

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY: ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

The Christmas Day Truce.

Among the many episodes related by soldiers, and published in the daily papers, there is none so significant as the Christmas Day fraternisation of the combatants. We read that British and German soldiers mutually agreed upon a truce on Christmas Day, acting entirely upon their own initiative, in spite of orders from headquarters to the contrary; and in many cases actually came out of their trenches and exchanged souvenirs and gifts. It seems that were the matter in the hands of those who are actually doing the fighting, we could prophesy a speedy cessation of hostilities. The British soldier has now had an opportunity of seeing that the German soldier, like himself, is just a man, a worker, dragged like him from production to the unholy task of destruction, for a cause about which neither knows much; and perhaps the opportunity will help some to realise that the enmity, about which so much has been written, is not between the workers, but between their rulers, whose willing slaves they make themselves. As it is, they will go on plugging lead into one another, until the same authority bids them stop, and declares that they can now be friends. Britons never shall be slaves; no, never!

Back to Rome.

The sending of a British Envoy to the Vatican would in normal times have been the signal for a violent outburst in ecclesiastical circles; as it is, the incident, which reverts back to a practice dead for four hundred years, has passed by with scarcely a comment—in fact, without many being aware of it. How far the Censor is responsible we do not know, but that some influence is at work is certain. Criticism of the Government was forbidden at first, but the ban was removed. This new step illustrates how little the people have to say in what is being done in their name; and, like many other things springing into existence just now, it is a step difficult to retrace. We may look forward to seeing an extra support being given to the State here when the necessity arises. There can be no doubt that the sending of the Envoy is a sop to the Irish Catholics, and may perhaps stimulate recruiting in Ireland, which so far has not been very brisk. When we find Anglican, Nonconformist, and other religious fanatics keeping quiet on this question, we can draw our own conclusions as to the depth of their sincerity when they cry out about religion in the future. As with politics, it serves its purpose of splitting the people into parties; but when the great god, the State, has to be served, these sham divisions can go.

Justice by all Means.

We hear much of justice, liberty, and equality. M. Viviani, the French Premier, in his recent oration, intimates that "France will only lay down her arms when she has avenged her outraged right . . . and crushed Prussian militarism, in order to reconstruct on a basis of justice a Europe at last regenerated." This, with the help of her allies, France proposes to do. By all means let us crush Prussian militarism, but we must bear in mind that it is not only Prussian militarism we want to crush, but every kind of militarism, and every class that seeks to dominate others to its own advantage. We shall not bring this about by fighting and killing one another, but by combining and conserving our strength internationally. To reconstruct a regenerated Europe upon a basis of justice is something worth doing. True justice should remove the needless toil and starvation and weariness of body and spirit which is at present the lot of the workers. Let us seek in the sweet air and sunshine of the fields the true spirit of freedom, which alone will bring justice, liberty, and equality, and that splendid brotherhood and love where now we have strife and hatred. Let us see to it, fellow lovers of justice, that M. Viviani's words shall come true!

Why We Need an Army.

We are told that this war may mean the end of militarism. We wish it were so; but ex-President Taft damps our hopes. Speaking at Chicago recently, he said: "We need an army for its moral influence, if for nothing else. In a nation of 100,000,000 there are liable to be riots, mobs, and insurrections, which cannot be regulated except by the presence of an army." In a society based upon the robbery of the many by the few, there are bound to be uprisings of the many, and with increasing confidence and fuller knowledge a final overthrow of the few; and here it is that the need for the army is seen. Not to check the enemy from without, but to prevent the workers inside from coming to their own. And how is it to be done? By training some of the workers as soldiers, who will exercise a moral influence—occasionally a physical influence—upon the rest of the workers, to prevent their rising against their exploiters. Truly a Gilbertian situation, and an ingenious arrangement; but one which, if the workers only understood, would soon fail if they refused to be soldiers, and exercised the moral influence, or otherwise, on the other side.

Christians Confused by Clergy.

Whilst the guns reverberated and hurled their death-dealing missiles; whilst from every hoarding flashed the call to the young men of England to go out and slaughter their fellow men; whilst in the hearts of almost every one burned hatred and malice fostered by a canting press, a recent Sunday was set apart as a day of intercession with God to bring peace. All the churches were filled, and a perfect orgy of prayer took place. It was stated in one church that the peoples of the allied countries were on that day laying their case before God! We thought he knew everything. As an example of the confusion prevailing in the mind of the leaders of Christianity, the following serves to illustrate it well. Canon Carnegie, speaking at St. Margaret's, Westminster, said: "We should *not* pray for the triumph of our cause"; but the Dean of Westminster, speaking in the Abbey, next door, said: "I am certain that we ought to pray for victory. Do not let us have any timidity in the matter"! Truly, a base materialist might ask: Where are we now? One preacher, however, made it clear that we should not forget that the Allies have not a monopoly of God, and that prayers are being offered in our enemies' churches. He might have added that they, too, believe their cause to be right. It is as well not to forget that fact, and in the remembrance perhaps the thought will come home that to carry on a campaign of murder is of itself the greatest crime against humanity, and to bolster up the deed by falling back upon a mythical superstition is not crime, but insanity. It serves its purpose of chloroforming its adherents, but incidentally this belief in any power, whether supernatural or otherwise, behind which to shelter, is the greatest stumbling-block in the path of those who seek freedom, light, and reason. The hypocrisy which underlies such things as the "day of intercession" would not stand a single day if the people really thought and acted for themselves.

Trusting the People.

On December 30 the Press stated that America had issued a "Note" to Great Britain concerning the measures being adopted by the latter toward American vessels containing contraband articles consigned to neutral ports. We do not intend to discuss the justification or otherwise of this protest, but what we do desire to point out is that here is another example of how much, or rather how little, the Government trust the people, even in a time of stress such as the present. The facts of this protest were known throughout the world early in December. A paper just to hand from Cape Town, dated December 12, gives full particulars with comments, and the article in the *Times* of December 21 was obviously inspired. A people that will tolerate the holding back of news like this will tolerate anything.

MEXICANS' REVOLUTIONARY MANIFESTO.

The following extracts are taken from a manifesto issued by Emiliano Zapata, and signed by thirty-five officers. It shows how clearly they understand the economic side of the revolution. If successful, they will have taken a long step on the road to freedom, in striking contrast to the workers of Europe, who, whatever the result, have little hope of improving their position by the war.

"The revolutionary movement has reached its culminating point, and it is time, therefore, for the country to know the truth.

"The existing Revolution did not make itself for the purpose of satisfying the interests of any one personality, of any one group, or of any one party. The existing revolution recognises that its origins lie deeper, and that it is pursuing higher aims.

"The peasant was hungry, was enduring misery, was suffering from exploitation, and if he rose in arms it was to obtain the bread the greed of the rich denied him, to make himself master of the land the selfish landed proprietor kept for himself, to vindicate the dignity the slave-driver iniquitously trampled on daily. He threw himself into revolt, not to conquer illusory political rights which do not feed him, but to procure for himself the piece of land which must supply him with food and liberty, a happy fireside, and a future of independence and growth.

"They make a lamentable mistake who suppose that the establishment of a military Government, that is to say, a despotic Government, will insure the pacification of the country. It can be obtained only by the realisation of the double operation of reducing to impotence the elements of the ancient régime, and creating new interests linked inextricably with the Revolution, in solidarity with it, in danger if it is in danger, and prosperous if it becomes established and consolidated.

"The first task, that of making it impossible for the reactionary group to be any longer a danger, is carried out by two different methods, by the exemplary punishment of the chiefs, of the great criminals, of the intellectual directors and active elements of the conservative faction, and by attacking the pecuniary resources they employ to work up intrigues and provoke revolutions; that is to say, by the subdivision of the properties of the hacienda owners and politicians who have put themselves at the front of the organised resistance to the popular movement which began in 1910, and has attained its crowning point in 1914, after surviving the gallows of Ciudad Juarez and the reactionary crisis of the Ciudadela, a tragedy let loose by the Huerta dictatorship.

"This subdivision is aided by the fact that the greater part, not to say the whole, of the cultivable lands to be nationalised represents interests created under the shadow of the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship, inflicting grave injury on the rights of a multitude of natives, small proprietors, and victims of all kinds, who were sacrificed brutally on the altars of the ambitions of the powerful.

"The second task, that of creating powerful interests akin to the Revolution, and in solidarity with it, will be brought to a happy conclusion when the natives, individually and in their communities, receive back the innumerable tracts of land of which they have been despoiled by the great landowners; and this great act of justice receives its complement, as regards those who have nothing and have had nothing, in the proportional repartition of the lands given to the dictatorship's accomplices or of those expropriated from idle proprietors who do not choose to cultivate their heritages. Thus there will be satisfied both the human demand for land and that appetite for liberty which is making itself felt throughout the Republic as the formidable reply to the savagery of the hacienda owners, which has maintained, even in the twentieth century and in the heart of free America, a system which the most unfortunate serfs of the Middle Ages in Europe would hardly have endured.

"The Plan of Ayala, which translates and incarnates the peasants' ideals, satisfies both terms of the problem, for, while it treats the sworn enemies of the people as they deserve to be treated, reducing them by expropriation to impotence and innocuousness, it establishes the two great principles of the return of stolen lands (an act of imperious justice) and the splitting-up of the expropriated cultivable lands (an act required alike by justice and expediency).

"It is certain that the deluded believe that the country is going to be contented (as it was not contented in 1910) with an electoral pantomime, from which are to arise new and apparently honest men, who are to occupy the curule chairs, the seats in the Legislature, and the President's lofty throne; but they who judge the matter thus appear to ignore the fact that the country during the crisis of the last few years has reaped a harvest of lessons it can never forget, which will not permit it to lose its road, and has acquired a profound understanding of the causes of ill-being and the way to combat them.

"The country . . . wishes to break, once and for all, with the feudal epoch, which is now out of date. It wishes to destroy with one stroke the relationships of lord and serf, overseer and slave, which, in the matter of agriculture, are the only ones ruling from Tamaulipas to Chiapas, and from Sonora to Yucatan.

"The country people wish to live the life of civilisation, to breathe the air of economic liberty, which as yet they have not known; and this they never can do while there still remains on foot the traditional lord of the scaffold and the knife, who disposes at whim of the persons of his labourers; an extortioner of wages, who annihilates them with

excessive tasks, brutalises them by misery and ill-treatment, dwarfs and exhausts the race by the slow agony of slavery and the enforced withering of human beings whose stomachs and empty brains are ever hungry.

"First a military, and then a parliamentary Government, with administrative reforms, that the reorganisation may be able to last; ideal purity in the management of the public funds; official responsibilities scrupulously exacted; liberty of the Press, for those who do not know how to write; liberty to vote, for those to whom the candidates are unknown; the correct administration of justice, for those who never will employ a lawyer—all these democratic prettinesses, all these fine words in which our grandfathers and fathers took such delight, have lost to-day their magic attraction and significance to the people. The people have seen that with elections and without them, with suffrage and without it, with the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz and with the democracy of Madero, with the Press gagged and with the Press given the fullest liberty, always and in all circumstances it has still to chew the cud of its bitter lot, to endure its miseries, to swallow humiliation that knows no end. For this reason, and with abundantly good cause, it fears that the liberators of to-day may prove themselves like the leaders of yesterday, who whittled away at Ciudad Juarez their beautiful Radicalism, and in the National Palace forgot all about their seductive promises."

DEATH OF ANSELMO LORENZO.

With much regret we announce the death of our well-known Spanish comrade Anselmo Lorenzo, who died suddenly on November 30. In a letter to James Guillaume, published in *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, his daughter Marina says that her father's last days were much saddened by the regret which he felt at the bellicose opinions of some of his Anarchist friends, for whom he had a lively affection and a great admiration. "At eight in the evening before he died he sent to some friends a manuscript for *Almanaque Obrero* ("Workers' Almanack"). He rose to work the next day, but fainted, and died at 4.30 p.m. "That was a death such as he used to desire," says his daughter. The following notes are taken from *Solidaridad Obrero*, of Barcelona (December 3).

Born on April 21, 1841, in Toledo, of a working-class family, and receiving the defective education given to the workers, Anselmo Lorenzo was apprenticed to a firm of printers in Madrid.

At that time the influence of the International movement had not yet reached Madrid; and, feeling his humanity and his courage stirred against Government oppression, Lorenzo fought ardently in the ranks of the Federal Republican Party, which then represented in Spain the people's aspiration for liberty and the maximum of progress in the realm of politics. He was an assiduous attendant at the Hall of Arts, where the speakers of that time began to show promise of what they afterwards became, the rulers of the nation's destinies. In the libraries he made the acquaintance of the works of Proudhon, and gleaned extracts from Fourier, neither of whose works were in circulation in Spain at that time. His mental outlook and his disposition were much influenced by the journal *La Discusion*, in which the celebrated Pi y Margall published his Socialistic principles, which, later in life, he revoked.

With his mind thus prepared, Lorenzo met Fanelli, who was in Madrid as delegate of the so-called "Democratic Alliance" (with anti-Parliamentary principles) to found the Spanish section of the International Working Men's Association. The section was founded, and, under the impulse which Lorenzo, with his enthusiasm and activity, gave to it, there began for the first time in Spain the open dissemination of internationalist ideas, which were welcomed from the first moment by the Spanish workers as the hope of approaching economic and political liberation. In 1870, Lorenzo was instrumental in bringing about the publication of *Solidaridad*, in the columns of which he explained in a masterly way his ideas on equality. This work of propaganda in a country already shaken by the revolutionary spirit was bound to bear fruit; and as a matter of fact in a short time it was marked by the institution of various "organisations of resistance."

This section of the International had many ramifications. The spirit which animated it gained each day in extensiveness and intensity. Lorenzo's optimism inspired the undecided, and compensation for any deficiencies in the beginners was found in his determined will, which he preserved to the end. One day some posters appeared in different quarters of Madrid announcing a public meeting, and inviting a free discussion on Protection and Free Trade; and it occurred to Lorenzo that the little group might improve the occasion by spreading for the first time its ideas in public. So he made the proposal to his comrades, who accepted it at once. His intervention, owing to the novelty of a worker being bold enough to refute the arguments of noted economists, was taken in a good spirit, and he was awarded applause and congratulation. This, however, was followed by a second meeting characterised by uncompromising political reaction.

In consequence of the discourses of Lorenzo and the disturbance which they caused among the reactionary middle-classes, it was thought prudent to suspend them, and to put the groups which had been formed in various parts of the country in touch with one another for the united action of all. For this purpose, the first Spanish Labour Congress was held at Barcelona on June 29, 1870. In the different

meetings of the Congress our comrade was brilliantly to the fore with his clear proposals, and the well-reasoned speeches with which he defended them. His opinion on "The International in Relation to Politics" gained the united approbation of the assembly. In this congress comrade Lorenzo was nominated a member of the Federal Committee of the Spanish Region.

A few days after the constitution of the Committee the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 broke out, and this event gave occasion to the Spanish Regional Federation to hold a splendid demonstration in favour of human brotherhood, and to publish a manifesto from the pen of Lorenzo, in which with brilliant logic he lashed the barbarism of the Governments which launched their respective peoples into useless slaughter provoked by two tyrants.

It had been a custom every year in Madrid to hold a patriotic festival on May 2, during which popular brutality was exercised against the few Frenchmen who, not knowing the custom, ventured into the streets. The Federal Committee wanted to put an end to such a savage custom, and so determined to hold a fraternal tea, with both French and Spanish guests. This was such a blow against this pernicious custom (nourished by the Government) of the people of Madrid, that they raised a disturbance against it, and attacked the place where the fraternal tea was being held.

The Government now began to take serious notice of the organisation, on the suggestion of the political press, which, fearing that it would lose its adherents, and that its parties would be broken up, was waging a bitter campaign against the International. The Federal Committee, foreseeing future repression, decided to split up, in order to preserve the interests of the Spanish Federation.

Having received an invitation from comrades in Portugal asking that delegates should found a section of the International in the neighbouring country, Lorenzo and two other members of the committee were sent as delegates. On Corpus Day, 1871, they left Toledo, having remained there two days on the way from Madrid. On arriving at Lisbon, they put themselves in touch with two Republicans, who accepted the ideas of the International with enthusiasm, and invited the delegates to join a group of young sympathisers, composed of students and workers. In order not to let the authorities know, and to give time to form an organisation, they held meetings in a boat, which was under the control of one of their number, in the middle of the Tajo and at night time. A year afterwards, owing to the activity of a few enthusiasts of the locality, and the assistance of the Madrid delegates, Lisbon counted 10,000 members in the "Sections of Resistance," and Oporto 8,000.

Being unable to hold the second Labour Congress in Valencia, as had been agreed in Barcelona, a secret conference was held on September 10-18, 1871, when there were present, as delegates of the Council, Lorenzo and two comrades. Lorenzo's work as a compositor left him little time for the affairs of the Federation, but he dedicated his holidays to the work of the organisation.

In a discussion in Parliament on the International a stream of invective was poured on the workers who wished to emancipate themselves by it. Lorenzo, in defence, said: "If the International be declared contrary to the law, the International will declare the law contrary to reason and justice." The menace of the Government against the International kept the Federal Council alert. In order to be prepared, defensive groups were formed in every district; Lorenzo organising those in the region of Andalusia. Later, in Barcelona, he did good work in the trade unions, bringing to bear all his intelligence and activity. He also contributed to the Labour journals in Spain, and, in Spanish, to various foreign reviews and capitalist dailies.

As a consequence of the bomb explosion in Barcelona in 1897, Lorenzo, like many others, found himself persecuted and imprisoned in the ill-famed Castle of Montjuich for about a year. The sufferings he underwent are not for narration here; we all know of the bitter days in which "eyes were shut to right and justice." He was among those deported to Paris, whence he returned on the granting of an amnesty.

In 1909 he was persecuted by the ferocious reactionaries of the Maura Ministry, and fled to Alcaniz and Teruel with the family of Francisco Ferrer. His name will always be linked with that of the founder of the Modern School, to whom he was an inspiration and an assiduous and enthusiastic collaborator in the great and glorious undertaking. In the founding of Ferrer's publishing house, it was Lorenzo who lifted the weight of the management from him, translating an infinite number of works to be published in Spain. Among them may be selected for their special importance: "Man and the Earth," by Reclus; "The Great Revolution," by Kropotkin; "How We Shall Make the Revolution," by Pataud; "In War," "The New School," and many others. His own works show an analytic spirit, a high intellect, and a keen, relentless criticism of capitalist society, permeated with libertarian ideas. The principal works are: "Right Living," "The Banquet of Life," "Free Road," "The People," "Anarchist Life," "Bring about Emancipation," and "A Note on the Modern School." He also wrote innumerable leaflets, and in addition left an unpublished work which was to be a synthesis of his vast sociological knowledge.

With his tenacity, his perseverance, and his powerful intellect, Lorenzo contributed to the spread among the Spanish workers, and especially the Catalans, of the spirit of rebellion. He was beloved by all for his goodness, for his disinterestedness, and for his modesty.

—(Translated by L. J. S.)

SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

The newspapers have been busy trying to prove what an immense revival has taken place in the trade of this country. It is admitted, however, that the proportion of workpeople unemployed owing to the war is approximately 10.7 per cent.—a figure almost precisely equal to the number of enlistments for the duration of the war. The proportion working short time is still something like 17 per cent. In Germany about 31 per cent. of the total number of organised workmen have been called on active service, leaving 300,000 organised unemployed workers. From the above, the intimate relation between unemployment and enlistment is readily seen, and has apparently been far more responsible for recruiting activity than any appeal to patriotism. Murder as a profession may not be an alluring one, but as it is to the interests of a Government to keep its fighting units in the pink of condition, the profession of arms conceivably offers some advantages over that of the dangerous trades in which so many of the workers risk their lives day by day without anything to break the monotony of their daily toil. One vital point, however, appears to have been overlooked—the soldier's profession is an unproductive one, and despite the apparent drop in unemployment, the fact remains that the vast Army we have recently organised has to be fed and clothed by those who are still engaged in productive work. This is a factor that must force itself before us at no very distant date, and it certainly needs no prophet to state that an industrial crisis of some acuteness is bound to follow a declaration of peace. It is important that we should prepare for the time when the real meaning of our present "trade revival" shall be understood by those wage-slaves who, at the bidding of their masters, prepare the whole paraphernalia of war, and forge the chains that bind them. But it is conceivable that one day it may dawn upon them that freedom and free access to the land are the best possible guarantees of peace and well-being.

The archbishops and bishops of Germany appear to be trying desperately hard to save appearances. They have ordered Sunday, January 10, to be observed as a general day of prayer and repentance in the Army. The soldiers are sent to fight in a so-called holy war by their political and spiritual masters; murder is condoned; and then, apparently with the idea of putting things straight with the Almighty, prayer and repentance are demanded of the murderers. It, therefore, seems immaterial how many human beings are killed so long as the soldiers repent afterwards. How long, we wonder, will the Church—that mighty bulwark of Capitalism—continue to hold sway over the imagination of mankind.

It must have comforted the victims of the German raid on the East Coast to be told by the Admiralty that such events "must be seen in their proper perspective as possessing no great military importance, and entailing but a tiny fraction of the material loss and human suffering entailed on all the other belligerents by the land war." It is natural enough that the Admiralty should only be swayed by the dictates of strategy, but also natural that the citizens in the exposed towns should seek some means of protection which, if taken, might conceivably lead to misunderstandings with the Admiralty. This gives rise to the question of how far the State or any other centralised body can guarantee to any of its subjects that protection which is implied in taxation for the purpose of government.

The rise in prices owing to the war appears to be making our Poor Law Guardians nervous, and economy in the paupers' dietary has been ordered. The average cost of feeding a pauper is 4s. 6d. a week. Has it ever occurred to these same Poor Law Guardians, who are so anxious to save the ratepayers' money, just how much it costs the country to feed the paupers we maintain in high places? There is, we understand, no talk of retrenchment in that direction.

Mr. Brace, the Labour M.P., has been talking to the South Wales miners about the men of Britain being "cradled in liberty." This sort of claptrap may be all very well from a Liberal or Tory, but a one-time workman should know that the only liberty enjoyed by the miner, or any other worker, is the liberty to starve. A nation that can permit of a Senghenydd disaster or any preventable industrial calamity cannot afford to boast of its liberty. Let Mr. Brace go and unburden his soul to those who will believe him, for the South Wales miners are beginning to understand that *their* sole function is to produce profits for their masters. Mr. Brace might explain where the liberty comes in.

The patriotic intoxication from which so many of our British Socialists are suffering appears also among German Socialists, with one honourable exception, however. Karl Liebknecht has had the courage to vote against the German war loan, and has followed this up by telling the truth about the war having been caused by capitalist exploitation. Apparently, his action pleases neither friend nor foe in Germany; but it must surely be gratifying to him to know that he has won the praise of the British capitalist newspapers. Yet we seem to remember that when Bernard Shaw told the truth about the British capitalists' responsibility for the war he was described as a traitor who had indulged his "insensate malice" against a Government that is keeping unsmirched the "fair fame of Britain."

M. B. HOPE.

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1914.

We enter the New Year at a time when our principles, our ideals, and all we hold dear have been put to the severest test which we have as yet been called upon to endure. The war overshadows everything else connected with the year just ended, but several incidents in the never-ending war between Capital and Labour, which caused much excitement when they happened, and gave us hopes that a more definite form was being taken in the fight, may be referred to briefly.

The outstanding event was the crushing of the South African railway strike in January by Botha and Smuts, and the deportation to England of nine of the leaders. The Boer generals showed they had studied French and English governmental methods of dealing with railway strikes, and their proclamation of martial law and use of armed troops, brought the strike rapidly to an end, amid the plaudits of the capitalists of the British Empire. Henceforth, Botha and Smuts will be looked up to as worthy supporters of Capitalism. The Hyde Park meeting on March 1 to protest against the deportations raised hopes of energetic action; but the "statesmen" of the Labour Party safely diverted the protest into legal channels, and it died a natural death; and when the deportees returned to urge the men, against whom Botha and Smuts had used the troops, to fight for their "King and country," we felt that indeed our hopes had been falsely raised.

The strike in the building trade, which lasted seven months, gave the English workmen an opportunity of showing their tenacity in a fight; but although the Press will praise the bulldog courage shown by the workers when fighting their masters' battles in the trenches, they have nothing but gibes and sneers for them when they show the same courage in strikes and lock-outs. The building strike was still on when the war started, but the desire to show a "united front" to the enemy abroad was the excuse for persuading the men to surrender to the enemy at home. This they did, thanks again to the influence of their "leaders."

The miners' war in Colorado and the great strikes in Russia and Italy were signs of the universal unrest. In Colorado, Rockefeller's militia shot down miners and burnt out their wives and children; and although President Wilson is anxious to smooth things over, Rockefeller refuses to give way, and more trouble is expected. In Russia the war came just when the strikes were at their height in St. Petersburg and other cities, and, as in England, they all collapsed when the Tsar proclaimed the war of "liberation." The strike in Italy, however, was a much more solid affair, and its widespread character betrayed such a strong revolutionary tendency that it has undoubtedly been the cause of the hesitation shown by the Italian Government in taking part in the war.

The most important political event at home was the Home Rule struggle, which brought Ireland within reach of civil war. The Ulster men had been armed and trained, and the Nationalists also began to do the same; and when soldiers fired on the people in Dublin, it looked as though nothing could avert civil war. Men, women, and children were murdered in the streets; but the war clouds were already threatening, and saved the Government from what might have been an awkward situation. The

men who were quarrelling as to the division of the spoils of office in an Irish Parliament decided to postpone their quarrel, as otherwise there might be no spoils to divide. Those who were the victims of this outrage remain unavenged, but maybe there are still some in Ireland who will not forget.

Then the war clouds burst, and although here and there in the Socialist and Labour movement attempts were made to stem the tide, they had no effect. In France, where the anti-militarist agitation has been strongest, there was no more opposition than in Germany, where anti-militarism is unknown. In all countries the crafty statesmen laid the blame upon their adversaries, and each declared itself fighting for liberty, honour, and self-preservation. The international bond, so often acclaimed at Socialist Congresses, proved itself of no avail; parties were split up in the most amazing manner. And now the workers of Europe and natives of Asia and Africa are flying at each other's throats. What for? To decide the quarrels of their rulers—it certainly is not to decide their own quarrels. If the workers of one country win the day, what will they gain? And if they are defeated, what will they lose? Unless the war brings a change in their mental outlook, the day after peace is signed they will return to the factories, the mines, the mills, and the railways; and the men who have probably fought like lions on the battle-fields of Europe will again become the slaves of the master class, dependent upon them for permission to earn their daily bread. They may have saved "civilisation," and a grateful country will cheer them on their return from the war; but their position as wage-slaves will be unchanged.

The lesson to be learnt from 1914 is that as long as Governments are allowed to take into their hands the enormous power they now wield, and the people submit so willingly to the dictates of their leaders, they are powerless. All our efforts must be directed to breaking down the power of the State. We must reiterate again and yet again our teaching of the past; the old ideas of nationalism, king worship, and blind submission to authority must be driven out; and then perhaps not only will international war be rendered impossible, but the end will come of that other greater war, greater because of its fiercer brutality, between the exploited and the exploiter. The acts of our rulers, which weigh us down so heavily now, torn with anger mingled with pity at the awful suffering and misery which those acts bring, may be the means by which our liberty will be gained. This is the message of 1915: to go forward with a firmer resolve than ever to fight at every turn those who rob us and despoil us, and then use us for cannon fodder to protect their own sordid interests. Forward, comrades, until the world is set free!

PEASANT AND KING.

You who put faith in your banks and brigades.

Drank and ate largely, slept easy at night,
Hoarded your lyddite and polished the blades,

Let down upon us this blistering blight—

You who played grandly the easiest game,

Now can you shoulder the weight of the same?

Say, can you fight?

Here is the tragedy: losing or winning

Who profits a copper? Who garners the fruit?

From bloodiest ending to futile beginning

Ours is the blood, and the sorrow to boot.

Muster your music, flutter your flags,

Ours are the hunger, the wounds, and the rags.

Say, can you shoot?

This is *your* game: it was none of our choosing—

We are the pawns with whom you have played.

Yours is the winning and ours is the losing,

But, when the penalties have to be paid,

We who are left, and our womenfolk, too,

Rulers of Europe, will settle with you—

Are you afraid?

CHRISTOPHER MORLEY,
in the *New York Evening Post*.

ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal.—*Century Dictionary*.

ANARCHISM, SOCIALISM, AND THE STATE.

For several years now we have been witnessing the gradual break-up of the Socialist and Labour movement in this country. The dramatic events of last August resulted in its total collapse as a definite organised expression of Socialist thought. To-day it is in the melting-pot. The form it will assume when the present tumult and shouting die away depends very largely upon what action is being taken now by the supporters of the various schools of thought of which the movement is composed.

Before speculating upon the possibilities of the future, it would perhaps be well to review briefly the causes that have led to the present deplorable state of affairs. In reality there is only one root cause out of which all the others have arisen. It is the deliberate rejection by the leaders of the Socialist movement of those revolutionary principles upon which that movement was originally based. There was a time in the history of Europe when "Socialist" and "Revolutionist" were synonymous terms; when Socialists—however much they might differ on other points—were at least agreed as to aim and method. Their aim was the deliberate overthrow of the present system of society; their method was to organise the workers for the accomplishment of this Social Revolution.

It was quite apparent to the early revolutionists that the greatest obstacle in the way of a revolution of any kind was the State. They rightly regarded it as the final expression of Capitalism, enthroned and dominant. Hence, in order to destroy Capitalism it was necessary to destroy the State. There was no question at that time as to what would be the function of the State in a Socialist system of society. It was clearly recognised that there would be no State "under Socialism." To that position Anarchist Communism has faithfully adhered. Not so Socialism. Modern Socialism has outgrown the "crudities" of its youthful enthusiasm. It is agreed that the State may be used by the ruling class as an instrument of oppression under a capitalist régime, but that is no justification for an anti-State crusade. Why not tame the dragon, instead of slaying him? To centralise modern industries in the hands of the Government is obviously a much more efficient method of carrying on production than to leave these processes so essential to the communal welfare, to the caprice of competing groups of capitalist owners. To avoid the dangers of oligarchic government and of oppression of the masses, we have only to educate said masses, give them "a democratic franchise," and the trick is done. The community then controls the State, which in turn controls the mode of production. Socialism has then arrived. That this is no mere caricature of the theories and policy of reformist Socialism may be seen by reference to current Socialist literature. With the best intentions our reformist friends set out to capture the State; but it is the State that has captured them.

Socialism to-day is identified with every phase of State activity. The Webbs, for example, have taken society in hand, and, aided by the lesser lights of the Fabian Society, have subjected it to a searching and critical analysis. They have classified, labelled, and tabulated all sections of the community, arriving finally at conclusions well calculated to bring Karl Marx from his grave in protest. The outcome of these researches is further to be found in that great literature of State Socialism which has grown up under the fostering care of the Fabians. In these works the relationship between "Socialism and Government," "The State and the Child," etc., are defined with a precision that defies criticism by its sheer audacity and dogmatism. The importance of these books must be thoroughly grasped by any one who is desirous of understanding the present condition of the Socialist movement. The following facts are worthy of notice in this connection. There exists a close bond of union between the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party. Indeed, for all practical purposes they form one society. The I.L.P. literature is either written by Fabians or is largely based upon Fabian publications. At the present time a joint education scheme is being carried out by the two societies which includes the formation of study circles during the winter months—the I.L.P. finds the students, and the Fabians provide both tutors and teaching! It must also be remembered that the I.L.P. is the largest and most influential Socialist party in the country. The result is that the best of the rank-and-file of the Socialist movement are being led to look to a transformation of the existing State and Government institutions as the means whereby "Socialism" (of a kind) will be brought about. The effecting of this transformation is obviously the function of the Parliamentary machine—hence the immense importance attached to the passing of "progressive legislation."

Happily, there are other factors which have had considerable influence upon the minds of the workers beside State Socialist propaganda. There has been the very illuminating experience afforded by the political policy and general actions of the Labour M.P.'s, which has resulted in the Labour Party ceasing to count for anything in the eyes of the rank-and-file of the Labour movement. Politically, Labour went up like a rocket in 1906; and has long since performed the return journey earthwards in the guise of a damp squib. Whole branches of the I.L.P. have left the party, and a stampede towards Industrialism in a variety of forms has not yet ceased. In the meantime, the beneficent effects of State intervention in the shape of an Insurance Act, etc., were beginning to make themselves felt, and the unrest among the workers grew apace. But the one thing which more than anything else led to the shipwreck of the predominant school of Socialist thought was the fact that, notwithstanding the much-vaunted "national prosperity," the poverty of the workers increased steadily. This was largely due to the increased cost of living, and consequent reduction in the purchasing power of wages. This fact clearly proved that it was not more work, but more of the product of their work, that they needed. No social reform has yet been devised to bridge the gulf between exploiter and exploited.

The outbreak of the war has made the question of the State very real and urgent. What is to be our attitude towards the State? Is it to be the instrument of our emancipation, or the outward mark of our servitude? Are we to fight against the State, or are we to support it? In short, are we to be Anarchist Communists or State Socialists? This is the one live issue for Socialists to-day. We have come to the parting of the ways. We must decide how we are going to act. Let us look at the facts. To-day England is for all practical purposes under martial law. News of a very meagre character reaches us through the medium of that latest addition to State officialdom—the Censor. Newspapers have been suppressed, men are given the alternative of enlistment or unemployment; we grope our risky way through darkened streets in meek and unquestioning submission to an order, signed "Reginald McKenna."

It may, perhaps, be contended that all this is but the outcome of the war itself, and has therefore no connection with the State as such. But why, then, are we at war? Because, whether one regards it from the standpoint of national honour, necessity, capitalist greed, or what you will, the fact remains that the State, the ruling class, arranged and decided to go to war. The nation was not consulted. Peace and war are made over the heads of the people.

At the same time the Government were thoroughly alive to the value they could derive from a strong backing of public opinion to support them. And they set about creating "public opinion" forthwith much in the manner that they had so often done at the time of a General Election. Hence the production of carefully worded statements of "Why we are at war," which have been so widely circulated. Think of it. We are told that the alternative to fighting in this war would be the "loss of our freedom," and the placing of England beneath "the iron heel of German militarism." But the fact appears to have been overlooked by these advocates of liberty that the war has already had exactly the opposite effect. As a nation, we have just as much liberty as Messrs. Kitchener and McKenna think good for us; and in order to overthrow German militarism, England has become a nation in arms, and bids fair to be at no distant date one of the greatest of the militarist nations of Europe.

The State to-day is a pure oligarchy. "Popular government," even as understood by the average Radical, has ceased to exist. In the interests of "the defence of the realm," the Government has assumed as absolute a sway over the lives and destinies of the people of this country as that of the most autocratic ruler that has ever existed. At the end of this war the State will have vast armies of trained soldiers at its disposal ready to enforce—at the point of the bayonet if need be—its will upon the masses.

Whatever delusions the well-intentioned but ill-informed Socialist may entertain respecting the State, the Anarchist at least has none. Now as ever he recognises the State as the guardian of reaction, the preserver of vested interest, the buttress of superstition, and the enemy of liberty. To those who realise what Socialism really means, the very words "State Socialism" constitute an absurd paradox. The keynote of true Socialism is Freedom, and the goal of all real Socialist effort and striving must be the Anarchist Commune, based upon voluntary association and mutual aid.

OTTO LEROY.

THE WORSHIP OF GOVERNMENT.

In a Government-made war, the State officials who rule Europe are driving their subjects by millions to the shambles. The Governmental machine, on which special privilege depends for the protection of its unjust wealth and power, issues its orders and the ruled march to their suicide. . . . Over famous cities Zeppelins and other aircraft are hovering, that they may drop among innocent non-combatants the most deadly explosives known to science. Blood flows in torrents; warships scour the seas, eager to blow one another into eternity and annihilate commerce; the entire industry of the world is thrown out of gear, a d death by slow starvation—far more painful than any on the battlefield—is decimating the workers, both in Europe and in the United States.

All this is the deliberate work of Governments; of those omnipotent, centralised machines, operated by politicians who study only their own interests; the official machines in which Socialists bid us trust, and to which they would confide the conduct of all industry, and therefore the absolute control of our lives.

Obviously this war affects us in America most profoundly, for steam and electricity have made the world one country. Modern capitalism is entirely international. Only the stupid workers, robbed by arduous and usually most degrading toil of the capacity to think, are to-day the dupes of patriotism. Their masters iron out their faces sanctimoniously and talk solemnly of national obligations, but they grin in their sleeves. They do business all over the world, travel everywhere, and live where they can make most money and best enjoy themselves.

For fifty years, thanks to the propaganda of the Socialists, who are the victims of as wild a dream of political power as ever turned men's heads, this worship of government has been going on. Every imaginable argument, usually clothed in a scientific jargon deliberately calculated to befog the workers, has been employed to overthrow the distrust of the ruling, policing, tax-gathering machine—a distrust the workers have felt from time immemorial. We have been told to look to the State as to a god who will shower down manna from above, insure us against sickness and old age, reduce our hours of labour and raise the wages paid for it, keep us employed, and generally give us the millennium while preserving intact the privileges of those who ride on our backs. We have been urged to entrust this benevolent State with everything, giving it the monopoly of all production and distribution, as in the instance of our national Post Office, which is to-day one of the most politically corrupt and autocratically managed institutions on the face of the earth. . . .

Let us take a look at Germany, where the State owns the railroads. No railroad strikes are possible there, for if the workers revolt they are ordered immediately to their colours and commanded, as soldiers, to resume their work.* The penalty for refusal is death, imposed by military court-martial. He who is in Government employ is a soldier of the State, bound by an oath of office, and punishable as a traitor if he disobeys the orders of his superior officers. The State can tolerate no disobedience. Uprisings against it will be put down, always and everywhere, so long as there are guns and ammunition in the armouries. We in the United States ought to know that, if only from our own railroad strikes, in which the mail cars, owned or operated by the Government, have always been held sacred, to be protected by the Army and moved at any cost.

What does the governing machine care about the voters who have created it? Nothing whatever. The voters have simply given birth to a Frankenstein who devours them; released from captivity an omnipotent spirit whom they cannot, to save their lives, coax back into the bottle. What did Socialism's millions of votes amount to when the Kaiser chose to blow the whistle?

This is what has happened in Germany. . . . Surely it should give all who are working for the emancipation of Labour food for the most serious thought. Surely we should insist on further and most explicit explanations from the Socialist politicians before permitting ourselves to be carried further along that road which has led Europe to destruction. In these United States we are already tangled up in such a net of laws that no man's liberty is safe. We have already an army of officials, every one of whom Labour must support. We have already an immensely powerful and highly centralised governing machine, both at Washington

* The French Government, under Briand, crushed the great railway strike of October, 1910, by these methods.—ED. FREEDOM.

and in every State, which has given away to railroads and other corporations millions and millions of acres of that land which is our national and individual heritage; which has clothed the few with invaluable special privileges, every one of which has to be paid for out of the workers' pockets; which has loaded the moneyed and official class with power, and rendered the masses as powerless as any people on earth. Surely we ought to hesitate before we increase still further, as the Socialists would have us do, the power which has made a record so shameful. Surely we ought to ask ourselves whether salvation is not to be found in shearing government of its strength, and thus putting ourselves in a position where we can take back the rights of which it has robbed us. Surely we should take warning from the awful lesson Europe is now teaching us.

We who issue these weekly letters are workers, every one of us, and profoundly interested in the education of our fellow workers, since without their intelligent co-operation we must remain in slavery. We are profoundly interested in the tragedy in which Governments have involved our fellow workers in Europe, for their interests are ours, and among them we have relatives and friends we dearly love. We are working to usher in a future that shall be richer in freedom and more secure. We shrink appalled from the possibility of being thrust, by false theories and lack of investigation, into that abyss which to-day is swallowing Europe. We consider that the outbreak of this war proves, in letters of blood, the danger of the path on which Socialism, which is the creed of all-government, has tempted us, and we call for full and impartial discussion of the crisis which confronts the world.

[The above article was sent to us by the International Anarchist Group, 1344 Powell Street, Los Angeles, Cal. It is one of a series of weekly letters printed in various languages and sent to the revolutionary papers at home and abroad. Those who are willing to help, financially or otherwise, in this work are requested to write to Wm. C. Owen at above address.]

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Italy and the War.

Whoever else may lose by this war, it is certainly proving a fine-thing for the Catholics. In the course of an interview on the situation in Italy, our Italian comrade Recchioni commented on the fillip given to the righteous cause of Catholicism by the sending of an English Ambassador to the Vatican, after relations had been broken for 400 years. And a Turkish Ambassador, it seems, is to go to the Holy See, too! And France? According to the *Daily Chronicle*, she is very busy with *pourparlers* preliminary to a renewal of relations with the Vatican. This war is not for freedom, but for reaction, of a clerical as well as a military kind, in England and France and throughout Europe. The speech of Salandra in the Italian Parliament was the speech of a Jesuit (he belongs to a religious fraternity at Troja, in the South of Italy), made both to satisfy the parties who want intervention in the war and those which do not; to propitiate the Triple Alliance and please the Triple Entente. The Socialist protest was feeble; but it is quite time that what remains of the revolutionary parties should form a scheme to take advantage of the first opportunity to make their own war—the war for the emancipation of the workers.

Socialists in Government.

It was certainly a judicious move of the French and Belgian Governments to invite Socialists into their fold. Right up to the outbreak of the war there were French Socialists who used to declare vehemently that the intimacy between the Government of the French Republic and the Russian autocracy was a perpetual menace of a world-wide war. Now—when in Germany, Russia, Serbia, and England there are Socialists vigorously denouncing the sins of their chief enemies, the Governments of their own countries—in France the Socialists are allied to their Government (with all its intrigues), to which two of their members belong; and from the manifestoes issued by the Socialist Party from time to time it might be inferred that, in the matter of this war the French Government is blameless—which is absurd.

Spanish Amnesty, but Death for Workers.

An ironic sequel to the *partial* amnesty granted by the Spanish Government for political prisoners is the fact that three workers have been condemned to death in connection with a disturbance at Benagalbon. There is a vigorous agitation among Spanish workers for the abolition of the death penalty altogether, and for the release of these condemned workers.

One of the seven sages of Greece was wont to say that laws were like cobwebs, where the small flies were caught and the great break through.—Bacon.

WHAT WILL STAY THE PLAGUE?

People ask what new arrangements of diplomacy or revivals of Christianity—what alliances, ententes, leagues of peace, Hague tribunals, regulations of armaments, weeks of prayer, or tons of Christmas puddings sent into the enemies' camps—will finally scotch this pestilence of war. And there is no answer, because the answer is too close at hand for us to see it.

Nothing but the general abandonment of the system of living on the labour of others will avail. *There is no other way.* This, whether as between individuals or as between nations, is—and has been since the beginning of the world—the root-cause of war. Early and primitive wars were for this—to raid crops and cattle, to carry off slaves on whose toil the conquerors could subsist; and the latest wars are the same. To acquire rubber concessions, gold mines, diamond mines, where coloured labour may be exploited to its bitterest extreme; to secure colonies and outlying lands, where giant capitalist enterprises (with either white or coloured labour) may make huge dividends out of the raising of minerals and other industrial products; to crush any other Power which stands in the way of these greedy and inhuman ambitions—such are the objects of wars to-day. And we do not see the cause of the sore because it is so near to us, because it is in our blood. The whole private life of the commercial and capitalist classes (who stand as the representatives of the nations to-day) is founded on the same principle. As individuals, our one object is to find some worker or group of workers whose labour value we can appropriate. Look at the endless columns of stock and share quotations in the daily papers, and consider the armies of those who scan these lists over their breakfast-tables with the one view of finding somewhere an industrial concern whose slave-driven toilers will yield the shareholder 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 per cent. on his capital. Undisguised and shameless parasitism is the order, or disorder, of our days. The rapacity of beasts of prey is in our social life but thinly veiled—thinly veiled indeed by a wash of "Christian" sentiment and by a network of philanthropic institutions for the supposed benefit of the very victims whom we have robbed.

Is it any wonder that this principle of internecine warfare and rapacity which rules in our midst, this vulgar greed which loads people's bodies with jewels and furs, and their tables with costly food, regardless of those from whom these comforts are snatched, should eventuate ultimately in rapacity and violence on the vast stage of the drama of nations, and in red letters of war and conflict written across the continents? It is no good, with a pious snuffle, to say we are out to put down warfare and militarism, and all the time to encourage in our own lives, and in our Church and Empire Leagues and other institutions, the most sordid and selfish commercialism—which itself is in essence a warfare, only a warfare of a far meaner and more cowardly kind than that which is signalled by the shock of troops or the rage of rifles and cannon.

No, there is no other way; and only by the general abandonment of our present commercial and capitalist system will the plague of war be stayed.—*Edward Carpenter, in "Christian Commonwealth."*

A Fight for a Life.

The British Section of the I.W.W. held an enthusiastic meeting in London on December 19, to demand the unconditional release of Joe Hill, of that organisation, for alleged murder in Salt Lake City. Hill, with others, was instrumental in winning a strike against the Utah Construction Company, and was picked out by them for revenge. Fellow-worker Fraser detailed how he first came in contact with Hill, when the latter was organising the sweated workers of the railway camps. He ran through Hill's connection with the I.W.W., showing how he was jailed and tortured in Spokane, Fresno, San Diego, and other places; and how he was hated by the master class because his songs brought into ridicule and contempt the masters, their property and morals, and everything connected with them.

At the end of the meeting a good collection was made for his appeal against the sentence of death passed upon him. It was pointed out that in the I.W.W. there were no leaders, and that one member was as good as another. Further, the time is coming in this country when similar sentences will be passed. A German member made a fine speech emphasising the need for one big international Union to overthrow militarism and to abolish the wage system.

C. S.

VOICE OF LABOUR.

MONTHLY (15TH), ONE HALFPENNY.

127 OSSULSTON STREET, LONDON, N.W.

CORRESPONDENCE.

IS THIS THE LAST WAR?

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—I have spent some considerable time in reading through comrade Grave's article last month on "Ought Anarchists to Take Part in the War?" and at the conclusion, if I had not seen the word "FREEDOM" printed on the top of the page, I really would have thought I had taken up one of the so-called Labour papers. He says: "This war must be the last, the end of war. . . . but in order to arrive at this, Prussian militarism must first be destroyed." The whole question appears to me to devolve on the one point, Is the capitalist able to dispose of his surplus products in perpetuity at a profit? If he is able, then this might be the last of all wars. I contend, however, that it is an absolute impossibility for him to do so, and that, as a result of this, the present war is but the commencement of many much more terrible wars in the future.

It is palpable that the capitalist cannot consume these surplus products himself, for in his attempt to do so he has already reached a ridiculous height of luxury, and he is as far off as ever he was. Nothing that his brain, or the brains of his clever hirelings, can scheme can eat away this annual surplus. It is evident, too, that he cannot give it back to the workers by continuing their wages during the time the workshops and factories are closed, for that would simply mean demoralising them. Nor can he destroy it by casting it into the sea, for that would be to give the game away entirely, and he is much too clever for that. As our comrade Kropotkin has put it, the capitalist builds Dreadnoughts and trains soldiers in order to plough the oceans in his endeavour to find foreign markets where he can dump these goods at a profit, which profit afterwards takes the form of capital, which is put in the newly conquered country. This only intensifies the matter by being the means of producing more profits still. I submit that it is for these reasons that wars are fought, and I think comrade Grave will agree with me thus far.

Germany is a highly organised and prosperous country from the capitalist standpoint; and Germany is, therefore, on the same game as England in looking out for foreign markets. Sooner or later they bump against one another, as they have done in the present war. But comrade Grave states this "must be the end of wars," and that "Prussian militarism must be destroyed." What good will be done by this from the workers' standpoint, I fail to see. Supposing Prussian militarism was entirely crushed, what would be the logical conclusion of this happening? England will have free play in the markets previously held by Germany, and for a time all would be well. A considerable portion of the surplus products will have been blown from the cannon's mouth—somewhere between £8,000,000 and £10,000,000 per day, I think—which will mean that sufficient wealth will be destroyed to enable the capitalists to commence operations, as it were, afresh. The workers at the factories, workshops, shipbuilding yards, etc., will all be working overtime; in fact, the earth will present itself as a beehive of industry until—

The surplus products will mount up week in, week out, month in, month out, year in, year out, until Mr. Capitalist will find himself in the exact position he was in before the present war. Will comrade Grave kindly explain what the capitalist will do then, and when, as he imagines, war will be no more on account of Prussian militarism having been crushed? There is only one alternative to war then, and it is the people taking possession themselves. Unless the workers are educated on this matter, the present war will be a mere concert-party (horrible as it is) to the wars of the future. Periodic wars are necessary if Capitalism is to continue—unless, of course, earthquakes and tornadoes come to its aid by destroying a fabulous amount of wealth.

We, as Anarchists, cannot take part, in my opinion, in the wars of Capitalism. There is only one war in which we can fight with any chance of success, and that is the class war—the war which is before us constantly, the war which must not end until Capitalism has been destroyed, and until the world belongs to the workers. This is a war which will require all our energies, undaunted courage, brave hearts, and nerves of iron. We, as Anarchists, must appear on the field as recruiting officers, and when our armies are completely mobilised we must strike a blow that will bring Capitalism to its doom, and the banner of Freedom must be hoisted and nailed to the mast.

Yours fraternally,

Devonshire.

W. T. CRICK.

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PROPAGANDA NOTES.

CHOPWELL.—Our attempt to prove that Christmas could be made a time of peace on the little bit of earth our club stands on, and a time of goodwill to all who came to the Christmas-tree, was a pronounced success. The children all received fruit and toys, and comrade Harry Bolton, in a short speech, pointed out to the fathers and mothers of the children and others who were present how we were going to hold our banner aloft, and keep our principles intact, even if all the so-called leaders thought that it was a just war. Because, as he pointed out, after all it is not they who believe in war who do the fighting, but the workers; and until the workers have the strength and courage to resist these leaders and war-mongers then the dirty work would still be theirs to do. The premises were tastefully decorated, the banner sent by Bert Plattin, of Bristol, being in a conspicuous place; and the Christmas-tree stood in the centre of the large room, while dancing and singing went on merrily. The tree, of course, was got from Mother Earth, without the owner's permission; he would never miss one tree!

Like many other colliery districts in the cold, bleak, North-East Coast, we suffer from the war, the pits being laid off whenever recruiting is slack. Of course, that is not compulsion, only it is forcing by starvation those who would not otherwise enlist. Glorious Freedom! Merrie England! but not for he who is a wage-slave.—W. L.

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL (24 Green Street, Cambridge Road, E.)—It must be understood that the School has divided into two parts. The young bloods have made it their business to look after their own affairs, and in consequence have broken away from the Jewish Anarchist Education League, which manages—in conjunction with some of the children—the business of the old School. The lads do not wish to convey to those interested that there exists any enmity with the children of the former School, but feel it is in the best interests of free development to rely upon their own initiative. The young rebels meet at the above address on Sundays at 3.30, Tuesdays 8.30, Thursdays 8.30.—JIMMY.

THE MODERN SCHOOL.—We are requested to draw attention to the fact that only part of the School has shifted its quarters, the larger section remaining at 145 Whitechapel Road, E. Those who may desire to become acquainted with us, please correspond with the Secretary of the Modern School, care of the "Workers' Friend," 163 Jubilee Street, London, E.

RESULT OF PRIZE DRAW.

1st prize 1778, 2nd prize 1707, 3rd prize 2841. Consolation prizes—2867, 1231, 2617, 865, 2273, 1328, 305, 2967, 1444, 2384, 1728, 868, 2106, 2651, 2627. Holders of winning tickets should forward them to this office as soon as possible.

The profit from the Social and Dance on November 21 was £10 18s. 6d. The profit from the Book Draw will be about £11 10s. These sums will be equally divided between FREEDOM and VOICE OF LABOUR.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(December 9—January 7.)

FREEDOM *Guarantee Fund*.—S. Corio 1s, C. Cade 5s 6d, L. Withington £1, W. G. Orr 10s, Share of Social (Glasgow Group) 2s 6d.

FREEDOM *Subscriptions*.—W. D. Selkirk 2s, W. Matling 1s 6d, C. H. G. 1s 6d, E. Gurney 9d, T. Jones 1s 6d, W. Y. C. 2s 6d, W. T. S. 1s 6d, J. Dick 1s 6d, S. Spinadel 1s 6d, B. Slater 1s 6d, I. Blume 1s 6d, M. Witkowitz 1s 6d, S. Peck 1s 6d, H. Hurwitz 1s 6d, H. Williams 1s 6d, C. Cade 1s 6d, S. Sergi 1s 6d, G. D. L. 1s 6d, G. Prokofiew 1s 6d, A. C. Z. 2s, M. N. 2s, A. Baron 2s, B. Spiegler 2s, J. A. O. 1s 6d, W. H. O. 9d, M. Crocket 1s 8d, W. Barr 1s 6d, J. Goulden 1s 6d, J. Osis 2s.

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