, Fulham, S.W. J. Winters, 196 Church Road, Willesden, N.W.

J. Fleet, 109 Upper Street, Islington, N.

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.

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

Chas. J. Grant and Son, 8 and 9 Lord Street Arcade.

Coventry.—O. Lloyd, Market Stall.
Yeovil—W. R. Fowler, 5 Sherborne Road
Dublin—J. C. Kearney, 59 Upper Stephen Street.
Glasgow.—D. Baxter, 32 Brunswick Street.
Bristol.—J. Flynn, Haymarket.
Dundee.—L. Macartney, 203, Overgate.
Cardiff—M. Clark, 26 Wood Street.

Modern Science and Anarchism.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

112 pages; Paper Covers, 6d. net; also in Art Cambric, 1s. 6d. net.
Postage, paper 12d., cloth 3d.

"As a survey of modern science in relation to society......this book would be hard to beat......The glossary of about 16 crowded pages is alone worth the price of the volume."—Maoriland Worker.

Back Numbers of "Freedom."

We can supply a few complete sets of Freedom from 1906 to 1913, all in good condition for binding. Prices:—

1911 to 1913 ... 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.

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. 3d.

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

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 1d. USEFUL WORK v. USELESS TOIL. By Wm. Morris. 1d. THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS, 1907. 1d.

THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL: A MARKIAN FALLACY. By W. Tcherkesoff. 1d.

ANARCHISTS AND ESPERANTO. 1d.

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

ANARCHY. By Andre Girard. 2d.
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 2d.

FOR LIBERTY: An Anthology of Revolt. Cloth 7d., paper 3d. WOMAN'S FREEDOM. By Lily Gair Wilkinson. 1d. WARS AND CAPITALISM. By Peter Kropotkin. 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. 6d.; postage 12d. and 3d.

GOD AND THE STATE. By Michael Bakunin. Cloth is. net, paper 6d. net, postage 1d.

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. 3 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

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 Pearl Andrews. 5s. 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.

All orders, with cash, should be sent to Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

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