

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XXX.—No. 326.

JUNE, 1916.

MONTHLY: ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Conscience and the State.

Lord Kitchener's statement that the conscientious objectors were to be handed over to the civil authorities shows that the military have been defeated—temporarily, at any rate—by the unflinching determination of these men. In spite of the boast that they "tame lions in the Army," and therefore could easily manage the conscientious objectors, the military soon found out that they were dealing with a problem they did not understand. The ordinary soldier who occasionally rebels against the harsh discipline is pretty soon made to feel that the iron hand of authority is too much for him; but the men who have resisted being made conscripts knew what they had to expect, and only those whose principles were very strong could have stood the pressure of the past few months. The Government has also found out that these sturdy resisters have more friends than they imagined, and the harsh treatment many of them received raised such an outcry that it has been much modified. To those who have yet to undergo this stern test of their principles, we would say, in the words of Thoreau, one of America's great conscientious objectors: "A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight." This insolent demand that those who call themselves "the State" have a right to dispose of men's lives as they choose, must be resisted, and will be resisted, to the bitter end.

A Ban on Consciences.

We understand from the perusal of recent judicial interpretations that an Act of Parliament may shortly be passed forbidding people to possess consciences. This seems the more feasible in view of the observations made by the solicitor representing the Director of Public Prosecutions upon the occasion of the trial of Mrs. Clara Cole and Rosa Hobhouse for a breach of Regulation 27 of the Defence of the Realm Act. The defendants had distributed many pamphlets and leaflets at Orlingbury, near Kettering, with the expressed purpose of trying to create a public opinion favourable to peace. The prosecuting solicitor, whilst admitting that some of the pamphlets distributed were harmless, said:—

"The literature as a whole was calculated to create among the common folk of this country at this moment a most unfortunate and prejudicial atmosphere. . . . The law of this country was very tender towards persons who were genuinely conscientious objectors, but . . . were they going to allow persons to go about the country to encourage, incite, and canvass persons to acquire a conscience?"

Why, certainly not. Seeing how very, very troublesome the conscientious objector has proved ever since the British Government first elected to hold aloft the banner of Freedom, it certainly is not to be tolerated that anybody should be given a chance of developing a conscience. The fear in the hearts of our legal force-wielders must be very strong indeed when they have to travel from one repressive action to another in order to maintain their hold on the minds of the people. But there is certainly some excuse for their position. Having allowed the divinely-inspired *Daily Mail* to spread light and learning over the earth, it is not surprising that they expect all free-born Britons to dispense with anything so obsolete as a conscience, and substitute a brand of reasoning that shall conclusively lead to unadulterated Harmsworthian Imperialism. The rumoured Act of Parliament placing the ban on consciences will probably cause that troublesome part of our mentality to atrophy as surely as did those vestigial organs which still remain to remind us of our inglorious forebears. But meanwhile the two spirited and courageous defendants are languishing in prison for three months. Thus does history repeat itself, and the forces of "law and order" martyr afresh those who dare to testify to their moral beliefs.

Asquith's Astuteness.

The careless sub-editing of our capitalist newspapers is often responsible for the appearance of the truth, although quite at variance with the highly seasoned hash of generous lies in hypocritical garb, misnamed "news," usually served up. In the *Daily Chronicle* for May 13 appeared an extract from the *Boston Transcript*, in which John S. Steele is reported to have stated: "'One of the cleverest things Asquith has done,' said a War Office official to me the other day, 'is the way in which he has induced the country to accept compulsion without knowing it.'" We also would like to pay our tribute to the Premier's astuteness, for in setting one half to assist in bringing the other half to be ground in the military machine, we realise that he exhibited those qualities in common with his fellow diplomatists which brought about war, and made Conscription a "military necessity."

George's Humbug.

The plenipotentiary to Ireland, the rejected of Glasgow, and the head gaoler of British Labour, speaking on the new Military Service Bill on May 5, did a nice little turn all for the benefit of his affectionate prisoners:—

"Did anyone imagine," said Lloyd George, "that if the working men of this country were told that conscription was essential to victory for their country that they would at once determine to go out on strike? Not at all. It was their country just as much as ours. They knew this was a struggle for liberty. They had sacrificed more for liberty than any other class; they would lose more by the downfall of liberty than any other class, and they knew that Prussian domination would hurt them more than any other class in this country."

Very safe sentiments to express, for was not Labour nicely leg-ironed and made incapable of going on strike or effectively rejecting the Prussian brand of "freedom"? So having first seen that all the locks were fast, he jangled his gaoler's keys, rolled up the Munitions Act, and departed for Ireland.

"Billy" Hughes Again.

One of the jokes of the war is the sudden leap into notoriety of "Billy" Hughes, Labour Premier of Australia. This is due to his advocacy of Protection as a means of beating the Germans on the commercial field. He has been boomed to such an extent that he is now evidently suffering from a swollen head, and goes up and down the country receiving the freedom of various cities, and in return inflicting on audiences bombastic speeches. Occasionally he speaks the truth by accident, as when he said last week that this war is being fought for "the trade domination of the world," which means, of course, that whichever side wins—whether Allies or Germans—hopes to dominate the world. And yet how many times have we been told that we are fighting against world-dominion? But "Billy" let himself go with a vengeance at Manchester on May 26, when he was presented with the freedom of the city. Speaking of Australia and its destiny, he said:—

"The Australian goes out, if you will, in a spirit of boastful arrogance to conquer, whether it be the wilderness or the enemy of our race. The Australian believes himself to be the very last thing his Creator made. He was of the stuff of those Englishmen who never doubted their nation was superior to every other. Once they allowed any question of that to cross their minds they had taken the first step to destruction. For a nation there was no halting-place—it must go onwards or downwards. A great chance had been given us, and we had been snatched, as it were, by the Deity from the pit into which we were falling. Nothing but a miracle had saved the British people."

At another meeting the same day he said: "This war caught us unprepared. But for the British Navy and a benign Providence we should have been undone." Now that "Billy" has joined hands with the Navy and Providence, there can be no doubt as to the coming success of the Allies.

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post-free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 8 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.

The Raid on "Freedom" Office.

The raid on our office on May 5, arranged by the "competent military authority" for the London district, was carried out with great success. Though not such a brilliant military operation as the retreat from Mons, or the retreat from Antwerp, or the retreat from Gallipoli, or the retreat from Servia, or the retreat from Bagdad, yet as a minor military operation it will take its place amongst the glorious victories achieved at the offices of *Forward*, the *Worker*, the *Globe*, and the *Labour Leader*, not forgetting Liberty Hall, Dublin.

Following a reconnaissance by two warriors from Scotland Yard a few days previously, a party of five detectives swooped down on our office and took charge of the place for about two hours. No warrant was produced, the sergeant in charge saying none was necessary, as he was authorised to search the place by Sir Francis Lloyd, the competent military authority, under Section 51 of the Defence of the Realm Regulations. They immediately set to work and packed up about 10,000 books and pamphlets, many leaflets, copies of *FREEDOM* and *VOICE OF LABOUR*, correspondence, ledgers, address books, MS. articles, proofs, daily papers, weekly papers, etc. No discrimination was shown; books which can be purchased at any bookshop—"Mutual Aid," "Conquest of Bread," "Fields, Factories, and Workshops"—were tied up and bundled into the van with the other things. They also seized all standing type, some cases of type, and a few packets of stereotypes. Fortunately, a forme containing four pages of *FREEDOM* was not in the office at the time, and was thus saved from the raiders. Everything seized was taken to Scotland Yard.

The strangest part about the whole affair is that so far no reason has been given for the raid. Two letters have been sent to the Home Office, and their receipt briefly acknowledged. A visit to the same place was no more successful, a nervous young man saying they knew nothing about it, but advising me to write another letter as a gentle reminder. He thought that perhaps the War Office had the matter in hand. When it was suggested that perhaps it had reached the Circumlocution Office, he looked very scornful. I almost expected that classic remark, "Wait and see."

After the raid, I paid a visit to the Press agencies and a couple of newspaper offices. Notes were taken, but it was said that the consent of the military censor was necessary before the news could be published. Next morning a short paragraph was printed in the daily press. The *Labour* and *Socialist* papers, however, thought the raiding of an Anarchist paper beneath their notice, neither the "rebel" *Herald* nor *Forward* mentioning the fact. The *Labour Leader* published a misleading paragraph a fortnight afterwards, under the heading "Trade Union Notes"! The writer seemed rather upset by the thought that the raid might give us a free advertisement and increase our "extremely small" circulation. He also stated that the May issue of *FREEDOM* had been suppressed, which was untrue, as he might easily have discovered, having received our exchange copy. *FREEDOM* has not been suppressed, neither has the *VOICE OF LABOUR*. Both of them are alive and kicking, as usual; and with the aid of our comrades we hope shortly to resume the usual size. Our circulation may—or may not—be "extremely small," but the authorities evidently think our influence sufficiently dangerous to call for their serious attention. If they are allowed to attack us without protest, they will soon find excuses for attacking other anti-war papers. Our native Prussians mean to make their position as solid as possible while the people are engrossed in the war.

T. H. K.

Why Ireland Revolts.

When the lethargic native of Britain opened his morning paper on the days following the Irish rebellion, he was told how futile, tragic, and utterly unsuccessful the whole rising had been. The revolt had been planned by madmen with a rabble following, and had attracted unto itself only a fraction of the Irish people. Irish politicians made haste to offer the British Government their support to suppress the outbreak, and everybody assured everybody else that the whole thing had been organised by Germany.

But then, unhappily for the politicians, the truth came out. It was found that, despite the assertion that this was the first Irish rebellion that was not supported by the majority of the Irish people, the movement was widespread and fast assuming formidable proportions. That it stood for all that was best in Irish traditions, and was led by poets, philosophers, thinkers. That, in short, it was a revolt against deep-seated evils and intolerable misrule.

Then everybody discovered that Ireland really had a grievance. This, too, in face of the fact that Home Rule had been placed on the Statute Book. They discovered that the hour of the golden dawn for Ireland had not arrived.

The phlegmatic Britisher had just managed to digest these strange truths when even he was startled out of his complacency by the news of the tragedy that followed the letting loose of the military in that poor, stricken country. Martial law and all its attendant horrors. Executions almost daily and wholesale deportations. This was the soothing medicine served out to the rebellious Irish who had dared to revolt against their constitutional masters. But the conscience of the British was touched. Although they had quietly acquiesced when successive Governments had in this fashion repeatedly upheld Empire abroad, they felt it was coming a little too close to home to be quite nice and comfortable. Then there was the damning fact that Englishmen who had voluntarily come forward to help the Government to fight for the freedom of little nations had been despatched against the rebels in Ireland. So the Englishman recovered his sense of proportion and allowed a cry of horror to escape him. This, too, in defiance of the Defence of the Realm Act!

Then came the spirited protests in Parliament by one or two Irishmen, and the tardy admission on the part of the Government that certain men had been shot by the military without trial. That one of these men, a pacifist, had actually sent a letter of warning of coming trouble to the London *Daily Chronicle*, and which had been handed to the British authorities more than a fortnight before the rebellion broke out. After this "Jeddart justice" had been administered, the Premier discovered that the whole government of Ireland was anomalous and unsatisfactory, and would have to be reconstructed; that in fact the whole of the existing machinery had broken down. The subsequent inquiry has brought forth many startling revelations as to the internal condition of affairs, and a recognition even among the politicians that there is something very rotten in the state of Denmark.

The Sinn Feiners, fired with enthusiasm for a regenerated Ireland, tired of the chicanery of politicians, goaded into desperation by the unequal treatment of North and South and the deportation of their leaders, did not in vain take the law into their hands and make a bold bid for freedom. In the throes of death itself success has come to them, and the men who gave their lives so willingly for the country they loved have had their actions justified by the result.

In our survey of the recent outbreak it is necessary to review something of Irish history. The average Englishman cannot understand the spirit of Kathleen ni Houlihan, because perhaps he knows nothing of her history, for the British Government dare not teach it in the schools. The seven hundred years during which Ireland has been politically under that Government is one of unbroken tragedy and outrage against an entire people. Who could read of the successive massacres of the Irish and the theft of their land, and remain unmoved? Governments rule by virtue of the ignorance of their subjects, and thus it is that the mass of the British until to-day has, like the Rev. R. J. Campbell, looked upon Kathleen as the pampered child—the ungrateful, the rebel, the vindictive one. The rebellion has helped us to understand the spirit of a people that has remained unbroken and unconquered through centuries of misrule. It has forced home the fact that the races are dissimilar; that their social conditions, culture, and religion have sprung from different sources. The economic and political factors that have contributed to the evolution of the British have not operated in Ireland. Feudalism found an uncongenial soil there and never

took root. The clan system, founded upon a primitive Communism, persisted up to comparatively modern times. It was destroyed by Cromwell when he so thoroughly chastised the Irish by banishing them from their homes and selling the women and children into slavery in the West Indies, in order that his soldiers could settle upon the stolen land and Capitalism gain a footing. Since that time wars, famine, and pestilence have done their worst. But not those alone. The penal laws were passed and designed to fetter freedom of conscience and keep subject the native population. Industry and commerce in Ireland have been suppressed because of the jealousy of her rulers. Fraud and force have always been the twin weapons used by successive Governments, each one of which has contrived by some fresh exhibition of ruthlessness to keep alive the spirit of hatred in the Irish.

Reading the grim pages of history, we are forced to recognise an extraordinary virility and spirit that refused to be crushed or tamed, that repeatedly sought the conquest of freedom in the face of enormous odds. We understand something of the spirit that made the women cradle their children in revolt, and send forth their sons generation after generation to die willingly for Ireland.

The great famine of 1845-49, with the disease and wholesale emigration that followed, threatened to depopulate that unhappy country; but although it is computed that nearly a million and a quarter people died of absolute hunger, and another million emigrated, yet the magnificent recuperative powers of the people asserted themselves, and Ireland, despite her past, would to-day be a happy, prosperous, populous country but for the curse of Capitalism, which grew up on the ruins of tribal Communism.

As in England so in Ireland, the misery of the exploited masses was used by politicians for their own ends; and time after time the cause of the people has been betrayed by those leaders and "patriots" who came forward and preached Home Rule as the great panacea for Ireland's woes. Since the Act of Union in 1800, when the Irish Parliament was moved from Dublin and incorporated in that of the British, the political red herring has been repeatedly dragged across the Irish workers' path. Home Rule, described by James Connolly in his "Labour in Irish History" as "that abortive product of political intrigue," has persistently seduced the workers from the fight for economic freedom.

The entry of Sir Edward Carson into the political arena, and his revival of volunteer corps in Ireland, helped the masses to make up their minds. From that time onward politics and politicians became more and more discredited. The unsuccessful attempt of the Dublin workers when in 1913 they tried conclusions with their bosses, only hastened things. It was the English workers who then stretched out the hand of help, not the politicians. The gun-running of the Nationalist Volunteers in July, 1914, only served to bring about a crisis. The Irishman has a good memory, and, war or no war, he would have flung down the gauntlet to the British Government. Sir Edward Carson's admission into the Coalition Cabinet was perhaps the final determining factor; but at root the trouble is largely economic, and cannot be patched up by an executive Government of Irishmen set up in Ireland.

The rebellion has drawn attention to an intolerable state of things and forced the Government's hands. The granting of self-government to Ireland has become a political necessity. Political reasons have swayed the Government, particularly in respect to America and a future Peace Conference. But not that alone. The following from the *Daily Chronicle* of May 26 bears a deep significance: "When the struggle is over, how much better able the Empire will be to make head against the problems which will then throng in upon it if this ancient sore [Irish misrule] has been healed beforehand." Better, they think, to stave off a more formidable rising later on, when the Government has its hands full with the economic grievances of its other subjects, by giving a measure of reform to Ireland now, than risk the united efforts of a long-suffering working class towards industrial emancipation.

Meanwhile, the repressive acts of the military have given an enormous impetus to all that the Sinn Fein movement stood for. The executed leaders will remain in the eyes of all true Irishmen as martyred in the cause of freedom. It will need all the cunning and sleight of hand of an ingenious Government to keep the revolvers quiet and persuade them that the Mecca of their hopes is reached. More likely is it that the revolutionary ardour of the people will reassert itself when it is discovered that they have only exchanged British governors for native ones, and that the real trouble is economic and not political.

The Sinn Feiners tried to give expression to the ideals of the

Irish, and dared to meet the legalised force as vested in the British Government by organised revolt. They dared to reckon politicians at their proper value, and have thus scared them into action lest they should lose their jobs. They have demonstrated anew the spirit of revolt that should animate all workers of whatever nationality.

With such a history and such racial qualities, we see a vision of a free Ireland, as did James Connolly, for, as he wrote, "only the Irish working class remain as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland," who "from henceforward will base their fight for freedom not upon the winning or losing the right to talk in an Irish Parliament, but upon their progress towards the mastery of those factories, workshops, and farms upon which a people's bread and liberties depend." The Irish may safely be trusted to carry on their fight until this end is achieved.

M. B. H.

COMPULSION.

Dear, dear me, and dear everybody else, what comic folk we are, to be sure. Are we not? If only we all had a sense of humour, the world would soon be set going rightly. Is it not enough to make one laugh, this to-do we are all making about the last—or latest—phase of *Compulsion*? Are we not, and have we not always been, compelled from our cradles upward? To be sure we have been, and will be till we say we won't be any longer, and act up to what we say. The fact is, we are so used to being compelled that we do not notice it until compulsion comes to us in a fresh and peculiarly obnoxious form; then we feel the shoe pinch, because it has been made tight in a new place.

Government, Church, and Commercialism are and always have been and always will be virulent and merciless compulsionists. Surely we Anarchists should recognise that, and do our level best to make others realise it? That is the essence of Anarchism, that we are opposed to compulsion of every kind. We are out for Freedom.

What hour or act of our lives is really free from compulsion? We cannot exist unless we submit to the compulsion of our rulers, and if we rebel—however peacefully—we are compelled to go to prison. Life under any form of government is organised compulsion. Government could not live without compulsion. Compulsion is the backbone of government. Who is, or ever has been, a free man in this so-called free country? Not *you*, not I.

We must work to live, and we must take whatever work, and whatever reward for it, that government, under the thumb of Capitalism, cares to give us. If we cannot work to some employer's *profit*, we are under the compulsion of starving or of going to the workhouse, where we are compelled to work! Oh, it's a lovely thing to live in a free country! The only thing we are at liberty to do is to die, and then our relatives are compelled to register our deaths and pay for our funerals.

We are compelled to pay rent, rates, and taxes; compelled to obey laws which nine times out of ten are made for the benefit of the few who compel us to obey them! If we are in business, we are compelled to dress ourselves as suits our masters. I really cannot recall anything of importance which we are not compelled to do in that particular way which commends itself to the governing classes. Can you?

We are not even free to *think* as we would; from our babyhood days upward we are compelled by our teachers to think as they in their turn have been taught to think, which is very clever of our rulers, for if we were left free to think things out for ourselves, then we should soon come to think that it was high time to free ourselves from the ceaseless compulsion to which we now unthinkingly submit.

Yes, that's the first step which each one of us must take and strive to make others take—to think things out for ourselves. *Never* take anything for granted as right which we are told by our rulers is right. Usually it is wrong. Once we start thinking things out for ourselves, we shall be free thinkers, and therefore free men. Think out this matter of compulsion. If we look our lives fairly in the face, we shall see at once that we are always acting under compulsion. Almost every evil—even sickness—from which we suffer we are compelled to suffer—compelled by those who take jolly good care to avoid those evils themselves! Filthy as this war is, some of the worst results of it arise from the fact that we are compelled to allow the few to make money out of it. For one thing, that's why food is dear.

Yes, we are comic folk. We howl at the new form of compulsion, quite forgetting—most of us—that it is only an *additional* form of compulsion. And we howl at the idea that it may be extended, and that there will be labour compulsion too! It can't be extended in that direction, for the worker has always lived under compulsion, compelled to take what work is offered, and almost always what pay is offered and what hours.

It is waste of time to fight against one form of compulsion, however wicked, while we calmly accept other forms of it which are just as evil. Yes, remember, while there is government there must be compulsion. It is no use tinkering with the symptoms of a disease. Compulsion is one of the symptoms of the disease of being governed. Abolish government, and compulsion will vanish. In two words, be Anarchists!

W. T. S.

THE SIXTEEN—AND THE REST.

In consequence of the great publicity given by the Allied patriotic press to the manifesto of the sixteen pro-war Anarchists, the International Group of London Anarchists has just issued a Declaration repudiating this manifesto as not being representative of the whole movement. As they say:—

"What we wish to do, what we insist upon essentially, is to protest against the attempt they [the Sixteen] make to attract within their orbit of Neo-Statism not only the Anarchist world-movement, but the Anarchist philosophy itself. We wish to protest against this rallying round their banner, under the eyes of the uninformed public, of the whole of the Anarchists who have remained faithful to a past they have seen no reason to repudiate, and who believe more than ever in the truth of their ideas."

They proclaim that they cannot accept any statement of a few "leaders" as being authoritative, since Anarchists cannot acknowledge either authority or "leaders." The Declaration goes on to say:—

"From the first, before the declaration of war itself, the Anarchists of every country, whether belligerent or neutral, with a few rare exceptions of such infinitesimal number that they may be regarded as negligible, have taken their stand solidly and set their faces against the war. . . . Before the end of 1914 the Anarchists issued a manifesto which secured the adhesion of comrades all over the world, and which was given full publicity in every country where our papers still appeared. We affirmed that the whole responsibility for the present tragedy lay on all the Governments without exception, and the great capitalists whose servants they were; and that the capitalist system and a state of society based on authority were the determining causes of all war. We proclaimed the necessity of clearing up the confusion created by those pro-war Anarchists, more noisy than numerous, who were so clamant that, since they served the purposes of the mighty, their enemy of yesterday and ours for all time, the State allowed them to express their opinions openly and freely."

As the Declaration points out, the way the whole capitalist press welcomed and published the manifesto of the Sixteen is its strongest condemnation. Patriotic editors are not slow to seize upon any statement favourable to the continuance of the war, especially when it comes from those who are known to have held "extreme views." Nor do they neglect any opportunity to represent the noisy clamour of a few as being the opinion of a movement as a whole. The Declaration concludes:—

"The only way to put an end to the war, to prevent all war, is the revolution of expropriation and the class war—the only war to which Anarchists can devote their lives; and what the Sixteen were not able to proclaim at the end of their manifesto, we hereby proclaim—Long live Anarchy!"

NOTES FROM SPAIN.

During the first week of May a court-martial was held at Logrono on the agricultural strikers of Cenicero. This trial had been postponed several times, and at last was fixed for the middle of May. Thinking that the authorities wanted to condemn three of the strikers to death, the workers' Unions started an agitation; so the date of the court-martial was advanced, and it was held in secret. We know that one man was condemned to death, but the fate of the others is unknown. It may seem strange that the military should try such a case as this, but in Spain the soldiers have a greater power than they possess in any other country. They can try prisoners in every case where they think their honour (!) is affected, and for a simple anti-militarist article, which a civil court would ignore, the military will sentence the writer to eight or ten years' imprisonment. As a member of the Guardia Civil was killed in the strike disturbances at Cenicero, they considered it a case for a court-martial. The real guilty person is Alfonso Bujanda, the employers' president; but the workers are condemned. In Spain, in nearly every village there is a *Cacique*, a local tyrant who rules the place. The Government never appoints any local official, whether it be a judge, a schoolmaster, a policeman, or an ordinary civil employee, without first consulting the *Cacique*. In this case, he is Alfonso Bujanda, and the court-martial will give out sentences to the strikers in accordance with his demands.

In Andalusia, where many workers are paid only 5d. per day of 12 to 14 hours, Anarchist ideas are making much headway, thanks to Salvocchia's influence. Although many of them cannot read, they paid others to read to them, the principal paper they studied being *La Revista Social*, the weekly organ of the Regional Federation, with Anarchist tendencies. The *Caciques* got frightened, and invented the "Mano Negra", a secret society, as a pretext for prosecutions. The two brothers Gago, who were active in Jerez, were arrested and accused of having committed a murder. They proved they were in another village at the time, but as the authorities had made up their minds to convict them, they were condemned for organising the murder, the chief

evidence being a paper supposed to be in their handwriting. As a matter of fact, neither of the brothers can read or write; but they were condemned all the same. I could cite many cases like this, and may give you particulars later.

A national Conference was held at Valencia on May 14, to discuss methods of uniting the workers, and also how to obtain the release of the men imprisoned. There were about 70 delegates, representing 600 Unions. The Union General, managed by the Socialists, was not represented, the Committee excusing itself by saying it was not authorised by its members to attend, although in sympathy with the idea. The Conference agreed to create a national Committee, and to send delegates to the Congress of the Union General, which was held on the 17th.

V. G.

An Appeal for "Freedom."

We urgently appeal to comrades to support us at this moment, as we wish to make *FREEDOM* an eight-page paper again as soon as possible. We also have to replenish the stock of books and pamphlets taken away by the police. Some comrades have already come to the support of our Guarantee Fund, but we must have much more money for the above purposes. Let us have cash as soon and as often as possible, and thus show the authorities that their persecution will strengthen rather than weaken our propaganda. Money should be sent to the Manager of "*FREEDOM*."

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(May 5—June 1.)

(Owing to the police raid, we are unable to acknowledge the sums received during April.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—V. de Smet 1s, C. 1s, J. Hoffman 1s, H. G. Russell 2s, H. Bool £2 14s, A. Sanders £1, H. P. B. 5s, W. Carter 2s 6d, D. Westwater 1s 9d, E. Michaels 2s, Lafosse 2s, H. W. Journet 3s 9d, Ferrer Group, Abercraive, 5s, V. Garcia 2s, Gateshead Group 2s, A. Olpin 2s, A. Mattison 6d. *Marsh House* (socials and sales of refreshments and literature), April, £3 17s 10d, members' subscriptions 19s; May, £1 5s 10d, members' subscriptions 18s 6d.

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—J. Wrafter 1s 6d, L. M. Lachlan 1s 6d, J. Hoffman 4s, R. Stubbs 1s 6d, W. Lewcock 1s 6d, E. E. W. 1s, J. Dick 1s 6d, G. Anderson 1s 6d, R. Peary 1s 6d, Lafosse 1s 6d, E. Higginbottom 1s 6d.

Chris Smith Fund.—H. Bool £2 10s, F. Goulding 6d.

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*.

VOICE OF LABOUR.

Published 15th of each Month.

Price One Penny; Annual Subscription, 1s. 6d. post free.

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
THE WAGE SYSTEM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
TALK BETWEEN TWO WORKERS. By E. MALATESTA 1d.
DIRECT ACTION v. LEGISLATION. By J. BLAIR SMITH. 1d.
THE PYRAMID OF TYRANNY. By D. NIEUWENHUIS. 1d.
LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
THE CHICAGO MARTYRS. With Portraits. 1d.
ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. ½d.
WAR. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL: A MARXIAN FALLACY. By W. TCHERKESOFF. 1d.
EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISÉE RECLUS. 1d.
WOMAN'S FREEDOM. By LILY GAIR WILKINSON. 1d.
NON-GOVERNMENTAL SOCIETY. By E. CARPENTER. 3d.
DUTY OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE. By H. THOREAU. 3d.

Postage extra—½d. for each two Pamphlets.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. Paper covers, 6d.; postage 1½d.
THE CONQUEST OF BREAD. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1s. net, postage 3d.
FIELDS, FACTORIES, AND WORKSHOPS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. Cloth, 1s. net, postage 3d.
MUTUAL AID. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1s. net; postage 2d.

Orders, with cash, to be sent to
FREEDOM PRESS, 127 OSSULSTON STREET, LONDON, N.W.

Printed and Published by FREEDOM PRESS, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.