

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XXIX.—No. 310.

FEBRUARY, 1915.

MONTHLY: ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Six Months of War.

The fourth of February saw the close of the first six months of war. Since August last Europe has swum in a sea of blood, her peoples have suffered untold misery and anguish, combatants and non-combatants alike, not only in Belgium but in all countries affected; and the moral consequences to the world at large, as the result of this recrudescence of barbarism, can never be estimated. The scraps of information, carefully doctored by the Press Bureau, only tend to heighten the state of nervous apprehension which has replaced the enthusiasm and excitement of the first few weeks; and the thinking man is asking himself, can it continue much longer? For our part, we must confess that there appears not one ray which bids us hope that ere another six months passes we shall see the end of this bloody business. One thing, however, is certain, that if the mass of the people continue inert, as they have done hitherto, whilst acts of repression and despotic rulings have ordered their being, then the war will continue for possibly not only another six months, but two or even three years. The ruling classes dictated the programme and policy which precipitated war, but they least of all have had to suffer. The workers, with whom no choice resides, but to suffer and pay, can be the dictators as to when the war shall cease. A strong and energetic demand, backed, of course, by action, can so mould public opinion in all countries as to make the day of peace when they will. Already there are signs of unrest and uneasiness; the appalling casualty lists, the increasing cost of living, and the general check given to life and progress, all have their effect upon the public mind; and sooner or later the quiet submission with which these things are endured must give place to active revolt, directed against militarism and the State. It rests entirely with the workers to foster this latent revolt, and once it is consciously expressed, the war must cease, for without the assent of the people, whether expressed or tacitly given, no war is possible.

The Baby Killers.

A problem, daily becoming more acute, is the rapidly increasing prices of foodstuffs and other everyday necessities. Indeed, to such a height do prices tend to soar that, if they follow the same rate of increase, many of the bare necessities will soon be placed beyond the means of the average worker. Whilst, of course, it is assigned as an inevitable result of the war, yet behind it we can see the operation of certain forces which always secure that, come what may, the capitalist will stand to gain. It is not because of any shortage of coal, meat, or wheat that these commodities have increased in price, but because the patriot is always ready, whilst pleading to the manhood of the country to go out and fight, to fatten on the people's need. Various suggestions are being made to stop the scandal, but it is idle and foolish to suppose that the State, whose business it is to protect Capitalism in its rapacious mission, will take up the cry of the children and make this monster disgorge. Pious resolutions may be an easy and safe way to dispose of these problems, but they do not solve them. The people will soon be crying for bread; are they going to wait upon the charitable benevolence of the relief fund subscribers, or will they follow the lead of the State, that direct action is the finest argument?

Saving their Class.

The fulsome eulogies showered upon Lloyd George and the Cabinet by the bankers at their annual meetings should give rise to some pertinent questions. That this praise is bestowed

so plentifully upon a man whom they have unitedly denounced hitherto is proof positive of a generous hand to help them with the people's money. The action of the Government in August last undoubtedly saved the commercial and banking world, if not from ruin, from a disorganisation more serious than it actually was. How much this assistance will cost we cannot estimate, but we can be sure that it will be enormous; and the rendering of the same service to the people in need, actually in want, as a result of the war, would have cost an insignificant sum compared to this. Soldiers' pensions, dependents' allowances, and alleviation of distress needed a strong agitation, and the increases were only given in a niggardly way. The people and their needs are but a secondary matter with Lloyd George, and the bankers' praise is his most damning indictment.

Christian Tolerance.

Dean Inge, the "gloomy Dean," has written a remarkable letter to the secretary of the Anti-Vaccination League, referring to that organisation's agitation against the inoculation of soldiers against typhoid. The letter gives us a remarkable insight into the psychology of the patriot, to say nothing of those who claim the saving grace of Christian tolerance:—

"Deanery, St. Paul's, E.C.

"Sir,—I cannot imagine a more disgraceful or unpatriotic agitation than that in which you are engaged. If I were at the head of affairs, I should have you shot summarily.—Yours faithfully,

W. R. INGE."

We wonder what his attitude would be towards workers seeking for higher wages, or anti-militarists seeking to prevent wars and to abolish armaments? He would no doubt stipulate that the deed be perpetrated with goods from Vickers and Co., who manufacture instruments for murder, for this servant of God is a shareholder in this firm!

International Peace.

It is announced that at a meeting to be held in London on February 8, a resolution will be brought forward insisting upon the establishment of a peace "which will secure the collective responsibility of all nations for the maintenance and enforcement of international law." Why endeavour to establish peace by accentuating that which has already failed, and will probably again fail? Laws can always be broken. It is our failure to handle the economic and industrial forces upon a satisfactory international basis which is the main cause of the present war, therefore should we not rather endeavour to establish peace upon somewhat different lines to those which we have hitherto done? The law of force demoralises, and will always create suspicion and distrust, which are the things we must do away with if we are to have peace between the nations. Therefore, let us begin our peace operations by abolishing the causes of war, inequality and the power of exploitation. The great armament firms have built up a wonderfully scientific and successful war industry, which will increase in its life-destroying power, always bringing in its train ruin and demoralisation. Let us destroy it! Its horror has surely reached the point of impossibility. Let us pave the way to the establishment of a peace hitherto unknown—a peace which will bring about free intercourse both socially and industrially between the various peoples of the world, and the abolition of armies and navies.

An Appeal for "Freedom."

Owing to the war, our income has been seriously affected, and we ask comrades and friends to help our Guarantee Fund to the best of their ability. Funds are urgently needed to produce FREEDOM regularly. We hope for a good response to this appeal.

OLD YEAR REFLECTIONS.

If the founder of the Modern School, Francisco Ferrer, were alive he would surely insist that the war was a striking confirmation of his theory that society must be regenerated through the teaching of children, and it cannot be denied that he would have good grounds for this assertion. For generations organised religion, through the medium of various sects, has tried to spiritualise mankind by the teaching of certain ethical concepts, and side by side with the belief in a future life there has been a striving for human brotherhood. The rationalist thinker has said, and may well continue to say, that religion has been a curse to humanity. Notwithstanding this, it would be unjust and bigoted to deny to each school of thought the desire to uplift humanity through their particular form of ethical teaching. Humanity assumes strange forms and shapes in the minds of men, and more often than not it simply means their particular sect, but within that sect, as within the primitive tribe, they have believed in a vague way in something, a something called by many names that meant brotherhood. The nations at war are for the most part, and with certain minor differentiations, advocates of the Christian religion, and yet they are maiming and murdering each other with a ferocity and hatred that is incredible. They have violated every form of ethics from the higher to the most elementary ones, relations even that are so common they are not even dignified by the name ethics. Almost every form of brutality and human activity despised by the individual in his daily life has been committed in the war, and the more horrible the results, the more heroic becomes the deed, and more celebrated the perpetrator; so much so, that one need not be a pessimist or cynic to assume that the poisoning of wells and torturing of prisoners may be added to the list if the war lasts much longer. Unfortified towns have been bombarded by warship and airship where gunner and bomb-thrower could not help knowing helpless men, women and children would be killed. Ships and trenches have been blown up without warning, killing thousands of men, and the more killed at one time the greater exultation at the act. Wars have happened in the past, and with just as much brutality, but never on such a tremendous scale, or in such a murderous manner as this one. So much so is this the case that the very standards of right and wrong, good and bad, justice and injustice, kindness and brutality have so shifted and are mixed so inextricably in the fog of doubt now hovering over the world that the honest Christian may well feel bewildered and wonder what has happened and whither he is going. After ages of effort to establish ethical systems and standards of conduct so that man may be differentiated from the lower animals, the individual is as truly stranded as the mariner without a compass travelling a trackless and unknown sea.

Everything that has been said of those who believe in the doctrine of free will can be said with equal truth of those who deny it. For fifty years Anarchists and Socialists have sought to reconstruct society by education and changing the material condition of man. They have stood apart very largely from those who upheld the old order of things, and have flattered themselves that they understood the habits, customs, and activities of man better than those who opposed them, and have on many occasions proven the truth of these assertions. At present they are as hopelessly divided on the principles they stood for as that section of society they bitterly opposed all these years. The ideal of solidarity and human brotherhood expressed in that old shibboleth, "Workers of the world, unite," has been submerged as completely as the principles enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount, and the advocates of religion and social theory are slaughtering each other with as much avidity as if they had never heard of such doctrines.

At the opening of the war the Anarchists had the clearest vision of any school of thought, and the cleanest, truest record of all. Like many others, they had prophesied the war, but unlike them had foretold how all parties, including the Socialists, would act when hostilities were once launched. And now with the sun rising over the blood-stained fields they seem as hopelessly at sea as all the rest. Surely they would never have dreamed that Anarchists would urge their comrades and friends in France to cease their attempts to reduce compulsory military service from three to two years, or that they would be found on the same side of any struggle as the bloody Romanoffs and the rotten bourgeoisie of England and France. Neither did the Socialists imagine that men would die as cheerfully as the Germans are doing for the right to the markets of the world. Surely it is the most biting of all ironies to think of men dying for the right to live.

From a purely intellectual standpoint, we agree with those

of our comrades who insist that as Anarchists we have nothing to do with the struggle now going on except wait for an opportunity to create a Social Revolution. It should be a matter of indifference to us if German, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, or Slavic militarism triumphs; we have nothing in common with the rulers and exploiters of any country, and should not only decline to die for the maintenance of a certain class of exploiters, but gladly seize the opportunity to overthrow them all. Of what importance is it to us what form society takes one hundred years from now? Is it not a matter beyond the range of man's vision, and therefore a pure abstraction? Men work and strive for the regeneration of humanity because it enlarges their vision, and makes of them bigger and better men. Incidentally, it gives them a great deal of pleasure, and they work because they cannot help it. The reasons why most of us wish to see the Germanic forces defeated are purely emotional. These forces stand for things that are diametrically opposed to what we consider our finer feelings. There is an inherent something in the German nation called the Prussian spirit that manifests itself in wishing to rule the world. It is the capitalistic spirit of nations and means: Express yourself as a nation with or without the consent of other nations, but by all means express yourself. The apologists of Germany tell us she must expand, but why *must*, we are unable to see. The people of Germany have a right to live, surely, an equal right with the rest of the world; but to claim a right to expand as a nation means a right that can only be attained at the expense of others, and then it is no longer a right, it is a privilege. To object to this does not mean that we stand for the *status quo*, far from it; as Anarchists and libertarians we are striving to reconstruct society so individuals and not nations will have equal rights, and each have a place in the sun. We wish Germany defeated because we want to see the principle of national expansion defeated. When nations are thrown back upon themselves to find a market for their unconsumed products and a remedy for unemployment, other forms of wealth production and distribution will have to be found, and the nation that can do this first will be entitled to call herself more civilised than the rest.

Uprisings and revolutions are being prophesied as a result of the war. We sincerely hope these forecasts may be correct, but unless men and women arrive at some intelligent understanding as to what they want, such uprisings and revolutions will be futile.

Long lean years are ahead of us, and from the present outlook the war will end through exhaustion, and not by decisive defeat of either side. If this is so, poverty and misery will be even more rampant than ever before, and the spirit of man will be crushed, if not broken. Revolutions are made by hope, and not by despair, and with men and women shattered and broken by sorrow and poverty great things cannot be expected of them. Out of all this turmoil and chaos new standards will arise, and men will think more clearly and act more consistently. They will learn—or we hope they will—that men must live their principles if they expect them to prevail. They must shed themselves of many superstitions, and they must learn to translate thought into action. They must not talk like internationalists and act like nationalists. There are so many contradictory facts of life to be reconciled that it may well be that Ferrer's idea of reconstructing society through the education of children will prove the soundest and most basic of all.

HARRY KELLY.

P.S.—After writing the above, it was read to two friends, and the following objection was made. "How can people subject to certain customs that have become ingrained to such an extent that they are really superstitions, make 'free children'?" It is axiomatic that the education of adult and child should proceed along libertarian lines at one and the same time. My life for twenty-four years has been spent with adults, and my inclinations are along these lines. I can see, however, that adults may be free intellectually and unable to emancipate themselves from their emotions, and this war is a striking confirmation of this principle. If they, recognising this, are able to inculcate the ideas of internationalism and brotherhood in the minds of children, the latter *might* very easily act different from those who were in their childhood subject to the influence of priest and politician, with their talk of God and country. It must not be assumed that such an attitude agrees *in toto* with Ferrer's theory that the education of children is the *only way*; but feeling as I do that the attitude of most revolutionists on the war is purely emotional, and that emotion is due in large measure to habits and customs acquired in childhood, and which we have not wholly emancipated ourselves from, the education of children seems to me of the gravest importance.

H. K.

BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM.

By MICHAEL BAKUNIN.

(Letter to the Press Committee of "Egalité" in Geneva.)

MY DEAR PERRON,—You ask me if I will contribute to the paper *Egalité*, which will be the organ of the Latin section of the International in Switzerland. You can depend on me, my dear friend. I consider this society as the grandest and most healthful institution of our century, which will be destined to become the greatest power in Europe to reorganise social order by replacing present-day injustice with a reign of freedom, which, whilst excluding nobody from their rights, will become really beneficial for all, because it will be built up on the equality and solidarity of all; on equality and solidarity in labour and in the distribution of the fruits of this labour; in education, in the physical, moral and intellectual, personal, political and social development of men; and likewise in all noble and human enjoyments of life, which until now have been exclusively reserved for the privileged classes.

This grand Union of the workers of Europe and America has been in existence only four years, and it already carries all the elements of that justice and general peace which the bourgeois congresses long for but never find, for this one simple reason: the bourgeoisie is a part of society which has been worn out and made sick by history; and like so many dotards, who, owing to their impotence, think of Utopias, it dreams to-day of the unification of opposing forces, and wants the ends without the means. The bourgeoisie's wish is nothing else than the platonic worship of Justice, but only on the condition that the inherent privileges of the historic evil shall continue to exist. They are thirsting for peace, but at the same time they want to preserve the existing political States, because these States protect them against the thousandfold just demands of the masses. Thirty centuries of history were not sufficient to prove to them that the political State means continual war without, and permanent oppression and exploitation within.

But we can leave these poor dotards to their impotent dreams and ridiculous Utopias. The present belongs to the bourgeoisie, the future is for the workers. Let us think of the great preparation for the coming day.

What is needed to bring about the final liberation of Labour? Two things, two inseparable conditions. The first is the true and practical solidarity of the workers of all countries. What power on earth can resist this gigantic combination? This must, therefore, be realised. All oppressed and exploited workers of the whole world must clasp hands across the artificial boundaries of the political States, and thus destroy these boundaries; they must unite for the common cause in the single thought of justice and solidarity of interests; all for each, and each for all. For the last time the world must split itself into two camps, into two parties; on one side, Labour to equal conditions for all, the liberty of each through the equality of all, the conquering Justice and Humanity—the revolution; on the other side, privilege, monopoly, dominion, oppression, and exploitation.

The second condition, inseparable from the first, is knowledge. Not the bourgeois knowledge, adulterated, metaphysical, legal, political, economical, pedantic and dogmatic, which is taught at your universities; but the true, human knowledge, founded on the positive perception of the facts of nature, history, and society, and guided by nothing else but reason and sound common-sense. Knowledge is power. The workers, therefore, need solidarity and knowledge. To develop these two fundamental conditions of their victory, is not this the main object of the organ founded by the Latin sections of Switzerland? It is the duty of every one to help in this work, and I will be proud and happy to give what assistance I can.

It is especially a question the discussion of which seems to me very important. You know that these poor bourgeois, driven by the inevitable trend of conditions, and making necessity a virtue, are becoming Socialists to-day—i.e., they are trying to dilute Socialism, as they have diluted so many good things to their profit. For a long time they opposed the word "Socialism," and I can tell a tale of this. It took me a whole winter, nay, a whole year, to explain the word "Socialism" to the Central Committee of the bourgeois "Peace and Liberty League." Now they say they understand it. I put this miracle not to the credit of my poor eloquence, but to the eloquence of facts, which have spoken stronger than I. The strikes of Ghent and of Charleroi, the defeat of the German bourgeois democracy in the great Convention at Vienna, the Congresses at Hamburg and Nuremberg, and especially that at Brussels, have tamed their dogmatic and obstinate senses. Deaf and blind from class

interest, as a result of their social position, and from heredity, to-day they are beginning to hear and see. They have at last grasped that the coming of Socialism is to-day an inevitable fact, that it is the fate of the century in which we live. And this is the reason why they have become Socialists.

But how did they become Socialists? They have invented for themselves a Socialism of their own—verily, a very cunning one, which has as its object to secure to the bourgeois class all the privileges of the present order of society, and to secure to the workers—a continuation of their misery. It would be a waste of time to speak about it, had not these new bourgeois Socialists, using the privileges of their social position and wealth (naturally much more powerful than ours), as well as the organisation of their combination and the protection of the authorities, started a crusade in order to mislead the consciousness of Labour organisations, especially in Germany.

We must fight them, and if the Committee of *Egalité* allows me, I will devote several articles to the purpose of explaining the gigantic difference which exists between true Socialism and the ridiculous Socialism of the bourgeoisie.—(*Egalité*, Dec. 19, 1868).

THE WHOLE MAN.

... the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases.
—Walt Whitman.

Arms and the Man I will not sing;
I sing the fearless Man to be;
Who o'er his passions shall be king,
And greet in peace his equals free.

The men of yore were strong and bold,
For mastery like the brutes they fought;
And wars to-day are waged for gold,
For gain men's lives are sold and bought.

The man to-day a fraction is
In the vast sum of human life;
No free development is his,
His powers must wane in sterile strife.

The Man I sing shall be a Whole,
A Man evolved in all his parts;
Who shall in peace possess his soul,
And love fair Nature and the Arts.

The Man I sing shall find his Mate
In great-souled Woman, strong and fair,
Their love—unblest by Church or State—
Bring joyous children sweet and rare.

No longer bought in church and street,
From chain and stain shall Love be free;
For Woman of her body sweet
And tender soul shall mistress be.

On the broad breast of Mother Earth
Mankind shall live the life serene,
And labour free win labour's worth,
And strife and greed no more be seen.

But those fair days shall never be
Till Tyranny be overthrown,
Till all the foes of Liberty
Be foiled, and free men seize their own.

To bid the tyrants cease is vain,
The blood-steeped scrolls of History show;
Whoso would Liberty attain,
His own strong arm must strike the blow.

Thus slaves shall cease in every land,
Dominion over slaves shall cease;
Erect and free Mankind shall stand
In solidarity and peace.

Arms and the Man I will not sing;
I sing the WHOLE MAN yet to be;
Who o'er his passions shall be king,
And greet in joy his fellows free.

T. S.

The newspapers are slopping over with admiration for the way in which the big noisy politicians in Great Britain have quit nagging each other in face of the European war situation. They say it points to an united nation. What it really points to is, that as capitalists and property owners they are all in the same pot, and in face of a danger which threatens their common material interests they line up as one man, just the same as they do against the workers at time of strike. If the workers of all countries were as class conscious as a body as their masters, there could be no war.—*British Columbia Federationist*.

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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

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

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

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

THE MANAGER, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

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

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

CONSCRIPTION.

Although the papers say that recruiting is brisk, the air is full of rumours about the intention of the Government to bring in some form of compulsory soldiering. It will not be called "conscription," but will probably be put forward as "a scheme to prepare the manhood of the country to defend its liberties from a foreign foe." In Nelson's days the press-gang was a feature of every seaport, and had power to seize men for the Navy; but such unceremonious methods are out of date now, although the Acts of Parliament sanctioning the press-gang have never been repealed. The Militia Ballot Act also is unrepealed, and can be enforced whenever the Government of the day thinks necessary. But conscription, or universal compulsory service, is a different thing, and the people of this country will need a lot of persuading before they allow Ministers to put it into force. As a matter of fact, the only reason why the wealthy classes do not get sufficient "patriots" to protect their interests is because they are too mean to pay the price demanded. The workers are asked to give everything—even their lives—to protect the country; while the privileged classes want it done as cheaply as possible.

The argument generally used in favour of conscription is that it is the duty of every man to defend his country. Well and good;—but the argument presumes that every man has some country to defend. If our rights were equal, then we would feel bound to defend them; but in nineteen cases out of twenty we workers have no more rights in this country than any "foreigner" who lands here for the first time. We have no "right" of access to the land, and we have no "right" to a livelihood. We can only use the land on agreeing to hand over to a landlord about two-thirds of what we produce; and we can only get work in factory or workshop on the same condition.

The great landlords and profit-takers, by means of their press, are urging the Government to force the so-called "slackers" into the ranks, and Lord Methuen writes to the *Times* in favour of compulsory cadet training, pointing out that in South Africa, where the system was adopted in the formation of a Citizen Army, within three years this force had "scotched a strike and quelled a rebellion." We know very well that armies are firstly, secondly, and always for the protection of the privileges of the ruling class. Therefore, it is impossible that we should willingly agree to serve in the ranks; and if conscription is introduced, we must resist it with all our force. When the wealthy classes surrender their privileges and the landlords pull down their fences and throw the land open to be used freely without tax or toll, then the workers of this country would have something worth fighting for; but until that happy time arrives our answer to the conscriptionists must be: "We have no rights, therefore we acknowledge no duties."

Again, we have been told over and over again that this war is against militarism and to defend our liberties. Well, let us fight against militarism at home as well as abroad, and in this way we shall be preserving one of the few liberties we possess, and at the same time helping comrades abroad in the fight against their military cliques. If and when conscription comes, we shall find that Anarchists will not stand alone in combatting

it. Many of those who have volunteered in this war have done so in the sincere belief that they are helping to put an end to military servitude in Europe, and they would look upon the introduction of conscription in this country as an act of treachery on the part of the Government. But if our rulers think it necessary for the protection of their interests, they would not allow any such trifle as a breach of faith to stand in their way.

Militarism, which is the strongest support of Authority, has already gained enormously in strength here since the war started, and under the Defence of the Realm Act the naval and military authorities practically rule the land, the court-martial in many cases taking the place of the ordinary courts, and its proceedings conducted in secret. Unless the people speedily wake up to the danger of this menace, they will find that instead of abolishing militarism, the war will fasten it more securely on their backs.

ROBERT BLATCHFORD AND THE STATE.

"The proper way is to regard the nation as a family, of which the King is the head. We all belong to the King, and all we have belongs to the King (that, by the way, is, I believe, good English law), and the King has the same right to call for the last shilling as for the last man."—ROBERT BLATCHFORD, in the *Clarion*.

Whatever may be the final outcome of the war from a military standpoint, it is safe to say that reaction in all its phases will be enormously strengthened by the present conflict, and that all that makes for liberty and enlightenment will at least be seriously checked for some time to come. The events of the past few months have been sufficient to prove to us that reaction will find expression in the most powerful and dominant form of State organisation that has ever been experienced in this country.

The hope has often been expressed that as the result of the alliance between England and Russia the latter country would be "Liberalised." Unfortunately, it is the reverse process that is taking place—England is daily becoming more Russianised. The "Servile State" is fast becoming a grim reality, and Anti-Socialists who fear the tyranny of an imaginary Socialist "State" might with advantage examine society as it exists to-day, and see whether there are not here in our midst some grounds for those apprehensions which they entertain respecting social development in the future. For years the development of State activity has been going on so quietly that the average person has been utterly unconscious of the growing peril. Increasing powers of administration have been granted to the police and to the "local authorities," side by side with a vast extension of the scope of the influence of Government Departments.

With the passing of the Insurance Act a great impetus was given to governmental and State activity, and through the exploitation of the ethic of "the welfare of the community" the workers have been deluded into bartering away their individual and collective liberties for "reforms" of the "9d. for 4d." variety. Now has come the war, and with it all limits to State control have been swept away. Already the shadow of conscription is darkening the land, and it does not appear to be at all improbable that compulsory military service in some form will be enforced upon the nation at no distant date. And further demands upon the people by the State are already being foreshadowed. The question, therefore, that faces the workers is, what is to be their attitude towards the State?

There can be but two answers to that question. Either the State must be supported "to the last man and the last shilling," or else the State must be fought all along the line. Indications are not lacking that considerable unrest has been created among the workers by the actions of the Government in respect to recruiting. "Your King and country need you!" But at what a price! Men are expected to throw up good appointments, reduce their dependent relatives to poverty and misery, and ultimately to throw their lives away for a few shillings. In addition to this, there is the cool, deliberate robbery of the people by those "patriotic" brigands who are making vast profits out of the increase in the price of bread, a robbery, be it observed, which is supported and protected by the full powers of the State. In the face of these evils—and many more could be mentioned—it is clear that the only chance the workers have of obtaining better conditions lies in putting up as stiff a fight against the State as the power of their organisations will allow, as well as by carrying on a vigorous and unceasing anti-State propaganda among their fellow workers. It is because the Government does not fear Labour that it treats the workers

with such insolent brutality. When the State fears the workers it will be only too quick to offer them better conditions in order to keep them quiet.

Hence it is that when one realises the attitude of the ruling classes towards the workers it is with feelings akin to amazement and despair that one reads the views of prominent Socialists at the present time. To take but one example from among many—Robert Blatchford, whose latest utterance appears at the head of this article. When the problem of the Servile State was agitating the minds of Socialists at the time of the passing of the Insurance Act, Blatchford assured his readers that objections to Socialism of this kind did not affect his Socialism at all; he was a Communist, and strongly opposed to State intervention of any kind. Now, however, even the oligarchic rule of a modern Liberal Cabinet is too democratic for him, and, brushing aside with a light wave of the hand any plea for a more democratic form of Government, which may be advanced by some protesting "Clarionette," he boldly advocates an autocracy that would bring joy to the heart of the Tsar of All the Russias.

I have no desire to put a false interpretation upon Blatchford's words, and fully recognise that he is as much opposed as any Anarchist to the evils of State intervention mentioned above; it is his remedy that I am criticising—that a man professing to be a Socialist and a Democrat should calmly state that a king has a right, moral or political, to call for "the last man and the last shilling," actually owns, in short, the members of the community, body, soul, and spirit (and purse), is almost beyond power of comprehension. Moreover, Blatchford justifies his amazing claim on the grounds that it is "good English law." And this is the man who denounced the Labour M.P.'s for supporting the Government!

If these things may be said by "representative Socialists" during the storm and stress of the war, what may we not expect from capitalist lawyers and politicians in times of peace? I have been under the impression hitherto that the great virtue of the response to the call to arms was that it was purely a voluntary movement; but if we "belong to the King," apparently our Sovereign Lord has been having a little game with us. We thought we were free men, voluntarily giving up our lives for "our" country, whereas it appears we are nothing but a pack of serfs "belonging to the King," according to "good English law"—and Blatchford.

The King has the right to call for the last man. . . . But supposing the last man and a good many more men declined to respond to the royal piping? The King can have all the rights in the world, but unless he has the power to enforce those rights, they are not worth a brass farthing. The King, the State, the Government have no power whatever. They simply exist because the workers, owing to their ignorance and apathy (small blame to them), allow an idle governing class to live on the product of the labour of those who both toil and spin—and butcher one another 'tween times. No, you are mistaken, Mr. Blatchford, and as a representative Socialist you are strangely ignorant. I have no desire to be rude, but simply make a logical deduction from your astonishing plea for autocracy. The King has no power. If the workers refused to obey the laws, who is going to compel them to do so? If the workers revolted against the State, what becomes of the State? The Kaiser took Almighty God into partnership to run the German Empire—and a very bad business they seem to be making of it. Mr. Blatchford, more modest than he of the mailed fist, has adopted King George as an ally. "We want a man!" thundered Blatchford, in the *Daily Mail*. Apparently he has at last discovered one. He is certainly to be congratulated on his find.

Of course, as an individual writer, Blatchford's views on society are of no more value or importance than those of Brown or Tomkins on Free Trade or the Salvation Army. But Blatchford is advertised the world over as one of the greatest of English Socialists, and when the glorious and thrilling word "Socialism" is associated with views such as those of Blatchford on "the Divine Right of Kings," it is time for a protest to be made. If the Editor of the *Clarion* was to devote half the time he spends reading war news to a study of Anarchist literature, he would perhaps write more sanely respecting Socialism and the State—even if he did have to give the Germans a rest for one week.

OTTO LEROY.

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*.

Polish Jews' Appeal to the Civilised World.

Some journals in this country, even those Socialistically inclined, maintain the romance of the miraculous conversion of the Russian bureaucracy to humane ways—by virtue of the present holy war. It is sheer fiction. The foreign committee of the Union of Jewish Workmen of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia (the "Bund") have issued a heart-rending appeal which shows up the humbug of this pretended belief in the humanity of the Russian authorities. The appeal starts with a general reference to the reactionary rule in Russia, and especially to the measures for the suppression of autonomy in Finland, and then comes to the question of the Jews:—

"We shall not say much about the general situation of the Jews. It has not changed. The most barbarous regulations remain in force, such as the prohibition against living outside certain quarters, the hampering of careers, the restrictions in the matter of entry to the schools, and so forth. The Administration continues the confiscation of Jewish property, night raids to track down Jews who have not the 'right of sojourn,' etc. These are the usual miseries of Jewish life in Russia.

"The point to which we wish to draw just now the attention of the civilised world is the fact that there are atrocities unprecedented even in the annals of Tsarism which are being committed against the Jews under the pretext of military necessity. In the region of the armies, the campaign which the Government has undertaken against the Jews has every appearance of being dictated by a policy of extermination. The theatre of the war in Russia is especially Poland and some provinces of Lithuania included in the 'territory of residence' of the Jews. The Jewish population of these regions is completely ruined by the war, and to a large extent is literally starving. Thousands of Jews have been forced to fly before the invaders, and the devastation resulting from the invasion; but the Government is taking precautions to prevent any Jew going beyond the limits of the Ghetto; and those who have been able to find asylum in the towns situated outside the Ghetto are arrested, punished for breaking the law, and sent back to their devastated homes. Often exemption from these measures is refused even to Jewish soldiers wounded on the field of battle, so soon as they leave the hospital. All attempts to obtain permission to live outside the Ghetto, in order to find the means of existence, have come to nothing. The reply is formal: there is no legal pretext for such permission.

"The people of Europe will be astounded at the information that, while France, England, and Switzerland are receiving with great solicitude Belgian and other refugees, the Russian Government refuses to those of its own nation the right to move from place to place, and thus condemns them to utter wretchedness.

"That is not all. Under the protection of the military and civil authorities, the soldiers, demoralised by anti-Semite propaganda, as well as the dregs of the Polish population, are organising in Poland a series of pogroms. The Jews are assassinated, their property pillaged. Even a town like Lodz, the 'Russian Manchester,' with a population of half a million, has suffered, while the Russians still occupied it, a pogrom which lasted several days. The Jews of Poland are literally outlawed.

"But the military authorities have not confined themselves to such persecutions as those already mentioned, which are, so to speak, traditional; they have a new programme, or rather one borrowed from the Middle Ages: the exile of entire Jewish populations from a large number of localities. To the sound of the drum the whole Jewish population of the district is assembled, and it is announced that, by an order of the military authorities, they must leave the town in twenty-four hours, sometimes even in three hours. Those who fail to do so are brought before a court-martial."

The appeal then gives details of the miseries suffered by the aged and sick on the march, which lasts sometimes for weeks, and a quotation from a St. Petersburg journal is given as follows:—"About two o'clock in the afternoon all the road from Warsaw was covered with the Jewish population from Grodzisk. We were about 1,500, including 300 families of mobilised men; old and young, children and women, some pregnant and some recently confined, sick and infirm. About five or six o'clock we reached Bloué, eight miles from Grodzisk, but we were not allowed to enter the borough, and had to make a detour through a flooded field. We gathered some branches, and, covering them with our coats, carried the women and children as far as the roadway, and here we met some patrols, who demanded our passports. Night came on, cold and damp; the slippery mud retarded our footsteps, and we advanced painfully, insulted, and sometimes goaded, by the soldiers. Two women were confined, and yet another died on the way."

"That," continues the appeal, "is typical." As soon as the Jews leave their homes and shops, these are pillaged by the soldiers and marauders. More than 100,000 refugees are seeking asylum in Warsaw. Under the smallest pretext Jews are brought before a court-martial. "And what can be said of the violence of the Cossacks? To kill a Jew, or rob him, at least has become with them a sport, which entails no punishment."

"Citizens of all civilised countries, can this sad recital of unprecedented persecutions, and of the frightful tragedy of a people numbering several millions (of whom 250,000 are fighting for the Russian nation), oppressed by the reactionary bureaucracy of its own country, can it draw from your hearts a cry of just indignation? Will the conscience of humanity find the necessary words to condemn for ever these shameful acts?"—(Translated from *Humanité* by L. J. S.)

SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

The Labour leaders have been justifying their existence, and exhorting the wage-slaves to do their duty, and save the Empire from destruction. For his timely aid, presumably, Mr. Arthur Henderson has been made a Privy Councillor, and the hero of a charming life-sketch in the capitalist press. Other Labour Members are also diligently earning their laurels. Strange that these gentlemen of patriotic sentiment should throw so much energy into their support of capitalist Imperialism, when only a short year ago their slackness was the cause of defeat in many of Labour's battles. We have not yet forgotten how the Dublin strikers, the South Wales railwaymen, the builders, and the South African strikers were betrayed by them. To-day the last-named are reaping the harvest of their trust in leaders, for a communication issued by the South African Government announces the intention of the authorities to use the powers they possess under the Defence Act to commandeer men for service in German South-West Africa and the Union, and not to depend wholly on volunteers. But we are a free race, "cradled in liberty," say the leaders.

Our British masters have the comfortable virtue (misnamed "hypocrisy" by their enemies) of hiding their real motives under the guise of something totally different. They won't tolerate conscription, oh, no—no compulsory service for the free-born British; but they quite quietly, you know, prefer to bring gentle, yes, very gentle, but nevertheless efficacious, pressure upon their wage-slaves. A glaring case comes from Braintree. Mr. A. W. Ruggles-Brise, J.P., C.C., wrote to the surveyor of that town asking him to discharge two young roadmen in the village because they would not join any branch of his Majesty's forces. He waxes indignant over the fact that although local pressure had been put on the two lads, yet they are still in the employ of the Council. He hoped to hear that they have both been dismissed. Sad to relate, the Council refused to part with the services of the two employees, and this pillar of the law is left to his indignation. It throws an interesting light upon his anxiety when we learn that he is squire of Finchingfield, where he owns most of the land. The newspaper report omitted to state how much land was possessed by the young roadmen.

Much indignation has been roused over the sordid commercial spirit exhibited by America in her protest to Britain regarding our right to search her vessels, and her inaction over the violation of the Hague Convention. But America, as a nation, being owned and governed by capitalists, is only expressing nationally that spirit of commercialism which is the heart of all capitalist enterprise. Capital has no soul, and although those controlling capital may wear the mask of the patriot, yet their actions betray them at every turn. Take the Standard Oil Company, for instance. This octopus company not only controls the Anglo-American Oil Company in this country, but also controls the Deutsch-Amerikanische Petroleum-Gesellschaft, which subscribed £100,000 to the German War Loan. It has also been supplying Germans with oil. On the other hand, the Anglo-American subscribed £200,000 to the British War Loan, and is thus helping to assist the stoppage of contraband oil to Germany—transactions merely incidental to capitalist trading. Perhaps the man who controls the Standard Oil Company comforts himself with the injunction, "Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth."

When at the outbreak of war the Government stepped forward ostensibly to prevent the artificial increase in price of the necessities of life, the Socialists were jubilant, and the panic buyers breathed a sigh of relief. But the inevitable has happened, and prices have risen steadily. The patriots in the Meat Trust and Shipping Ring are as usual busily deploring the hard times and bad trade, while all the time making huge fortunes out of inflated prices and excessive freight charges. Of course, they are all hard at it throwing the blame on other combines. The Government, being the executive committee as it were for these great concerns, is powerless, and the people suffer in silence. Verily the wicked shall flourish as the green bay tree.

Among the New Year greetings received in this country, and printed in the daily press, was one from Servia signed Peter Rex. Is this the regicide whose action some twelve or thirteen years ago caused Britain, in common with other countries, to break off diplomatic relations with Servia? It would seem that our Government is a little less particular about its friends of to-day, but necessity unites strange companions.

In these days of gloom and sorrow it is edifying to read of the Church's activity. A great "Come to Church" campaign was organised for the last two Sundays in January. One of the leaflets issued by the National Free Church Council in furtherance of this campaign exhorts the reader to "pray with us, to sing the old hymns, to listen to the voice of God in the Bible, around which so many holy and happy memories gather." How blind must be the organisers of this campaign! It is common knowledge that our enemies are quoting this same Bible in justification of the most fearful war yet known. To us it would

seem only decent to fall in with Bernard Shaw's suggestion, and close the churches for the period of the war. Certainly the less we say about the Bible and "happy memories" the better. Yet these misguided, but well-intentioned, folk have actually distributed over thirty tons of their literature. They are probably comforted by the thought that humanity will be uplifted by their action—but the war drags on.

What must be said of the judge who at the Old Bailey recently tried a boy aged fifteen for the murder of his half-brother aged seven, and in passing sentence of detention during the King's pleasure, told the lad that had he been a little older he would have been well and deservedly hanged? To this man, versed in the law—capitalist law—respectable and a pillar of society, it is easy enough to look upon the child murderer as a noxious thing from which society must be protected. Certain it is that he has never analysed crime and punishment—never understood his own responsibility in permitting criminals to be manufactured by a callous, brutal system, which he in his capacity as judge endeavours to uphold. In his eyes the sole responsibility is to sit in judgment upon a half-demented lad, and register his regret that the vengeance of hanging cannot be carried out in this case. "Justice" is baulked of a victim, that is all, for it has not apparently occurred to him that if any one is to be hanged for crime, it would be more logical to hang those who by their exploitation of young lives help to breed disease, poverty, and crime. The incident is only another glaring exposure of our precious civilisation.

M. B. H.

BRITAIN'S WAR POLICY.

Once again Britain has gone to war with the temporarily predominant European State, not alone, but as in the second Dutch War, in the War of the League of Augsburg, in the War of the Spanish Succession, in the Seven Years' War, and in the Napoleonic War, as the chief of a group of allied peoples. Now, as then, her adversary has not been able to bring any effective naval force into action, but has been compelled, as every Continental Power so attacked must be, to concentrate the greater part of its energies on the vital struggle on land. Now, as then, whilst Britain has maintained—and more easily on this occasion than ever before—the command of the seas, our Allies have met and blunted the fiercest onslaughts of the enemy's best trained armies, but at the frightful cost of their finest troops. Safe behind the Fleet, and doubly safe behind their Allies, our rulers have been able to obtain the best *personnel* an army can have, viz., enthusiastic volunteers, and have been able to train them, equip them, and have them ready to win campaigns against a half-exhausted enemy, and so gain a military superiority over the shattered armies of their Allies.

It may be a coincidence, but it was in circumstances such as these that Wellington won the Peninsula War, and finally triumphed, with the timely assistance of Blücher, over Napoleon, when the Great Marshal had wasted the flower of France's sons in constant struggles with our Prussian, Austrian, and Russian Allies.

Once more in this conflict, when the stress of foreign competition in the world market was being acutely felt, and British concessionaires had to bargain with those of other nations lest the Germans cut them out, Britain determined war. Her Navy sweeps the seas of the only rival merchant fleet, and, whilst Belgium and France have sent their workmen to the trenches, and are fighting desperately amid ruined factories, over tangled rails, and flaming pit-heads, our motto is flaunted aloft: "Business as usual during alterations to the map of Europe."

Our Allies are being subsidised, and nations, with old racial feuds dragging them to the brink, are being urged with loans and promises to take a hand in the fight—action which would only make our task easier. It seems extremely likely that this war will end with the nations of Europe either mortgaged to the hilt to this country, or looking to our philanthropic capitalists to rebuild their industry and restore their trade.

It may be that such an end was not sought by our very clever rulers; it may be the will of God, and no man's hand, but our whole history cries to heaven that it was ever so.

The German economists, statesmen, and militarists have read this lesson into our politico-economic history—a history which they have studied better than ourselves. The French—Germany humbled and their financiers vying with ours for the fleshpots of Russia, Africa, and the East—will soon discover it again. Belgium will live to curse us—I know not how any British Jingo can look a Belgian in the face. All the nations are finding us out, and, if they join hands, no fleet we can build, and no army we can raise, will save this Empire, won by the sword and held by the sword, from destruction.

They know our championship of little nations for what it is. We defend Belgium because she keeps the other side of the narrow seas and the entrance to the Scheldt and the Rhine. We are the good ally of Portugal because she gave us a back-door to Spain. We befriended Italy because she was a threat to France, and a menace to Austria. We were sponsors for Japan because she had a feud with Russia, and now she watches the United States. But where are our efforts for Finland, for the little Balkan peoples, for Persia, for the Egyptians, the Moors, and the Boers?—J. T. Walton Newbold, in *Labour Leader*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANARCHISTS AND THE WAR.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—The German War Office, which has prepared this war during the last forty years, has prepared for it in every imaginable way, neglecting no detail likely to serve its ends, and it has devoted special attention to an extensive Germanophil propaganda on all sides. While exalting at home the spirit of Jingoism and exciting the national self-conceit, it has striven to influence public opinion in the neutral countries and to conciliate them. And if it has not succeeded, it is only because its acts have been too flagrantly in contradiction with its affirmations, while its pretensions to universal domination were too manifest for its apologies to deceive any one. If the Governments of the Allies were not so encrusted in governmental and diplomatic routine, there was open to them a similar campaign, which ought to have been made not only in the neutral countries but also in Germany itself.

It is impossible that out of the four millions of Social Democrat electors in Germany there should not be found a certain number to whom the idea of Internationalism means more than "a scrap of paper." Despite the inconsistencies of their leaders, there must be among the mass of Social Democrats many individuals perfectly sincere. On the other hand, it is impossible that in the population of Germany there might not be found many who realise that the triumph of Prussian militarism would mean not only the bondage of Europe but also that of the German themselves. It is impossible that the German manufacturers and merchants—save the small minority interested in the manufacture of war material—should not understand that war is the ruin of their industries and their commerce. If they have not understood this hitherto, they are now, at any rate, learning it by bitter experience. There was work to be done with these men; there is now work to be done in making clear to them that their real enemies are they who are ruining them whilst plunging Europe into this frightful conflict.

But all Governments are everywhere the same. This campaign could have only had one end in view—a revolution in Germany; and revolution, even in other countries than their own, is hardly less feared by Governments than invasion. Ideas of emancipation spread fast. It is dangerous to awaken the free initiative of the people, since that is the negation of authority. Doubtless a revolution in Germany would put an end to the war, thereby saving much suffering, much loss, and many lives; but for Governments human lives are less precious than the prestige of authority. Individuals are sacrificed for the sake of a principle.

I am not sufficiently optimistic to think that such a propaganda would effect as much as two or three crushing defeats, but both methods of argument being employed, one would help the other to pierce the atmosphere of lies which at present shuts out the light from the German people. This propaganda, which the Allied Governments are incapable of carrying on, may be prosecuted by all those who believe that war is an evil which ought to disappear from the world, giving place to an international *entente*, to the solidarity of all peoples that on earth do dwell.

Ought not those Anarchists who refuse to have anything to do with the war on principle, to undertake this task of enlightening the belligerents, making them understand that the victor should not crush the vanquished, but, respecting his independence and his dignity, should treat him humanely, so as to leave no place for hatred, no desire of revenge, so that the end of the war should be the signal for a general disarmament?

Alone, the Anarchists cannot make themselves heard; their propaganda reaches too small a number of individuals. Just as they have been powerless to prevent the war, so, if they remain isolated, they will be powerless to prevent the intrigues of politicians and diplomatists when the hour comes to treat of peace. But everywhere may be found people who, though not Anarchists, have come to understand that militarism is a leprosy, that war means ruin and the decadence of the human race, and that ideas of conquest and extermination are as harmful to those who entertain them as to their intended victims.

There are many who think that international disputes should be settled amicably, by arbitration; that the people have all to gain and nothing to lose in agreeing to live in peace together. The Anarchist should not stand aside, a mere onlooker; he should join his efforts to those of all who desire that peace should reign among the nations, even if some of those who work for peace do not share his views on other questions. There is work to be done in opposing the interests involved in the manufacture of armaments, in closing the mouths of the apostles of destruction and murder; and Anarchists should abandon for a time their discussions of abstract ideas, which are perfectly useless at this moment, and turn to the consideration of facts. They should mingle with the people, deal with the actual events of the day, and strive to find a solution that will adapt itself to things as they are, not as they ought to be. Already the war has sufficed to show us disconcerted, isolated, out of touch with our German comrades, disunited among ourselves. The Socialists, with their greater numbers and important organisation and administration, are not much better off than ourselves.

Shall we consent to stand aside powerless, while the fate of

Europe and the destinies of humanity are decided over our heads by diplomats and politicians, in a fashion fatal to all our hopes, all our aspiration?—Yours fraternally,
J. GRAVE.

STAND WE FIRM?

Some people who claim to have seen through all the schemes that are adopted by the common enemy of mankind—the capitalists—whenever they want to extend their profiteering to-day, believe that the present conflict is not for commercial supremacy, but that, on the contrary, it is a war to end war; in short, a war for humanity to move onward in its progress towards a better system of society. Whilst it is essential to understand the position of our enemy, in order to combat his advances, it is more essential to understand our own position. And to that end must we work, because we now see how easy the workers have been persuaded to forego the fight that they have been waging the last few years.

Many of those who a few months ago were talking of the coming industrial Armageddon are to-day urging the workers to fight, and lay down their lives if needs be, in defence of the class whom they are organised to fight against in the industrial arena. And yet these recruiting sergeants of the Labour movement used to say that the industrial worker who voted for other than the official Labour candidate was, politically speaking, a blackleg. So if their line of reasoning be developed, there is now no use for them as Labour leaders, because they have found an enemy more bitter than the capitalist who lives upon them. And stripped of all the veneer that the capitalist press (our enemy) has added to the countries that we are at war against, what remains but the fact that in the interests of a class that is not the working class we are to forsake all the principles and ideals, hopes, and aspirations that we hold dearer than life itself, to fight for our oppressors. Shall we flinch? No, we must not. We repeat the truism that has been uttered for many years: the workers in these isles, but not of these isles, have no enemy except the capitalists who live upon them. Our enemy is here, and how he chuckles to-day to see his "hands" go out, and leave their kith and kin to his tender mercy. A year ago the workers of Dublin were fighting for the right to say what their conditions of work should be. What has taken place since then that we should go through hardships and suffering to defend the property of the Murphys and the other exploiters, so that they can have a clear field to exploit in other lands?

To us, there can be no other question except our own of how are we workers going to free ourselves from capitalism. It may be that there are other questions; but they do not concern us, and should not transcend the great question that is ever present in the workers' war. No one will deny that some are suffering in France and Belgium through the advance of the German troops; but surely what are standing armies kept for? Have not our brothers sold themselves to fight anything and everything that comes in the way, as being what they term "their duty to their King and country"? But then has not there been much unnecessary suffering in England this last few years because they who are asking you to fight and bear arms would not forego their right to rob?

Shall we fight? Yes, we answer, when we have something to fight for; but not to-day. We know of one war only, the battle for freedom, for the conquest of Capitalism. As this war is not for that purpose, it does not concern us.

Must we flinch from the ideals we have always held? No, we stand firm to-day for a land where poverty will be unknown, where women and children shall not want for bread, where men are not treated as if they were things without human feelings. That land is not known yet, but it is our duty to work for it.

Never mind the threats of conscription, never heed the shrieks of the paper patriots; we shall conquer, because we have truth on our side. And that truth is that the workers are exploited by a common enemy who knows neither race nor creed, sex nor colour. So we of the working class fight that common enemy, and extend the hand of fellowship to the workers of all lands.

WILL LAWTHOR.

State-Protected Robbers.

It is curious to reflect that many—if not most—of the economic and social evils afflicting society are the result, direct or indirect, of artificial obstructions, the creation of class legislation. Labour starts to till the soil and provide food, when up comes some Junker armed with the authority of the State, and shouts: "Stop that until you agree to pay me for the right to use my earth!" Having produced some wealth, he then offers to exchange his produce with a neighbour across the frontier a few miles distant, when up jumps a Custom House officer and says, "You mustn't bring those goods in here unless you pay us something! *Es ist verboten*." The apple which our labourer produced has thus had two bites taken out of it—one in rent, and the other in tariff. Then the producer learns he must pay certain taxes. Offering to pay in his own produce, he finds again the fatal sign, "*Es ist verboten*." He must seek out the banker and borrow—for a *consideration*. Another bite gone! And so on until the producer finds his apple reduced to the core, which he is allowed to keep. Now the protector of all these robbers is the State!—Arthur Kitson, in the *Clarion*.

"What Did They Kill Each Other for?"

There was probably never a war in which the issues were so various and so complicated—in which there were so many wheels within wheels. If young Peterkin went through Europe asking the question which old Kaspar found so difficult to answer—"What did they kill each other for?"—he would be bewildered by the variety of the explanations offered. "To defend the neutrality of Belgium and the sanctity of treaties" the Englishman would say. "To resist aggression and recover the lost provinces," the Frenchman would answer. "To defend our Fatherland from the Russian menace and extend the blessings of our Kultur," the German would say. "To save the Austrian Empire from dissolution," says the Austrian. "To protect our little brother, the Serbian Slav," says the Russian. "To recover Macedonia," says the Turk. "To avenge the wrong done to us twenty years ago," says the Japanese. And each answer would be one phase of the whole truth. But if young Peterkin carefully collected these answers, he would, being an intelligent boy, inform his little sister Wilhelmine that the root of all the killing was this: Was Russia or Germany, Slav or Teuton, to be master of Constantinople and the warden of the Balkans.—A. G. G., in the *Daily News*.

Cheap Edition of "Mutual Aid."

Mutual Aid: a Factor in Evolution. By Peter Kropotkin. New Edition. 1s. net. London: W. Heinemann.

We heartily welcome this new and cheap edition of "Mutual Aid." At the present moment, when many are excusing the wholesale slaughter on the ground that it is a necessary "struggle for existence," and will ensure the "survival of the fittest," it is well that we should be reminded again that it is mutual aid and co-operation which have been the prime causes in the evolution of man. In a new preface, Kropotkin points out how the horrors and hardships of the present war are being mitigated by countless instances of mutual aid. We hope in its new form the book will have a large sale. The cloth edition is still available at 3s. 6d.

R. ROCKER AS AN "ENEMY ALIEN."

The police authorities have thought fit to arrest our comrade R. Rocker, editor of the *Workers' Friend*, as an enemy alien. As the war had been running some months, and he was still free, it was hoped he would be left alone; but when the papers raised an outcry some time ago, our comrade was taken away, and is now interned on board a ship at Southend. He manages to keep well, and is hoping for a speedy end to the war to bring his release.

International Modern School.

Our little magazine, *Liberty*—an appropriate name—by the "Irresponsible Kids"—another appropriate name, according to our "parents" and "guardians"—will shortly come to light. The boys have overwhelmed me with articles, brilliant and—Details of our doings are therein recorded. Receipts from November 29 to January 25—School £1 19s. 9½d., donations £3 10s. JIMMY.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(January 8—February 4.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—A. Harvey 5s, C. C. Everson 2s, S. Corio 1s 6d, C. Lewis 6d, R. 2s, F. S. 1s, L. B. 1s, J. M. H. 2s 6d, H. Glaspe 5s.

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—C. C. Everson 1s 6d, T. Denzler 1s 6d, A. V. S. 1s 6d, T. G. V. 1s 6d, A. C. F. 1s 6d, C. Lewis 1s 6d, L. B. 1s 6d, J. M. H. 1s 6d, H. T. Dixon 1s 6d, C. H. S. 1s 6d, M. Pretre 1s 6d, E. Klieke 1s 6d, E. D. Hunt 1s 6d, L. Turner 2s, M. Dashuta 4s 6d, T. D. C. 2s, J. S. Richfield 3s, M. Becker 1s 6d.

NOTTING HILL.—Comrades in this district willing to form a Group are requested to write to Manager, FREEDOM Office.

Hackney Group Book Raffle.—Winning Ticket No. 21.

NOW READY.

A New and Cheap Edition of

MUTUAL AID.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

Stiff boards, 1s. net, postage 2d.; Cloth, 3s. 6d. post free.

VOICE OF LABOUR.

MONTHLY (15TH), ONE HALFPENNY.

127 OSSULSTON STREET, LONDON, N.W.

Modern Science and Anarchism.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

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

"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. ½d.

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 MARXIAN FALLACY. By W. TCHERKESOFF. 1d.

ANARCHISTS AND ESPERANTO. 1d.

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

ANARCHY. By ANDRE GIRARD. ½d.

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

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

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS. With Portraits. 1d.

ANTIMILITARISM FROM THE WORKERS' POINT OF VIEW.

By Dora B. Montefiore. 1d.

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

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

4d.; postage, 1d.

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

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

WARS AND CAPITALISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST. By P. KROPOTKIN. (American

Edition). 8s. 6d. net.

THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789—1793. By PETER

KROPOTKIN. 6s. 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 1½d. and 3d.

GOD AND THE STATE. By MICHAEL BAKUNIN. Cloth 1s. 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. 2

cloth, 2s.; postage 2d.

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

FAMOUS SPEECHES OF THE EIGHT CHICAGO ANARCHISTS.

1s. 3d., postage 2d.

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

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

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

CIVILIZATION: ITS CAUSE AND CURE. By E. CARPENTER. Cloth

2s. 6d. net, paper 1s., postage 3d.

A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY. By EDMUND BURKE.

1s. and 6d., postage 2d. and 1d.

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

THE ORIGIN AND IDEALS OF THE MODERN SCHOOL. By

FRANCISCO FERRER. Cloth 9d. net, paper 6d. net, postage 2d.

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

LIBERTY AND THE GREAT LIBERTARIANS. Compiled by

C. T. SPRADING. 6s. 6d. net, postage 4d.

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY. By Stephen 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.