

Freedom

C.I.R.A.

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NOTES.

Ireland Ablaze.

To say that Ireland is against conscription is a very mild way of putting things. The fact is that not within living memory have the Irish people been so determined in their opposition to the British Government. Although the country is full of British soldiers, and although armoured cars, machine guns, and aeroplanes have been landed in shiploads, the Government will find the resistance more than they can break down. Even if they capture all the youth of Ireland it will be impossible to make soldiers of them. The few thousand conscientious objectors in this country have successfully resisted their military and civil persecutors, and with the numbers in Ireland multiplied tenfold it would be a hopeless task. On Sunday, April 21, and following days all sections pledged themselves to resist to the bitter end; and on Tuesday, the 23rd, a general strike in every part of Ireland (except Ulster) showed the solidarity of the people. The promise of Home Rule is merely a trick to delude Irishmen, but Home Rule has been promised so often that no one will be taken in by such a simple trap as that. Sir E. Carson said in the House of Commons on April 16: "Ireland had suffered from nothing so much during its history as from the broken pledges of British statesmen." To show how hollow is the promise of Home Rule, and the sort of Home Rule the Irish would get, the Committee of eight who are drafting the Bill contains five members of the Unionist Party, which was formed for the definite purpose of resisting Home Rule!

No Conscription by Irish Parliament.

"Misfortunes make strange bedfellows," and this is the case in Ireland, where the priests have taken a great part in the agitation. Even Murphy, the uncrowned King of Dublin, the most bitter opponent of the Labour movement in Ireland, has been working with great energy against conscription. The dangerous point of this situation is that it has been suggested that should a Home Rule Act satisfactory to Ireland be passed the new Irish Parliament might itself introduce conscription. But the All-Ireland Labour Conference at the Mansion House, Dublin, on April 20, we are pleased to note, opposed conscription even by an Irish Parliament. In the resolution passed by the meeting we read: "We claim the right of liberty to decide as units for ourselves"; and the resolution also said that their success in resisting the imposition of conscription "will be a signal to the workers of all countries now at war to rise against their oppressors and bring the war to an end." That is where Mr. Murphy will part company with Labour. Mr. O'Brien, President of the Irish Trades Union Congress, said: "They would be equally opposed to conscription if it was tried to be forced on them by a native Parliament." He knew that resistance would mean suffering and death, but "if there was to be a choice of violence, was it not better that they should die defending their liberty in their own land rather than lay down their lives in a foreign country fighting for international capitalism." We hope the Irish Labour movement will fight as workers, not as Catholics. Religion has nothing to do with the question of exploitation. When the workers fight for economic freedom and to get rid of their exploiters they will find arrayed against them Catholic and Protestant employers. To slightly alter Tolstoy: "The rich (Catholics) will do anything for the poor except get off their backs."

Looking for Scapegoats.

The introduction of conscription for Irishmen by the War Cabinet has been explained on various grounds, but it really seems as though it had been introduced to set Englishmen against Irishmen and against Home Rule. When the military call up the elderly Englishmen (and also the Welsh and Scots), they will be told by the Press that it would not be necessary if the young

Irishmen would join up. Like the "married versus single" cry under the Derby scheme. The tricksters at the head of affairs know the heartburnings this will cause amongst the elderly men, and they are relying on this to divide the people of the two countries, so that they can play one off against the other. When the war comes to an end, and all the promises of a glorious victory will be found unrealisable, the people will look for someone or other on whom to wreak their vengeance, and Irishmen will be very convenient scapegoats for all the hideous blunders made by our rulers. "If Irishmen had been loyal to the Empire, we should not have had to keep a hundred thousand soldiers in their country. This robbed us of the extra men who would have just turned the scale in our favour." In this way the rascally politicians will try to escape the vengeance of a deluded and wrathful people, and all hopes of a mutual understanding and sympathy between the two countries be shattered for another generation.

The Lichnowsky Revelations.

The British press and politicians have hailed with joy the so-called revelations of Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador in this country at the outbreak of the war. According to his account (the press forget for the time that he is a "dirty Hun"), Sir Edward Grey and the British Government were really well disposed to Germany, and willing to allow her to expand in Asia Minor and other parts. This is put forward as proof that the British Government were innocent of any share in bringing on the war, and that the sole cause of it was the "lust for world power" of Germany. These "revelations" must have caused Bernard Shaw to smile with satisfaction. In the early days of the war he wrote an article in the *New Statesman* entitled "The Last Spring of the Old Lion." The "old lion" was Britain, and Shaw wrote how the "old lion" watched the commercial expansion of Germany undisturbed, but as soon as she began to build a fleet his tail began to lash about, and when the German Emperor sent a gunboat to Agadir during the Moroccan crisis the "old lion" sprung to his feet with a terrific roar. To his disgust and disappointment the Germans withdrew, as they saw Britain was with France. Then, said Shaw, the "old lion" saw that Germany would not fight if she had Britain against her, so his policy was to persuade Germany that we had no intention of attacking her, and that we were the mildest set of men imaginable. And Shaw goes on to relate how they persuaded Lichnowsky that it was so, and then when Germany was too far committed to war to withdraw, the "old lion" sprang into the fight. We are not concerned to discuss the rights or wrongs of Shaw's theory. To us the whole tragedy of the situation is that the scheming and trickery of a comparatively few individuals have been the immediate cause of the death of countless millions of men and the ruin and starvation of many millions besides. Never again must the people allow such things to happen. To us it seems incredible that this war will not mean the end of government and all that it implies. It may not come to an end at once, but as the facts are gradually burnt into the brains of the people they will see that they must put an end to it or perish.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.

May-Day Demonstration

ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 1st.

COMRADES, rally round the Flag in George's Square, at 1-15

MAY-DAY RE-UNION,

In ROOM 4, CENTRAL HALLS, BATH STREET.

TEA at 5-15 prompt.

Subscriber's Ticket can be had from our Platform or Literature Sellers

THE RED SPECTRE.

No telepathic hallucination, however scientifically enunciated, determined the disclosure of a dreadful spectre shadowing the principles of Communism, presumably apparent in the psychological outlook of modern Press Controllers. The prerogative of economic conditions directs the vituperations against such a revolutionary ideal, for the red spectre of Communism is the sword of Damocles to modern plutocracy. Contemporaneous with the ideal elucidated in the Communist Manifesto of the Petrograd Soviet, appeared the declaration in the anti-Bolshevik press that dark and bloody Anarchy ran wantonly abroad in Russia. Stemming the dreadful contagion of Revolutionary Socialism, the angels of Mons reappeared in disguise as White Guards, and that criterion of democratic liberty, the War Cabinet, deplored the fact that Russian peacemakers, distrusting the promise of the Kingdom of God, should strive to institute the sovereignty of man on earth. Russia has become the bad example, and the fingers of malediction point from all corners of the world. The bourgeoisie of the nations have long since arrived at the conclusion that Revolution, like all other necessities, must be their especial monopoly; and the audacity of vulgar plebeians who carried the destruction of class privilege to extremity surpasses their deepest comprehension and arouses their foulest hate.

All the vagaries and evils of Capitalism are condensed into a tirade, bitter and untiring, against all things and principles that savour of Communism. Germany struck the power of the Council of the People's Commissaries, and Capitalism the world over applauded. Socialists were murdered everywhere, and everywhere the chaos of war drums rolled the slogan of massacre, "Law and Order." So to the drone of "Order" the machine guns rattled their message, and the red blood of the people formed the letters of "Law," as it splashed and trickled on the streets. Section after section of the Russian Empire was disintegrated, and the influence of the Communards crippled. Now they are given a brief respite; but when the rage of nations against each other has exhausted itself, these nations will turn towards Russia again, and on some paltry excuse make their combined attempt to crush Bolshevism. Not only Russia will be attacked, but every Socialist organisation in the world will receive severe attention. German Labour in crushing the Russian Revolution has broken itself. British Labour, passive and aloof, has doomed itself for generations. Calamity looms darkly, and the danger is unheeded. No amount of moderating treatment will stop the Socialist movement, but massacre and suppression will, for many dark years.

Russia became the nucleus of Socialism. Every other country developed into a centre of reaction. Whom shall we condemn? Surely not the Bolsheviks. Rearing a pillar of internationalism on the ashes of Tsarism, Lenin and Trotsky flung the Bolshevik proclamations to the world. Betrayed and deserted, they were finally compelled to capitulate to Pan-Germanism. The last thread of sympathy for New Russia was broken when she repudiated her State debt and discredited foreign loans. Capitalism possesses no dignity, but retains a super-conscious sensitiveness to the menacing touch of Socialism. With one of its main arteries choked, international finance was temporarily deranged, and with twenty-four hours of unity in European Labour, the world could have been saved before finance had found time to readjust itself to a hitherto unprecedented situation. But outside Russia, Labour looked idly on and marvelled that the ignorant Slav could do such a thing while advanced countries like Britain and Germany attempted to strangle each other. Kerensky assumed power as the bourgeois ornament of palliation, but the Revolution had barely commenced. The submerged forces gathered and struck, and the Provisional Government was swept aside in the cataclysmic upheaval. The organised Workmen's and Peasants' Councils become predominant, and immediately proclaimed the inauguration of the Socialist Republic. Anxiety in capitalist circles gave place to panic, and Labour, disorganised and discouraged, looked towards its political leaders and was betrayed. Inaction was betrayal of the international ideal, and the merciless ring of finance drew cruelly tighter. A few grandiloquent phrases concerning the emancipation of Russia from the shackles of autocracy were handed from mouth to mouth, and the representatives of Labour washed their hands, looking benignly innocent of revolutionary thoughts, and that was the echo to the tocsin that called the workers of all nations to unite. The day for true reconstruction had dawned, has waned, and the massless voices of authoritarian political philosophy mumble their weary efforts towards palliation of the catastrophe.

Some individuals—nominally Socialists—express themselves in favour of a League of Nations, as if such a fallacious scheme could for a moment attract the attention of any person entertaining progressive ideas. With a degree of enthusiasm worthy of their rulers, they adopt the principles of a renowned reactionary—President of the U.S.A.—and do homage to him as a hope of democracy. The elect of American capital is not at all likely to emulate the example of an energetic Bolshevism. American capital warned Japan from the Siberian idea of annexation, because such a scheme menaced United States' imperialist designs in Asia, not because President Wilson loved Bolshevism or the ideal it proclaims. The East provides the future fields for the colonial aggrandisement of the world's Powers. The unexploited natural wealth of China and Siberia provides the commercial rivalry of the future, and the potential seeds of war lie thickly strewn on the deserts and swamps of the East. Unborn youths will yet engage in the shambles of slaughter in distant lands, that Britain may be free from Bolshevism. And this is no illogical prophecy. Perhaps, in the near future, something may occur to accelerate the course of social evolution. The shadow—the Red Spectre of Communism—may emerge from spookish regions, and become a vital reality of purposeful dimension. Then the wars for Liberty will not be fought so far from home. We shall attain our social and economic freedom—and preserve it—without vast rings of militant steel.

R. S. WOON.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARX.

The coming centenary of Karl Marx is the signal for a flood of hero-worship akin to that of the Christians for their Saviour. One would imagine that if he had not been born the world would be ignorant of the fact that the workers are robbed and that Capitalism is the great enemy. His worshippers claim almost divine inspiration for his writings, but a study of some of his works leaves one wondering what he is driving at. "Wages-Labour and Capital" is a pamphlet written by Marx before he finished his study of political economy. It has been so altered by his chief disciple, Engels, as to be in harmony with the matured conclusions of Marx (or Engels). The orthodox economists say "Wages buy labour." Marx thought so, too, at one time, but changed his views and said, "Wages buy labour-power." According to Engels, this is the parting of the ways between the orthodox and Socialist economists. The great difference between the conclusions or findings of Marx and the findings of the bourgeois economists is caused by the latter asserting that "Wages buy labour," and the former saying "Wages buy labour-power." Labour means "expended labour-power," and labour-power means "capacity or power to labour." In the true Marxian style of repetition we will again state this important problem. Do wages buy expended labour-power or do they buy the power-to-labour? Superficial thinkers are warned off this problem, but that does not debar a worker from passing his opinion on it; because, as Engels truthfully or tactfully says, "The uneducated worker can grasp easily the most difficult economic analysis." (Even "Pages of Socialist History.")

This saying of the disciples hath washed away any diffidence I might once have had in writing the following superficiality: "The capitalist only buys the power-to-labour when he is positive he can make it expended labour-power, and, further, does not hand over the wages until power-to-labour has become expended power-to-labour." Therefore, it is a waste of labour, expended labour-power, labour-power, or power-to-labour to write, print and publish a whole series of works having as the reason of their being the difference between "labour bought by wages" and "labour-power bought by wages." To get what a deep thinker would say on the problem we'll turn to page 17, where we find: "Wages are that with which the capitalist buys a certain amount of *productive* labour-power." Wages buy productive labour-power; that is, expended labour-power, which is labour; so that this writer, Marx or Engels, is an orthodox economist. They must not be though, because the "Scientific Socialists" publish this pamphlet. We will try again. This time on page 30 we find: "The labourer receives wages in exchange for his *labour-power*, but the capitalist receives *labour* in exchange for the wages." Thus are the gullible capitalists duped; they buy one thing, labour-power, but receive a vastly different thing, expended labour-power. This explains the hatred the rich have to the poor.

This pamphlet, like the rest of Marx's works, makes one wonder why a knowledge of Marx is considered necessary for the proper propagation of Socialism amongst the masses. An unbiased reader can find no reason for the claim, unwritten though it is, that Marx is infallible, the discoverer of ideas and laws; but one sees why the majority of Marxians have never read Marx.

R. SELKIRK.

A SONG OF THE FREE STATE.

Ye Britons! this song was suggested to me
By the gallant and learned H. Terrell, M.P.*
If ye truly desire to demolish the Hun,
Who wills to make of you each a slave,
Toiling from dawn to the set of the sun—
Till a dog's life end in a dead dog's grave;
(Farewell to your joys and your hours of ease
In the home of your choice, 'midst the flowers and trees!)
I will tell you the way that this thing shall be done,
And, mark me well, 'tis the only way:
Abandon your notions of Liberty;
Let never a man of you name her yours;
(For such she is not, she can never be yours
While the life and the might of the State endures):
You shall "clench your teeth," you shall put away
That ancient idea, that wayward thought;
And the State in peril shall still hold sway:
(At a terrible price is its freedom bought!)
Surrender your selfhood; your life lay down
In defence of the State; your reward shall be:
To reflect, as in War's red waves you drown,
"What matter my end, so the State be free?"

T.S.

*How much nearer are we to-day towards breaking German military power? A twelvemonth ago had we mobilised our whole military strength we could, without a doubt, have smashed Germany. What chance have we of doing so to-day? None unless we are at once prepared to set aside all our notions and ideas about personal freedom and the rights of individuals and realise that no man deserves to be a member of a free State unless he is prepared when the freedom of that State is in peril to surrender his individual freedom, and if need be his life, in the defence of the State.—Major H. Terrell, K.C., M.P., in *Weekly Dispatch*.

"ALL FOR THE CAUSE."

As I looked over my song book, a goodly revolutionary tune caught my fancy. It smacked of the old fighting days, and ran, one verse of it, like this:

Now, beneath the rule of robbers the world grows sad and old,
The people bound and fettered by a chain of glittering gold,
But when the trumpet soundeth the world shall see a sight,
The golden chain is broken at the coming of the light:
O the coming of the light; O the coming of the light!
The golden chain is broken at the coming of the light.

It was written when the authorities, as now, were in one of their raging moods to suppress an irresistible cause. In those days, as now, free speech was to be bought dearly, and the Cause was upheld only at the cost of privation, dismissal, boycott, and persecution. I looked for the name of the writer; it was D. J. Nicoll.

I have referred before to a humorous book that is camouflaged under the title of "Confessions of an Anarchist," by W.C.H. In a chapter with the blood-thrilling title of "Anarchists at Work," I find the following: "In this year (1894), also, David Nicoll, editor of the notorious *Commonweal*, was sent to prison for an article advising murder." In yet another humorous book, "Anarchy: Its Methods and Exponents," the following appears in a description of the leading English Anarchists of the "Eighties": "David Nicoll was imprisoned for publishing a statement that the Walsall plot, in connection with which Charles and four others received a long term of penal servitude, was concocted by the police, and for inciting the murder of Mr. Justice Hawkins."

There is a rendezvous somewhere in London, a goodly place of fellowship and warmth, where meet some members of our scattered movement, mixing with other rebels. There are Anarchists, Communists, Social Democrats, Trade Unionists, revolutionary Socialists, One Big Unionists, and wearers of various badges. There are French, Danes, Serbs, Russians, Jews, Spaniards, Irish, and Scots jostling the English. There are all tongues running and rippling at once. There are visitors who will presently be off to the freer Russia, budding Bolshevik ambassadors, and what not.

As I enter there is a bearded figure at the doorway, on the glass panel of which can be read "Members Only." He is in second-hand garb: a trilby given by some unknown comrade, and an overcoat that is best described as "to match." His hands, which are both a-shaking with the cold or with nervousness, hold out to you a somewhat illegibly-written copy of *La Lanterne*; this title is embellished with a sketch representing St. Bartholomew's Eve, but will not stand a detailed scrutiny. The price of this

hand written magazine or gazette is the nominal sum of twopence, which is understood to be in silver. The figure is unkempt, the beard ill-trimmed, and what is euphemistically termed a "student's stoop" is not well carried.

Holding a copy of the *Lanterne* in my hand, and glancing at the signature "Printer's Devil" which was at the end of the solitary article on meat-rings generally, I asked the figure his name.

"D. Nicoll," he wrote for me.

Gazing at the incredible confusion in which the police raiders left my room, I found it difficult to make my way to the table without treading on some manuscript, journal, or stationery, so thickly was the floor littered.

"All for the Cause!" smiled my comrade across at me.

L.A.M.

COMMUNIST COLONIES.

To the Editor of FREEDOM.

Dear Comrade,—Those advocating or desirous of joining or forming a Communistic colony should make very searching analysis into the causes of previous failures. That at Whiteway, for instance, which, although in existence, is not Communistic, but almost entirely Individualistic. It seems that in the early days the real workers underwent a most severe time. The neighbours for many miles about were extremely hostile. The climate is very severe; remember, the colony is situated some 800 ft. above sea level, which does not matter so much in the short summer; in fact, in the warm months it is quite an enjoyable spot. And so in the early days the fair weather Communists of all sorts and conditions turned up, but not for work of any value, only to skim the cream off the milk and help themselves to what was going. Christian tramps turned up also for charity, the ne'er-dowells scented the place from the distant parts of the globe, which made the place extremely interesting, but extremely hard on the workers. These latter in self-defence had to declare against the Communists for Individualism. Now the experience of Whiteway is at least evidence that good guard must be set up against the wrong sort.

What about the other Socialistic and Communistic colonies? Have there not been several such? Is there any record of them? Is there any reader of FREEDOM who can tell us where to find these records? The late James Connolly, in his "Labour in Irish History," wrote of an Irish Colony—Ralahine—which had to yield a rather large rental to its founder, the owner of the land, who also supplied the initial capital, houses, tools, seeds, etc. At his death the executors, discarding the colony ideals, repudiated the whole thing, and so it ended.

My idea is that many of the workers in the movement may experience some rough times in the near future, and such a colony should and could prove a welcome place of rest and change of occupation, of recuperative value to the propagandist, and so to the movement.—With best wishes, fraternally yours,

A. McLOUGHLIN.

PAMPHLETS INCREASED IN PRICE.

The following pamphlets have been increased in price from 1d. to 2d.: "Commune of Paris," "Anarchist Communism," "A Talk Between Two Workers," "Anarchist Revolution," "Pyramid of Tyranny," "Concentration of Capital," "Chicago Martyrs."

The following pamphlets have been increased in price from 2d. to 3d.: "The State: Its Historic Role," "Anarchist Morality," "Law and Authority."

All other prices remain as before.

"SATIRE" SEIZED AGAIN.

On Friday, April 26, the Salford police, on the authority of the Home Office, raided the offices of the printers of *Satire*, and took away proofs of the May issue which were ready for printing. They also seized the type and blocks from which it was to have been printed. This outrage, whilst it is a tribute to the stinging "satire" of the cartoonists, is another proof of the hypocrisy of the Government. "Liberty" to them means liberty to suppress everything they do not agree with, and their methods are those of the ex-Tsar of Russia, with whom they had so much in sympathy, and whose downfall they regretted.

Our *Satire* comrades regret that it will not be possible to get out a May Day issue, but they hope that immediate financial support will be forthcoming to allow them to get out future issues.

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MAY DAY, 1918.

He would indeed be an optimist who could see anything favourable for the Labour movement this May Day. Four years ago we were celebrating it in the usual way—bands and banners and floods of oratory in praise of International brotherhood and the overthrow of Capitalism. Three months later all these beautiful phrases were forgotten, and the workers of Europe shouldered their rifles and marched to the slaughter at the bidding of their masters. Many people in each country hesitated, but most of them were carried away by the plea that it was a war of self-defence, and to protest against the war would be a help to the enemy, and, therefore, a treasonable act. Since then only a small minority have remained faithful to their principles. Occasionally we hear rumours of the doings of our Anarchist comrades abroad, but the censorship has cut off the ordinary means of communication, and we are only allowed to know what our rulers want us to know.

All our dreams of linking up the common interests of the workers of the world have been thrown back a generation, as it is impossible to believe that the workers in the Allied countries could be friendly to those of the Central Empires for many years. Official relationships may be restored, but the seeds of hatred have been only too well planted, and they will keep on sprouting up at intervals, and prevent a really fraternal spirit growing up again very soon. But that must not prevent us trying to stimulate the growth of a new bond between the workers of all lands. The necessity is greater than ever. Militarism and reaction are rampant in every country, and all the so-called "free" institutions are snowed under. Parliaments and parties have surrendered themselves to the war god, and have proved as helpless in this great crisis as Anarchists always prophesied they would be.

But although the outlook is black, there are one or two bright spots which stand out in the surrounding gloom. The revolution in Russia and the revolt against conscription in Ireland show what a determined people can do. The Russian people, in spite of the pressure of the Allied Governments and the brutal annexations of the Central Empires, are determined to uphold the revolution; and the spirit of the workers is evidence that they can never be conquered and brought back into the old slavery. The Communist tradition of the Russian peasantry is a solid foundation on which to build up an Anarchist community. In Ireland the Nationalist movement is gradually becoming an economic movement, and here again the old tribal land tenure is still a tradition which has survived the persecution and oppression of successive British Governments. The spirit of co-operation is seizing hold of the workers, and the recent growth of Anarchist groups in Ireland is a happy augury of an anti-State agitation in the near future.

To those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, the war has brought enlightenment. All the belligerent Governments, whether autocratic or democratic, have adopted the same methods. In Britain, in France, in Italy, and in America the declaration of war brought in its train the suppression of free speech and freedom of press. Censorship, arbitrary arrest, and limitation of the activity of the workers' organisations are the rule in Allied countries as well as in the Central Empires; and opposition to the Governments' military policy is met with savage fine or long terms of imprisonment. Each Government has called on the world to witness their love of liberty and justice, but the Secret Treaties published by the Bolsheviks have exposed the hollowness of their claims. Never have Anarchist principles been so justified. And when we remember how (with few exceptions) the Labour and Socialist parties have supported their Governments in all their attacks on the liberties of the people, we can say with truth that all of them are discredited in future, whatever excuses they may make to their followers.

In these circumstances, it is not the Anarchists who will despair, but rather be stimulated to work harder to spread their principles of free co-operation and to abolish all forms of government. The events of the past three and a half years are object lessons on which to base our propaganda, and although persecution and misrepresentation may be our lot, it is for us to devise new and more efficient means of bringing our ideas before a bruised and tortured world. We know that the forces arrayed against us will stick at nothing to prevent the truth of the vileness of government being brought home to the people, but that should spur us on with greater enthusiasm and energy. All Governments are telling their deluded people that they are fighting for liberty. It is our work to show the people that while there are Governments there can be no liberty.

Comrades all, let this May Day of 1918 be the starting point of a renewed and more vigorous agitation, and the misery of the world be our inspiration.

WHY IRELAND REVOLTS.

Lloyd George's proposal to force conscription on Ireland has set that country in a blaze from end to end, many previously loyal Protestants joining hands with the Roman Catholics in vowing opposition to the most monstrous action of the English Government since the Act of Union. Coming from a War Cabinet which has proclaimed from the housetops that it is fighting to protect the rights of small nationalities, makes the proposal still more odious and hypocritical. For any nation to force conscription on another is tyrannical, but for an English Government to force conscription on Ireland is the climax to several centuries of brutal treatment of the Irish people.

England's oppression of Ireland dates from the twelfth century, when Norman and French barons, with Welsh followers, invaded the country at the instigation of Henry II., who in 1171 went to Dublin and by deceit managed to get a few Irish chieftains to take an oath of allegiance to him. From that day till now English monarchs have claimed Ireland as a part of their dominions, and the Irish people as their subjects, a claim which has been repudiated by the Irish, and which has been the cause of bloody wars and persecution ever since.

The English monarchs (and, after Charles I. lost his head, English Governments), have usually relied on the old Roman doctrine of "divide and conquer" in their attempts to subdue the Irish. Garrisons were planted in various parts of the country, with Dublin Castle as the recognised centre. A representative of the monarch, supported by needy and greedy politicians and lawyers, ruled the country according to English law, the old Irish laws being swept aside. The English were forbidden to use Irish customs, dress, or even the religion. In fact, everything connected with the country was tabooed. But in spite of all the rules and regulations, the Irish influence was too strong. According to Mrs. J. R. Green (from whose delightful little book on "Irish Nationality" we have obtained most of our facts), the Norman lords could not resist the customs of the Irish, and many of them married daughters of Irish chiefs, and made combinations and treaties with every province. They adopted the Irish language, Irish dress, and Irish manners, and gradually became "more Irish than the Irish." For many years, owing to civil wars at home and wars abroad, English rulers were unable to stop this growth of a national power, and in 1459 an Anglo-Norman Parliament claimed that Ireland was by its constitution separate from the laws and statutes of England.

When Henry VIII. (England's most married monarch) came to the throne he determined to assert his rights. Claims were again revived to "our rightful inheritance," quibbles of law once more served for the King's "title to the land." Every trace of Irish law and land tenure must finally be abolished so that the soil should lie at the King's will alone. Acts were forced through a corrupted Irish Parliament by which Henry confiscated the bulk of the lands in Leinster, Ulster and Munster. Then began what Bacon called the "wild chase of the wild Irishmen." To quote Mrs. Green:

At a prodigious price, at inconceivable cost of human woe, the purging of the soil from the Irish race was begun. Such mitigations as the horrors of war allow were forbidden to these 'rebels' by legal fiction. Torturers and hangmen went out with the soldiers. There was no protection for any soul; the old, the sick, infants, women, scholars; any one of them might be a landholder, or a carrier on of the tradition of the tribal owners, and was in any case a rebel appointed to death. No quarter was allowed, no faith kept, and no truce given. Chiefs were made to 'draw and carry,' to abase them before the tribes. Poets and historians were slaughtered, and their

books and genealogies burned, so that no man 'might know his own grandfather,' and all Irishmen be confounded in the same ignorance and abasement, all glories gone, and all rights lost. The great object of the Government was to destroy the whole tradition, wipe out the Gaelic memories, and begin a new English life. . . . Armies fed from the seaports chased the Irish through the winter months, when the trees were bare and naked and the kine without milk, killing every living thing and burning every granary of corn, so that famine should slay what the sword had lost.

"Henry VIII. had found Ireland a land of Irish civilisation and law, with a people living by tribal tenure, and two races drawing together to form a new self-governing nation. A hundred years later, when Elizabeth and James I. had completed his work, all the great leaders, Anglo-Irish and Irish, had disappeared, the people had been half exterminated, alien and hostile planters set in their place, tribal tenure obliterated, every trace of Irish law swept clean from the Irish statute-book, and an English form of State government effectively established."

But in spite of these atrocities, the Irish people began to rebuild their national life anew. Their fortitude and patience surmounted all obstacles. Although the use of the Irish language was forbidden, groups of scholars at home and in exile worked unceasingly to piece together again the history and literature of their native land. No printing press was allowed them, and they were driven back on oral tradition and laborious copying of the pen. With their country overrun by grasping English adventurers, who exploited the soil and left it barren, the long-suffering people eked out a miserable existence somehow or other, hoping for the day when they could stand up straight again before the hated enemy. It must have been a despairing effort when they took up arms again in 1641, when Charles I. proposed to extirpate the Irish in Connaught. It was left for Cromwell, however, to deal with them. This great liberator was sent across to Ireland by the English Parliament to show how little difference there is in methods between Kings and Parliaments. To this day the memory of the "black curse" of the pious Cromwell lives among the people. "He remains in Ireland as the great exemplar of inhuman cruelties." Outcast women and children lay on the roadside devoured by wolves and birds of prey. By order of Parliament (1653) over 20,000 destitute men, women, and children from twelve years old were sold into the service of English planters in Virginia and the Carolinas.

Surely these horrors should have stayed any further persecution. But it was not to be. English capitalists at the beginning of the eighteenth century, fearing competition from such an intelligent and quickly recuperative race, made statutes to annihilate Irish trade. They forbade carrying of cattle or dairy stuff to England; they forbade trade in soap or candles, in cloth, in glass, in linen save of the coarsest kind; it was proposed to stop Irish fisheries. The wool which they might not use at home must be exported to England alone. They might not build ships, and no merchant ship crossing the Atlantic was allowed to load or unload at an Irish port. To sum up the whole tragic relations of Ireland with this country, in Mrs. Green's words: "The Irish people suffered a long agony unmatched, perhaps, in European history."

We will not dwell on the subject further save to notice the great famine of 1846-1848, when over a million died of hunger, while in a year foodstuffs to the value of £17,000,000 were sent to England to pay absentee landlords and other parasites, English soldiers guarding from the starving the fields of corn and the waggons that carried it to the ports. In 1841 the population was eight millions; by 1901 it was reduced to four and a half millions, a fact in itself sufficient to damn any Government.

In the face of this age-long record of tyranny and oppression an English Government, backed by Parliament, have the audacity to propose taking Irishmen by force to fight in a war which is not of their making. The mere suggestion has united the Irish people as they have not been united for some time, and every man or woman who reads this article or knows Irish history will be with them in their struggle to resist this infamy.

AN ANARCHIST MANIFESTO.

To assist in clearing up the many misconceptions regarding Anarchism held by both Socialists and non-Socialists, the Glasgow Anarchist Group and the Cowdenbeath Communist Group are issuing the following Manifesto. Any group or person wishing to circulate it may have copies or terms on applying direct to the Glasgow Group at 10, Windsor Street, Glasgow.

In the space of a short statement of Principles and Tactics many points have necessarily been omitted. A few of these will be touched upon here, but a pamphlet or a series of articles would

be necessary to do them justice. The figures refer to the sections of the Manifesto elaborated:

(1) The monopoly of the means of life by the master class forces the workers to sell their labour-power in order to live. The operation of the merciless law of supply and demand brings wages, on the average, down to a bare subsistence level. The ever-increasing balance of wealth which the workers create, but cannot buy back, goes to the exploiting class. The fear of poverty and unemployment forces the workers to tolerate inhuman industrial and social conditions, and causes many to prostitute body and intellect for an existence.

In the struggle for control of favourable trade routes we have the outbreak of war and the industrial and military conscription that follows. The blinded workers mutually slay one another in their masters' interests, instead of uniting to overthrow all tyranny for ever.

(2) The ever-intensifying exploitation and misery which Capitalism engenders will make the workers more discontented and susceptible to Revolutionary propaganda. The appeal of Anarchism should, therefore, become irresistible, whether they look at it from a selfish or humanitarian standpoint.

(3) It is sometimes argued that Parliamentary action is justifiable from a propagandist point of view if from no other. We reply that the fighters for Revolution can more effectively spend their time in propaganda at the work gates and public meetings. This will more quickly bring about the steady conversion of the rank and file which is the necessary preliminary to the Revolution.

(4) We repudiate the authoritarian and initiative-crushing forms of organisation. These hinder rather than assist evolution. We advocate, moreover, the utmost degree of solidarity, recognising that unity is strength, while sectionalism means impotence.

(5) As in Russia, the methods for overthrowing Capitalism will depend on and become evident from the needs of the Revolutionary crisis. Much depends on whether its outbreak is relatively premature, hence Revolutionary detail cannot be planned beforehand, but will be determined by necessity.

Without attempting to prophesy, we believe that after the Revolution there will be an unprecedented betterment in the well-being of all. The scrapping of useless "industries" and the abolition of parasitism will supply a solid economic foundation for real social freedom, thus emancipating men and women from all class or sex oppression.

The world will be criss-crossed by numberless voluntary associations of varying sizes and complexities, according to the objects which give them birth. The advantages and necessity of co-operation will naturally bring about the free agreements necessary to large scale enterprises without any friction-creating coercive institutions. The consequent development of the initiative of all will result in an unheard of impetus to progress in the arts, sciences, and other walks of life.

Although not suddenly becoming angels, the new conditions will provide a soil in which the social instincts of mankind will rapidly develop. The anti-social propensities, not being stimulated by unbearable economic pressure, will consequently tend to die out.

ANARCHIST PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS.

(1) The history of human society since the passing of Primitive Communism has been a history of class struggles.

To-day the opposing forces in this struggle are the capitalist class, the robbers, and the working class, the robbed.

The State is the means by which the workers are kept in subjection by the capitalist class.

(2) The workers, being exploited, form the only class in whose interest it is to free humanity from the class struggle by destroying capitalism and its defender, the State.

When the workers inaugurate a society founded on economic justice, having no class to keep in subjection, the State will disappear for ever.

(3) The State cannot be destroyed by sending men to Parliament and Councils, as voting cannot abolish the economic power of the capitalists.

This can only be done by the direct control by the workers of industry and transport, together with the necessary undermining of the armed forces of the State.

If not instituted in their own interests, all concessions ever granted by capitalists through Parliament result from the fear of outside pressure, demonstrational or industrial.

(4) The class-conscious workers must build up a free industrial organisation, federated locally, nationally, and internationally.

We maintain that no appreciable betterment of working class

conditions can be obtained without a solidarity of aim and action equally sufficient for revolution.

In the meantime, however, we must fight, in co-operation with whoever will help, for free speech, a free press, and to prevent victimisation.

(5) **Whenever the necessary minimum of strength has been gathered by this revolutionary organisation it will overthrow capitalism by methods which the needs of the revolutionary crisis will determine.**

The workers will take over all the means of production and distribution, and produce for use instead of for profit, thus ensuring plenty for all.

A New "Index Prohibitorum."

The *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* (published by authority) of December 12 last contains a list of 210 publications that have been forbidden entry into Australia, and the possession of copies of which has been made a criminal offence. It is a truly international list, Labour, Socialist and Anarchist publications in many languages figuring largely in it. We give a few to show what a well-read man the Censor must be:

"Appeal to Reason."	"Mother Earth" (edited by Emma Goldman).
"Anarchism and other Essays" (Goldman).	"Novy Mir" (Russian, New York).
"Blast" (edited by Alex. Berkman).	"Official Documents Looking Towards Peace" (N.Y.).
"Britannia" (the "Pankhurst News").	"Shall the People Talk Peace?" (Berkman).
"Criminal History of the British Empire" (Patrick Ford).	"Prison Memories of an Anarchist" (Berkman).
"Freedom" (of course).	"Ploughshare" (London).
"Forward" (Glasgow).	"Songs of Love and Rebellion."
"Goodwill," a Journal of International Friendship.	"Satire" (certainly!)
"Industrial Worker" (I.W.W.).	"Socialist Review" (I.L.P.).
"International Socialist Review."	"Voltaire de Cleyre" (selected works).
"I.W.W. Song Book."	"Woman's Dreadnought."
"Kwang Wah Yat Po" (Chinese).	And last but not least—
"Labour Leader" (I.L.P.).	"Zulum, Zulum, Gore Shahi Zulum" (the "Gore did it").

This list shows that not only anti-war, but even Socialist and Anarchist ideas are barred from Australia. Once a censorship is set up it gradually widens its grip, and anything that is in opposition to the social ideas of those in charge is prohibited. Every authoritarian organisation works in the same way. As an instance of its working in this country, the Paper Controller supplies unlimited quantities of paper to the War Aims Committee to enable them to spread their hatred-breeding productions, whilst no paper is to be had for peace propaganda. Yet many Socialists still ask for further State control.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The War Aims Committee continues to issue its amusingly thrilling literature. The latest specimen, which is being scattered broadcast, is a trashy pamphlet printed trashily on trashy paper. It rejoices in the title of "Guilty!" in blood-red letters, and for some reason the printer has mislaid the illustration block of a skull and crossbones. A Scots gentleman of the name of McCurdy is the immortal author of this classic, which will no doubt find a place in the school syllabuses a few years hence. The pamphlet purports to contain the Lichnowsky revelations, into which it is not necessary to go. The main fact is that public money is being spent on such inane literature as this, on infantile posters preaching the gospel of Hate, whilst Regulation 27c effectively bars any criticism that would reach the masses and flash a beam of sanity in a war-mad world.

Perhaps the French authorities will now publish the eleventh-hour "revelations" which failed to save the life of that catspaw of international diplomacy, Bolo Pasha; but we beg leave to doubt. It would be of great interest to know whether these "revelations" were not such as would have compromised persons in high places whom it would be impossible or "impolitic" to besmear with the epithet "Perfidy!" It is only necessary to recollect the strange death of Almereyda, of the *Bonnet Rouge*, who was reported dead at noon, and at three o'clock calling for a pot of jam—and the sudden end of one of our ambassadors.

The French Syndicalist weekly, *Ce qu'il faut dire*, having been indefinitely suspended by the authorities, after a campaign on "German gold" lines on the part of the Republican and Royalist press, it has risen phoenix-like from the ashes. It is now published as *La Plèbe*, and contains the same essential features as the suppressed paper. As a guerdon of Clemenceau's promise to abrogate the political censorship, *La Plèbe* has two-thirds of the back page, half of the third page, and sundry

columns on other pages garbed in a virgin whiteness. As the French proverb has it with bitter irony, "The more it changes (the censorship) the more it is the same."

In view of the discussion recently closed in these columns on the rival claims of propaganda for a back-to-the-land movement as against a call to the peoples to take initial steps to control all the means of life, the following is of interest. It is reported from Glasgow that the "Bolshevik Consul," John MacLean, has been arrested: the detectives raided his rooms, and then read a list of charges, amongst which are an incitement to strike the first blow for the revolution on the First of May, that the workers should seize the Lord Provost of Glasgow and others as hostages for the safety of the Revolutionary Committee; that they should also seize the Glasgow City Chambers, post offices, banks, and offices of the chief local dailies, and the food stores and ships on the Clyde; that they should destroy the police offices or seize them, and put the police inside them; that they should seize the coal mines, and should go to the farmers and get food.

Old ghosts, having no corporeal drawbacks (except the necessity of wearing the same clothes they had on this unbelieving planet, according to spiritualist "photographs"), are distinctly hard to kill. Sometimes they baffle the infidel by appearing in a new sheet. That ancient phantom of Anarchist terrorism crops up now and again, still haunting in the same galleries in Fleet Street and its Continental equivalents. The most recent of these is a report of an "ambitious plot of five young Anarchists" of Amsterdam, which said plot was "nipped in the bud." According to the veracious Reuter—patriotic Scots name!—these rash young men, "apparently unbalanced by Anarchist literature," had conceived the plan of blowing up a powder magazine on the Harlem road. Four of them are alleged to have confessed to the plot, saying that they thought that they would thereby be doing something to combat militarism. It would be interesting to know why this sporadic "campaign" against Anarchism has been kept up to a fanned flame during the last three years in particular. Our readers will no doubt suspect the reason.

L.A.M.

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