

THE PATRIOT

No. 7.—Vol. 1.

23 MARCH, 1922.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

REGISTERED AT THE G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER.

THE PATRIOT is issued with the principal aim of publishing facts and arguments relating to movements threatening the welfare and safety of the British Empire: movements of which the dangers are either ignored or made light of by the majority of newspapers.

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2, Whitefriars Street, E.C.4.

A VEIN OF TREACHERY.

A pamphleteer of Bolingbroke's time complained of "a vein of treachery" which had run through two wars and brought to naught all the brave blood of Englishmen. And so it is now, and has been, we may say, at least for the last fifteen years. Whence it comes we may yet have to inquire in these columns; for the moment it is sufficient to say that through all our affairs it is unmistakable—this vein of treachery which makes dead loss of all our sacrifices of blood and treasure.

We believe that there are two classes in conspiracy—the initiates and the dupes. We should not need to argue after our experience of the great war that there have been, and are, deliberate enemies of the British Empire, organised for its destruction, in every part of the world. But the Englishman generally is of so frank and open a disposition that he is slow to believe even what has been proved; he dismisses the possibility of that existing in the nature of others which is not in his own.

Moreover, there is a prevailing ignorance which makes easy the task of the enemy. In former times every English statesman and most English electors had a shrewd idea of the policy and the interest of England. There was a school of British policy founded upon the interest and security of the nation, which hammered out and circulated its truths, its maxims, and its proverbs, and these, even before newspapers, were the common property of all who had a share in the direction of affairs. Moreover, the work of government was in the hands of a class which handed down from generation to generation the secrets and principles of statecraft.

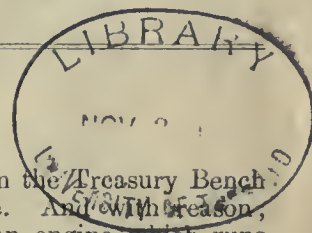
Nowadays Mr. Thomas congratulates himself and the country on a state of society in which a man may go from the footplate of an engine to the Treasury Bench; our forefathers would have thought such a promotion as dangerous as we

should think the reverse: from the Treasury Bench to the footplate of an engine. And with reason, for if it needs skill to drive an engine which runs along iron rails, it needs more skill and far more knowledge, courage and character as well, to handle the brakes and levers of a great country along the mazy lines of its destiny, with its freight not of a few hundred passengers, but of 40 million helpless souls.

We now draw our statesmen, not from any hereditary class or great interest of the country, but just as they come up; if they are eloquent and plausible, no question is asked of their knowledge and character, or even if they are of British blood. Nor do we think of asking the question which our forefathers would have asked first—whether the interests and instincts of this politician or that are likely to be those of the nation.

Thus we get in Parliament and office a chaos of type, character, interest, and opinion, without any school or science of State policy to guide them. Ignorance and the lack of purpose are to the propagandist what a tilled and manured soil are to the husbandman, a seed-bed in which he may be sure of a crop. And so the enemies of whom we have spoken sow their tares and reap a rank and bountiful harvest not among the electors only, but in our Parliament and Government. Not only are dupes their victims, but become, when they are thoroughly infected, their unconscious agents, so that we see many politicians, not deliberately treacherous, yet following, as it were by a perverted instinct, upon every question the very line which an enemy might be expected to take.

Even private virtues may be used to promote public disasters. We see politicians obviously impregnated by some ideal which seems to them noble and generous, and yet works out infallibly to the injury of the interests they have in trust. It



is as if the director of a brewery were to be persuaded that beer was bad for the human race, and were to embark the capital of his company upon a temperance crusade. Such a notion of trusteeship would not find many supporters in private affairs, yet politicians get both votes and applause for being virtuously suicidal in the affairs of the nation.

There are, we confess, some politicians whom we are puzzled to determine into what class they fall—whether dupes or initiates. When a Minister, for example, releases proved and convicted enemy agents in a country like India, and boasts his intention to disturb the pathetic contentment of the Indian people at a time when the very existence of the Empire is visibly tottering, and when any additional disturbance might be fatal, it is difficult, with the best will in the world, to believe in his altruism.

However that may be, if we take the recent conduct of affairs we find so many things done that are grossly and obviously injurious—and all in the same direction—that we cannot content ourselves with the theory of mere unassisted folly. The betrayal in Ireland, in India, in Egypt, or, during the war, the failure of our naval blockade, the extraordinary extravagance and waste which had the appearance of an attempt to ruin a nation too brave to be conquered; and the fixed determination of whole parties to take up every cause of every enemy of this country; the policy as to Russia and towards Bolshevism generally, and the licence to their agents in this country—these things are not to be explained upon any hypothesis that it is at once credible and creditable.

We like Hobbes's notion of Leviathan if not as true, at least as a means of making truth clear. The nation is, like the individual, subject to passions, ailments, phantasies, delusions; its mind may be infected by fatal ideas, its blood by hostile bacilli. And there are two ways of treatment in statesmanship as in medicine. We can fight the microbe or the idea by injections of the vaccine of truth; and—more hopeful method—we can work to restore the patient's health by offering him the invigorating food of a national inspiration.

In this journal we propose to do both. We shall not be deterred by fear or favour in exposing and attacking as far as we can the public and secret enemies of the nation; we can promise our readers at least that we shall allow ourselves to be influenced neither by fanaticism on the one side nor timidity on the other, and shall go no further than we can prove. But the greater task we set ourselves is to cherish and revive the national spirit, and to encourage the national instinct of our country. For if the spirit be once restored the body will gain health thereby. In the nation as in the individual, body and spirit are so closely mingled that we cannot help the one without helping the other; and so we must explore also the true nourishment of the national body in its industries, its agriculture, and its trade. We are not to be called materialists because we realise that the English rose, with all its beauty of fragrance and colour, that rose which expresses the honour and the spirit of our national life, grows to the best perfection when rooted in the heavy clay of the national interest.

THE COMMUNIST CONGRESS.

I.W.W. DEPORTEES IN LONDON.

The fourth annual congress of the Communist Party, held last Saturday and Sunday at St. Pancras Town Hall in secret session, closed with a public meeting on Sunday evening at St. Pancras Baths. Strong protest, which will find expression at the elections next November, was made by St. Pancras loyalists at the behaviour of the Labour Party majority on the Borough Council in permitting the use of these buildings.

The chief speakers were two I.W.W. organisers from the United States. Both were British subjects who had been in prison. In the United States the I.W.W. is an illegal conspiracy. These organisers would appear now to have left that country for that country's good, the only regrettable part of the affair being that their return to this country was thus rendered inevitable. The meeting was seditious. Each orator reviled the British worker for not taking a more active part against "the paid hirelings of the capitalist class." Through their speeches a note of plaintive comment ran on the fewness of revolvers worn by workers here compared with America and Ireland.

The first speaker, a clean-shaven, round-faced, youngish-looking man, with short crisp curls and no American accent, described a fight with some British loyalists in which two were shot dead. The spirit of his Communist audience may be understood by the fact that this story drew a round of applause. The rest of the speech was about revolver battles between the police and gangs of armed strikers organised by the I.W.W. to stop munition-making when America entered the war on the side of the Allies.

The speaker is a man who was sentenced later to ten years' hard labour, but released from Leavenworth Jail last December, and being, as already

shown, a British subject, has since been deported to a country which could easily have done without him.

The other I.W.W. organiser from the United States was a lanky, black-haired Irishman, with a long, pallid face and strong Irish accent. Like the other, his speech was nearly all about fighting policemen with revolvers. It was illustrated by vigorous pistol-pointing action on the part of the speaker. He was, he said, one of the assistants of Jim Larkin, "now languishing behind prison bars." A resolution was passed demanding the release of the two Italian I.W.W. organisers, named Sacco and Vanzetti, now awaiting execution in the United States.

Sacco and Vanzetti took part in a peculiarly atrocious murder by bomb-throwing, were sentenced on evidence admitting of no doubt, and an appeal has now been dismissed against them.

"Let me tell you," bawled a Communist, "that if we did here what others have done, then our comrades Sacco and Vanzetti would not go to the electrocution chair. In Rome," he went on, "the workers smashed the front of the American Embassy; in Paris, they assembled in front of the American Embassy and demanded the release of their comrades; there were demonstrations in front of the American Embassies in Brussels and other cities, but you people you don't seem to know what to do."

A message of sympathy with the Rand strikers was passed with acclamation. It remains to be seen how long it will be before neglect of precaution in London produces precisely the same results which the same neglect of precaution produced on the Rand.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

The House of Lords and Ireland.

The House of Lords has read the Irish Bill a second time; but has still to consider it in Committee. And here there is a sharp conflict of opinion, whether the Lords should take what is called a prudent but is certainly a cowardly course, and pass the Bill without the alteration of a comma, or whether it should perform its duties as a revising chamber. There are the interests of the House of Lords to consider, and there are also the interests of the country. We venture to say that they both point the same way.

The Agreement and the Bill.

The Agreement was, we think, a bad one; but it has been accepted both by the Government and by Parliament. The Bill is the legal expression of the Agreement, and has also been accepted in principle by virtue of the Second Reading. Therefore there is no question of opposing it now. But there remains the question of revising it. And here we are faced by the assertion made by the Irish champions of the Agreement: that "it can be interpreted in six or seven different ways." Both the Bill and the Agreement are very loose and vague documents, and here there is a very great danger. It is with a Treaty as with a contract. Bind two parties by a document which is loosely drafted and liable to several interpretations, and differences, law-suits, and conflicts between the two parties are inevitable. But bind them by a contract in clear and precise terms, and you eliminate a main cause of quarrel. If both sides know what they are going into they have the less excuse for future differences. It is in law-making as in watch-making. If the wheels are set upon precise and hard bearings the works wear well and keep good time, whereas loose and slovenly construction means bad time-keeping and constant tinkering.

Misunderstandings.

Let us give one or two examples of the more flagrant of the misunderstandings which ought to be removed. Upon this side the Government are assuring the public that the Bill maintains the Sovereignty of the King and retains Ireland within the British Empire. It was upon that understanding that Parliament accepted the Agreement. Yet the exponents of the Agreement in Ireland are asserting that it recognises the sovereignty of the Irish People, and prepares the way for complete independence. These assertions are made not merely by members of the Dail, but of the Provisional Government, and are the burden of the pamphlet written on the subject by Professor O'Rahilly, who is helping to draft the Irish Constitution under the Agreement. Here we have a cause of quarrel between Ireland and Great Britain upon an issue so important that war might result from misunderstanding.

Ulster.

Then there is the even fiercer, if narrower, controversy over Ulster and its borders. Professor O'Rahilly asserts that the Free State has a sort of offensive alliance with England against Ulster under the Agreement. It is, he says, "tantamount to an agreement with England to bring economic pressure to bear on such of the North-East as survives the Boundary Commission." Now, this cannot be the view of the British Government if they

have any honesty at all, for they asserted over and over again their determination to uphold the existing rights and liberties of Ulster. If these two contradictory interpretations are not settled and made absolutely clear in the Bill, nothing is more certain that its passage will merely lead to civil war between North and South—a war of which Great Britain could hardly remain a passive spectator.

A Revising Chamber.

Now, here is just the sort of thing for which Second Chambers exist, even upon the most modern and liberal computation. If a Second Chamber is not to retard or subvert the "popular will," it must at least retain its power of clarifying and interpreting it. If it cannot even do that, then it cannot do anything. If it cannot do that, then it has no useful functions left except to be a sort of potting-out shed for new sprigs of nobility. This is a plain duty of any Second Chamber upon the most modest definition of its usefulness. If the Lords refuse to do their duty here, they furnish their enemies with the most powerful of weapons: conclusive proof that they are useless for any useful purpose. They will shelve themselves finally and effectually if they leave these entanglements unsolved and pass the Bill with all its imperfections on its head. They will seal their own doom, for the end of a class without functions is the end of a rope.

The "Wild Men" Argument.

The professional whisperers go about saying that the House of Lords is being led in this matter by its "wild men," by which they mean so earnest a statesman and so sterling a patriot as Lord Carson. But there are critics of the settlement who cannot be called even by their enemies "wild men"—we mean such law lords as Lord Sumner and Lord Finlay, and others besides, whom no one could say were moved by passion or prejudice. And we do not hold so low a view of the intelligence or patriotism of the electorate as to suppose that they would quarrel with the House of Lords for doing a plain duty.

What the Irish Want.

As for the Free Staters, they on their side claim the right to interpret the Agreement on their own reading of it, and they regard the Bill as giving them not only what we consent to give them, but what they want to get. They will stretch every term of it to its utmost extent, and so there is more need for precision on our side. And do not let us fear that anything terrible is going to happen if the Bill is amended so that these causes of quarrel are removed. The Southern Irish want the Bill: they want it badly; both factions want it because it gives them, on the narrowest interpretation, far more than they had ever hoped to get. And what more can they do than they have done and are doing? We need have no fear of people who are already doing their worst.

The Only Way to Peace.

It is a true saying that the way to secure peace is to be ready for war. But it is a truth which is neglected more even now than before the war, which ought to have taught us the lesson. Last week we gave some alarming statistics of Bolshevik armaments in the matter of rifles. Part of the Bol-

shevik design is to arm Asia against Europe, the East against the West. History repeats itself, and Christendom is again threatened by the Mongol and the Hun. What, in these circumstances, are we doing?—not arming, but disarming! We are handing some of our weapons to enemies in Ireland, and we are selling others—so it is said—to our enemies in Russia. Sir Henry Wilson enforced this warning in the maiden speech on the Army which made a sensation in the House of Commons the other day.

A Great Soldier.

Sir Henry Wilson, one of the ablest soldiers Ireland has produced, has been in the Ulster border helping his friends of the North to organise the defence of their frontier, and we believe that it is now in so strong a state of defence that the recent wholesale kidnapping raid can never be repeated. From a military point of view, the weakness of Ulster is not merely that she is in a minority, and that she has a treacherous element in the heart of her position, but also that she is bound to the defensive by her respect for law and by the attitude of Great Britain. Sir Henry Wilson's fervent appeal to the generosity and fair-mindedness of our countrymen will not, all may hope, fall upon deaf ears.

A Soldier in Ireland.

The frontiers of Ulster are now in a state to make any repetition of the I.R.A. raids impossible. Block-houses command all the important roads and bridges. Those of less importance have been blown up. Sir Henry Wilson has been advising Sir James Craig on these and other military preparations, and makes a characteristically racy report, in the course of which he gives a very candid opinion of Mr. Lloyd George's "settlement."

Chaos and Murder.

"Owing to the action of Mr. Lloyd George and his Government the twenty-six counties of South and West Ireland are reduced to a welter of chaos and murder, difficult to believe, impossible to describe. A further consequence of the course pursued by Mr. Lloyd George is seen by the state of unrest, suspicion, and lawlessness which has spread over the frontier into the six counties of Ulster. The dangerous condition which obtains in the twenty-six counties will increase and spread unless: (1) A man in those counties rises who can crush out murder and anarchy and re-establish law and order. With a thousand years of Irish history to guide us, it is safe to predict that this will not happen. And unless: (2) Great Britain re-establishes law and order in Ireland. Under Mr. Lloyd George and his Government this is frankly and laughably impossible, because men who are only capable of losing an Empire are obviously incapable of holding an Empire, and still more incapable of regaining it.

Get Great Britain on Your Side.

"In the face of such a state of affairs what is my advice?"

(1) Get Great Britain warmly on your side. There never was a more fair-minded, more generous people than the men and women who live in England, Scotland, and Wales. Get them on your side. Tell them and get others to tell them the real truth of what is now going on in the South and West, and what is really passing in Ulster.

Get those splendid Britons on your side, for with Great Britain with you there is nothing which cannot be done—as witness the last great war.

Whilst, on the other hand, with Great Britain indifferent, lukewarm, or hostile, there is but little that can be done."

Arms and the Man.

Sir Henry Wilson's report ends with some very cogent advice as to the arming of the Loyalists and the disarming of the Anarchists within her borders, with which we need not trouble the reader. The report suggests that Sir Henry Wilson is not only a great soldier, as Europe already knows, but that he may become also a great political leader. We need men in politics—and here is a man.

De Valera's Pledge.

De Valera began his career by ambushing the Sherwood Foresters. For this he was condemned to death, and was reprieved on the plea that he was an American citizen. During the later stages of the rebellion he was under the protection of the British Government, which forbade its own police to arrest him. Mr. Lloyd George called him a chieftain of the Irish race, and lavished upon him flatteries and attentions. And now at Thurles, in County Tipperary, this friend of the Prime Minister's has obtained the following pledge from his audience: I now solemnly swear that I will never give consent to the British King or to have the country a Dominion in the British Empire, and by every means in my power I will uphold the Republic of Ireland.

A Faction Fight.

We must beware of the obvious view as to what is going on in Ireland. But there is evidently a real difference between Leinster and Munster, between Dublin on the one side and Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary on the other. Dublin is thinking, as usual, of the loaves and fishes, and will support Michael Collins because he has the patronage of some millions sterling of Irish revenues. But in the South-West lies the fighting centre of the Revolution. The I.R.A. are bound by their Republican oath, and incline to the South. Michael Collins has forbidden the I.R.A. Convention, but sooner or later he will have to fight or surrender.

The Tragedy of the R.I.C.

The other day a pathetic little paragraph appeared in the daily press stating that the King had been graciously pleased to accept an old silver horseshoe-snuff-box, the oldest and most treasured possession of the R.I.C. mess at Phoenix Park. In the same papers it was announced as an item of news from Ulster that a list of names of men of the R.I.C. to be murdered had been discovered in Belfast, and there is little doubt that other lists of the same sort have been prepared for other parts of Ireland. The R.I.C. was by common consent the finest corps in the British Empire—the true garrison of Ireland—a force organised by Sir Robert Peel, just over a hundred years ago, recruited in Ireland itself, and composed both of Roman Catholics and Protestants. Their traditions of discipline, loyalty, and devoted service were magnificent, and they were extremely popular among all classes of the Irish people, except, indeed, the criminal class now in power, and whose savage revenge has been recently shown in several shocking massacres. We were so much touched by I.C.'s poem in the *Morning Post* that we ventured to write to the author asking him to allow us to republish it, and begging him to add to it a few verses describing the history and the traditions of the illustrious corps. This he has now done, as the verses printed in italics will show.

OUR POLICY IN EGYPT.

Modern "whole-hog" Egyptian Nationalism was started within a week of the Armistice, when Zaghoul Pasha, an ex-Vice President of the Legislative Assembly, called on Sir R. Wingate and, in the name of Egypt, claimed "Total Independence." The Residency being unwilling or unable to answer yes or no to Zaghoul Pasha, the Prime Minister Rushdi and his colleague Adly Pasha raised the same issue, and asked leave to proceed to England to discuss it with the Cabinet, a request which was temporarily refused. In order to force the hand of the British, the Ministry resigned, and the theory was proclaimed that any Government that consented to work under the Protectorate were traitors.

The Nationalist propaganda under Zaghoul assumed so obnoxious a form that he and five of his noisiest partisans were deported to Malta. This measure raised such a storm of protest that the Residency weakened, and allowed Zaghoul, or anybody who wished, to proceed to London or elsewhere at will. Perhaps, naturally, interpreting this as a success for agitation, the Nationalists redoubled their efforts in all directions, without any practical attempt being made to prevent or discourage them.

After a long interval a Commission was sent out under Lord Milner to inquire into the situation, but it was resentfully boycotted by the Nationalists, and their leader Zaghoul, who, with almost the whole country at his back, loudly declared that nothing less than the complete evacuation of Egypt and the Sudan would satisfy Egyptian aspirations.

When the belated Report of the Milner Commission was published it was found to leave the question of the Sudan and British occupation in abeyance. Neither Egyptians nor Englishmen in Egypt could understand the attitude of England in permitting the Nationalist claim to be preached without contradiction. The Residency seemed to have abdicated and left London to deal with Zaghoul, whilst Egypt was allowed to drift with and without dummy Ministries, whilst the whole administration was terrorised by the Nationalists under Zaghoul and his Committee.

After the issue of the Milner Report, and in face of the silence of the Residency, a Delegation headed by Zaghoul was approved by the Sultan, and was invited to London with its unaltered programme to negotiate with the Foreign Office.

Although this programme was well known, Lord Curzon, who either had or had not a policy in his mind, kept the Delegation "on a string" for months, and, finding it impossible to extract anything definite from him, Zaghoul Pasha shook the dust of London off his feet, and returned to carry on the agitation in Egypt, leaving Adly Pasha, pledged to the same programme, to continue talking to the Foreign Office. At last Lord Curzon offered to abolish the Protectorate on conditions which were a negation of the essentials of the Nationalist platform, and which were, of course, equally out of the question for Adly Pasha, as for Zaghoul, to accept.

Yet nothing has happened since the Armistice to make the retention of the Sudan, and the keeping

in our own hands of guarantees for the security of the Empire and of foreigners more imperative now than at that date, unless it has been the proved incapacity of the Egyptian authorities to put down disorder, and the extremist agitation for the abolition of these safeguards.

The Curzon proposals of November destroyed all visions of a free and sovereign Egypt and Sudan unhampered by British control, and they were supplemented by a letter to the Sultan, in which it was stated in plain language that they contained the future policy and irreducible minimum of England, and that no hope could be held out of any modification in their principle.

As these proposals contained merely a repetition of conditions which had been steadily refused from the outset, their only effect was to stiffen the necks of the Egyptians and lead to more open and defiant resistance.

Lord Allenby, perceiving at last, if he and others had not done so long before, the futility of any further "negotiation," insisted upon the immediate abolition of the Protectorate and the maintenance of all the guarantees required by us until such time as the Egyptians might be able to satisfy England that they were no longer necessary.

Thus ended the invertebrate and knock-kneed Protectorate which had ineffectively sprawled over Egypt since 1914.

The policy now laid down leaves little room for misunderstandings, and it is hard to conceive why it was not framed and followed immediately after the Armistice. Instead, however, of taking up its position at once, the British authorities deported and imprisoned Nationalists one day and released them the next, negatively encouraged rather than actively discouraged Nationalist hopes, backed up officials for a time and then abandoned them, and generally shirked any but spasmodic action, with the inevitable consequence of prolonging unrest.

How long the effects of this deplorable past weakness will continue to be felt in Egypt no man can tell. Already the pomp and glory of the installation of a new dynasty of Pharaohs has been marred by the tearing up of trees and smashing of windows, and the usual hunting away of the irate Nationalists by troops. If we were obliged to uphold the Protectorate by periodical displays of force, it is to be feared that the present and succeeding Ministries will have at least equal need to resort to the same system of which Lord Allenby wrote that he had "already seen enough." We can only hope that these fears may turn out to be groundless.

CAIRO.

THE PRINCE IN INDIA.

The *Times*, in a rather complacent account of the Prince's tour, lets a cat out of the bag. It appears that there was some sort of agreement with the Indian politicians that the Prince should say nothing about what are now called "politics" in India—in plain language, on the only issue of any importance: Whether England should maintain her Empire or surrender it. In fact, there was a political truce! And it follows that the Prince visited our Indian Empire with a "By your leave" from the Babu. It is a sad commentary on our present position. We may, at least, be grateful, however, that Mr. Montagu has gone.

THE OUTLOOK IN IRELAND.

(From Our Irish Correspondent.)

One of the papers recently started to support the Irish Treaty as the readiest means of obtaining complete independence describes the prevailing conditions:—

"The I.R.A. is in the throes of an internal conflict, and while engaged in that, disorder and indiscipline flourish. There has been a long series of seizures of motors . . . of attacks on British forces which were evacuating the country . . . of seizures of rifles and war materials, and there have been attacks on officers of the I.R.A. who were supposed to belong to one of the parties. Men are on the verge of that incline which leads rapidly and fatally to civil war and to a brutality of which we have no conception."

Without referring to outrages on civilians or to the events on the northern frontier, this gives a vivid and accurate description of the state of the country under a Treaty that was to have brought peace and happiness at once.

What Happened at Limerick.

The most notorious instance of this class of strife was the occupation of Limerick by the anti-Free State I.R.A., which might easily have led to a serious conflagration. Though ostensibly due to a purely local dispute, it seems in reality to have been made a Republican move directed against the Provisional Government; yet a prominent Government organ, in accordance with the present system of concealing the true conditions, is ready with the assertion that it was not a Republican move at all, but was due to the efforts of extremists of the Transport Union, who had been recruiting in the name of the I.R.A., and whose aim was the establishment of a Workers Republic on the Russian model. Though this statement conveys a useful warning as to the future, it is probably due to the necessity of finding a scapegoat, as an admission that it was a Republican coup would have been in direct conflict with Mr. Churchill's statement that nine-tenths of the I.R.A. were loyal to the Provisional Government. The occupation, however, has now ended as the result of a compromise. It is hard to understand what form a compromise between Free Staters and Republicans can take, consistently with the due observation of the terms of the Treaty, for, while the former party has undertaken to carry through an agreement which is supposed to be regarded as final and as the utmost limit of concession, the Republicans contend that the Treaty must be rejected as not going far enough to satisfy the national aspirations. Any compromise then between these divergent views must be based on some advance beyond the terms agreed on with the Imperial Government. The suspicion that this is the case is largely increased by the course of the election campaign, in which the "power of the gun" made its first appearance at a Free State meeting in Cork.

Collins Claims Absolute Independence.

While the entire Press of both countries is anxious to emphasise the overwhelming majority the Free State holds in the country, yet the speeches of the leaders point to an increasing anxiety on their part and to a readiness to interpret the Treaty as a full compliance with the demand for absolute freedom for Ireland. The view put forward at present is that the only object of the Treaty is to guarantee the evacuation of the British Forces, and when once that has been accomplished the road is open towards the goal

of complete independence; even the making and enacting of the Constitution is an act of political sovereignty just as much as if Ireland was to declare war on England, though, of course, England cannot be prevented from taking any steps she pleases to express her agreement and legalise it in the eyes of her own people; it is a mere illusion that she retains any rights whatever in Ireland.

Mr. Collins recently said: "The Treaty has brought such freedom in the transference of all Governmental powers, but, above all, in the departure of the British armed forces, that it becomes safe, simple, easy, and courageous to stand now for what was surrendered last July (i.e., the Republic), because the British forces were still here. We believe that the Treaty gives us the substance of independence and that it will lead inevitably and in a short period to the complete fulfilment of the national aspirations"; while another speaker said that the Treaty was "a weapon placed in our hands by Almighty God for the purpose of fighting our way to our final destination—absolute independence." The obvious interpretation of these quotations, and they could be multiplied almost indefinitely, is that there is a deliberate intention to disregard the terms of the Treaty when once it has been ratified in both countries and the evacuation of Ireland has been completed.

Britain Bound but not Ireland by the Treaty.

The Free Staters apparently, far from regarding the Republicans, as Mr. Churchill does, as "harmless men, the undersized fish to be returned to the water," are compelled, in order to maintain their power, to placate them by adopting a policy far in advance of the Treaty. The alternative view is that, having conceived the perhaps not unnatural idea that they have only to express their wishes and the British Government will meekly submit, they have again adopted their old policy which they were forced to abandon on the signature of the articles of agreement last December. This latter view is not improbable, as Mr. Collins is reported to have said at the Ard Eheis that if the Treaty were to be made now it could be made much better; in other words, the Treaty had so improved the position that now the position was so much stronger that a better Treaty could be made. The honour, therefore, of the Irish people, according to the Republicans, is not bound to acceptance of the Treaty, they can avail themselves of the situation without dishonour and by throwing out the Treaty can get a better one. It is their duty to take the best possible, and not to accept a lesser and degrading settlement when an honourable one could be made.

The Free Staters, on the other hand, having signed the Treaty and having taken up the position that the alternative to ratification is war, are bound to get it ratified; but when once that is done, according to their present statements, they can remove any elements that could be considered degrading even by the most advanced opinion in Ireland. Though just at present England does not care to admit it, she is to be "forced to recognise a revolutionary settlement carried through to the very last on revolutionary grounds."

The question then arises, what guarantees are to be demanded that the Treaty is to be regarded in the final sense which it was understood to bear

last December, and how any attempted alterations or modifications of the terms by the Irish Government after ratification will be regarded?

The Irish Army.

The only clue as to the attitude of the Imperial Government is afforded by the discussion on the Report Stage of the Free State Bill on the clause of the Treaty dealing with the armed forces, the number of which is, according to the Treaty, to be regulated in the proportion the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain. Leaving Northern Ireland out of consideration, the population of Southern Ireland is little more than three millions, while, taking the population of Great Britain as forty-two millions and the army in future as one hundred thousand, the army of the Free State would be one-fourteenth of the army of Great Britain, or, in round numbers, about seven or eight thousand men; yet Mr. Churchill says that no exact definition was reached, the matter was not considered sufficiently important to complicate the difficult character of the negotiations and the exact interpretation could be settled by agreement between the two parties. "The highest figure of the Free State forces would be between twenty and thirty thousand, and even if the figure was thirty thousand we could not conceive that that was likely to be a serious menace to the resources of this powerful country." It seems from this that it may be regarded as a matter of small importance to require strict compliance with the clause, which, it would be thought, having regard to the statements of the Prime Minister, would be looked on as a matter of supreme moment: "You cannot give Ireland the right to organise a separate army. . . . I should have thought that was common sense. The Irish temperament is too uncertain a factor for us to risk the whole life of Britain upon the chance that they will always act rationally. . . . I am speaking on behalf of the Government; we shall certainly resist out and out any attempt for an army being set up in Ireland, at our doors, to menace the existence of the United Kingdom." In what way have the conditions changed since that speech was delivered that now an army far in excess of that allowed by the Treaty can be regarded as immaterial? It certainly does not convey the impression that the Government consider it necessary that the Treaty should be interpreted, according to the strict letter, nor does it make it easy to understand what the attitude of the Government will be towards attempted modifications when a clause like the present, which, for the Treaty, is unusually free from ambiguity, is to be made the subject of agreement hereafter.

It may be remembered that after the Truce it was boasted that the I.R.A. reached almost a quarter of a million, and Mr. Collins now says that "the Volunteers of to-day will not be disbanded, nor will they be disrupted, but will be strengthened and increased, and that is the guarantee of our safety, not any documents or words of documents." What guarantees then that the armed forces of Ireland are to be reduced are to be exacted, and the safety of Great Britain demands that such guarantees should be exacted, and how are they to be enforced, or is this clause to be disregarded absolutely?

Double-tongued Deceit.

The Irish attitude, in Ireland at least, clearly is that the Treaty is not final, and constitutes no bar to obtaining complete independence, either immediately or in the near future. It seems that just as in the days of the old Home Rule agitation the Nationalist leaders used one form of language in England and another in America and Ireland, so the Free State leaders, while reserving for Ire-

land the expression of their genuine intentions, are engaged in hoodwinking the British public into the belief that the Treaty will be strictly observed in the spirit in which it was signed by both sides last December. Mr. Griffith, having signed the Treaty as binding Ireland to remain within the Empire, now says: "I deny that any national leader ever fought for anything but the independence of his country, under what name that independence came to him did not matter." Yet, holding these views, he still holds the confidence of British Ministers that he intends to carry out the Treaty and disestablish the Republic. Even the oath of allegiance, an oath of fidelity to the King in "virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain," it is now said, demands no relationship with England; on the contrary, it imposes the obligation of defending the Free State against all its enemies, even against the King of England should he happen to become one of its enemies.

Mr. Churchill on the Treaty.

On the third reading of the Free State Bill Mr. Churchill referred briefly to the event of the Treaty being broken, a contingency which he evidently did not like to consider, and pointed to the economic relations between the two countries and the dependence of Ireland on Great Britain in a commercial sense. He said that when Ireland was stripped of her grievances and stood on her own resources it would be seen how little she could hurt England, but he did not mention the obvious fact that if economic pressure was applied the only persons to be injured would be those who have always been loyal to the Imperial connection, nor did he think it necessary to allude to the effect the weakness of England in allowing a Treaty on a domestic matter to be treated as a "scrap of paper" would have on her diplomatic relations as a whole, for a precedent would be thereby established by which any foreign Power would be at liberty to regard a Treaty with England as not worth maintaining for a moment longer than was convenient to itself.

Having unnecessarily given to the Agreement with the Sinn Fein leaders the title of Treaty, the Government are bound in the interests of the United Kingdom to insist on the sanctity of Treaties being maintained. Nevertheless within three months of the signing of the Treaty that was regarded as the utmost limit of concession which the security of the Empire permitted, concessions which even fifteen months before would have been considered in the highest degree dangerous to the existence of the Empire, the Irish question has assumed its old form—complete independence and separation from the Empire.

"An Independent Ireland mig't starve us."

This question must now be settled in the interests of the United Kingdom; it is too late to suppose that any consideration would be shown to the claims of the loyalists of Ireland.

The strategic danger of an independent Ireland has been repeatedly pointed out by naval experts, and often by Mr. Lloyd George, "An independent Ireland might starve us."

Even under the Treaty the danger is still great, for his words, though spoken long before the Agreement was thought of, are still true: "Their temper is an uncertainty. You cannot depend on them, whatever the temptation to resist it and to stand by Britain and her interests. There would be the danger that in England's trouble they might achieve independence and satisfy an old feeling of vengeance for past wrongs." In their own interests, then, and in the interests of the Empire, it is the duty of every one to insist on the strict observance of the terms of the Articles of Agreement.

AN INTERCEPTED LETTER.

[FROM THE R.I.C. TO HIS MAJESTY, WITH THE
GIFT OF A SILVER HORSESHOE SNUFFBOX
WHICH HAD ONCE ADORNED THEIR MESS.]

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, we
The Royal Irish Constabulary,
Make bold, in breaking up our mess,
To send this gift, and this address,
In which we dutifully submit
That your Majesty accept of it.

*We have had, we may say, without pretence,
A long and varied experience
Of Whiteboys, Fenians, and Moonlighters,
And other such secret and dirty fighters,
And have done our duty to the Crown
By putting these malefactors down.*

*And by our statistics it appears
That for the best part of a hundred years,
Without a guard or even a lock,
Good people might keep their gear and stock,
For in bog and mountain, town and fair,
The law was respected everywhere.*

*Indeed, it was not an empty boast
That a colleen might walk from coast to coast,
And in her bosom a purse of gold,
Yet not be accounted overbold;
And if one may judge by the way they spoke,
We were well liked by decent folk.*

*Of recent events that have occurred
We do not wish to say a word,
Not desiring to cast any slurs
Upon your Majesty's Ministers,
Although we know how it would have ended
If things had been done as we recommended.*

*For we hold it true as the Holy Creed
That rebels and criminals cannot succeed,
But must go down, as a matter of course,
Before a well-ordered and disciplined force,
If only they are not messed about
By pusillanimity and doubt.*

In loyalty bound and on duty bent,
We surrendered arms and accoutrement,
Barracks, bedding, and motors, too,
As by Mr. Cope we were told to do,
It sufficing us to understand
That it was done by higher command.

These orders, we will not deny,
Tested our fellows a little high,
Knowing the Shinniers for what they were,
Every man, almost, a murderer;
And they thought it hard to give everything
To men who were rebels against the King.

Your Majesty will readily see,
If we may venture to make so free,
That to hand our weapons to these Shinniers
Who openly boast that they are winners,
Whereas we know that we could win,
Was an excellent test of discipline.

Further, on information good,
We mislike their present attitude,
Having detected their intent
From a certain captured document—
Which is—more from revenge than gain—
To murder such of us as remain.

This, not improbably, they will do,
Although we claim it is strictly true
That one of our Constables could beat
Six of these corner-boys off their feet,
Yet as they have arms which we are without
The result is hardly open to doubt.

These things being so, we take a pride,
Like the gladiators before they died,
To address our King—we would add, our friend—
And this silver horseshoe snuffbox send,
Which was of our mess the common wealth
When we used to drink your Majesty's health.

So it may hap, when we are dead,
And rebels drink their toasts instead,
That your Majesty, o'er a pinch of snuff,
May give a thought—one thought enough—
To the loyal corps that used to be—
The Royal Irish Constabulary.

I. C. [in the *Morning Post*.]

PROLETARIAN SUNDAY SCHOOLS

[AND OTHERS.]

The statements about these Proletarian Schools
are many—very many.

They occur in the speeches in public places of
M.P.s and of clergy, of representatives of associa-
tions, leagues, and societies, and in private meet-
ings on this subject, in numerous drawing-rooms in
London. In the depths of the country also
speeches about them have been heard in village
institutes and mothers' unions.

But they none of them quite know about what
they are talking, so the result is a far-reaching con-
fusion of statements about these schools, such as
the following:—"There are forty Proletarian
Schools in London." "There are over 200 Pro-
letarian Schools in England." "These Proletarian
Children's Groups can now be counted in hun-
dreds," etc., etc.

At a monster meeting of the Christian Counter-
Communist Crusade, in Central Hall, Westminster,
with a Bishop in the chair, a clergyman became
quite—well—cross when, after his speech after the
meeting ended, he was told he might possibly hear
his quotations if he went to school in Glasgow.

The fact is: There *are* no Proletarian Schools
in London; and there never have been any there.

The Proletarian Schools have never been estab-
lished in England or south of the Clyde, and
Glasgow is their birthplace.

The Proletarian school-books were published by
Tom Anderson, their author, in 1918-19, and they
can be procured for the paying for them.

Thus it may be that they are quoted so generally,
their blasphemy affording much scope for the
quotation-seekers.

The oldest of the three species of these Sunday
schools is the S.S.S., or Social Sunday School
Union, dating from 1896 (these were also
originated by Tom Anderson), since which date
they have taught steadily on, unmolested by
Government, Church, or police, who regard them
as "harmless."

An M.P. states: "From a Parliamentary point
of view, I leave the S.S.S. alone."

A clergyman states: "Yes, there *is* a small S.S.

school in my parish, but it has been there so long I think it is quite harmless."

In that very school, when a meeting of the S.S.S. Union was held in August, 1921, they printed: "Our teaching is fundamentally irreligious. We do not teach belief in God."

These S.S. schools are *Red*, as red as the others—blood Red. What does Red stand for?—Red Flag. And what does Red Flag stand for?—*Revolution*.

Because the S.S.S. are crafty with their words—saying "the day of Freedom" in place of Revolution, and their so-called "Ethics" deluding the superficial into taking them for religion—they are called—harmless! *How can the Red Flag be—harmless?*

There are about forty of these S.S. schools in London, forty-eight in England, thirty-eight in Scotland, and a supposed ninety-three in Wales.

The following incident may show which way their straws are blowing:—

In one of the great stores in London a month or so ago I passed two shopmen spreading out a piece of linoleum. A grey-haired man one end of it said to an oily, black-haired young man the other end: "I suppose you are pleased now there is peace signed with Ireland?" "No, I ain't," said the other. Something made me join in with "Are you going to swear allegiance to the King?" "No, I ain't," answered the young man, in a surly voice.

"*Oh—you were brought up in a Socialist Sunday school: easy enough to see that. Which one was it?*" The youth tried to escape, but other shopmen came out from behind the linoleum stacks to see the fun, and I called: "*Out with it! Which school was it—which one was it?*" Hereluctantly answered: "The one at Sydenham." "*Oh! then that Sydenham school has sown seeds of weeds—and you are one of them.*"

In 1920 an attempt failed to establish Proletarian Schools in London. And why? Because London repudiated them (the children could not be collected). *London was too good for them.* Three cheers for good old London!

This is something for the world to know and to honour—that *London was too good for them.* While London was being credited by the aforementioned quoters as a receptacle of their quotations—*London would have none of them.*

Here are the proofs of this: Two letters from Tom Anderson himself. In January and February, 1922, he wrote, saying: "London is an impossible place; we have failed to establish a Proletarian School there." And: "The workers are down and out, of that there can be no question. We on our part are keeping going to save the children from going under, and it keeps the grown-ups from falling into the pond of despair. Someone must do it if we are to survive. To stimulate readers, I have printed this letter from S. Wales: 'Dear Comrade Anderson,—I am greatly impressed by your notes, so I have decided to start a Proletarian School here.—Yours fraternally, etc.' But I am angry, so very angry, that I must express myself. I am so angry with it all that I could sink the ship and go home to glory. But to make amends we are starting a new children's paper for March called the *Young Rebel*."

Here is also the testimony of the Reds own newspaper intelligence: In the February number of one (printed in New York), which reviews the International Sunday-schools organisations, it says, under the Great Britain Section:—"The Proletarian School movement was limited to Scotland, and centred around Glasgow, which was all that there was of a young Proletarian movement in Great Britain."

But was London then left in peace with only her forty "harmless" though ancient S.S. schools? No, for before Christmas, 1921, the *worst* of the three school menaces assailed her in form of the *Communist* schools.

These are absolutely Bolshevik. They have at present no school books of which hold can be taken. Their teaching is mostly extempore: it is red-hot. Some of their songs are from Chicago. Their organ is the *Young Communist*, the first monthly number of which appeared in December, 1921, with an edition of 10,000. This paper is handed to the children in Communist Sunday-schools.

Now, how can we champion our London to fight this new menace to the State? The Home Secretary says: "By the blast of public opinion" (after he had repudiated a suggestion of legislation against it). But although public opinion *is* in full blast, in many a patriotic lecture hall and drawing-room meeting, Red schools continue undisturbed with the blasts blowing by them.

But the nation is roused, and it will act and in its only way—through the nation's mouthpiece—Parliament.

A Bill is now in course of framing—The Seditious Teachings Bill—and is in the hands of Sir John Butcher, K.C., M.P. In his hands the nation may rest confident that the very best thing is being done—and in the very best way.

THE RAND REVOLUTION.

It is generally recognised that the trouble at Johannesburg was not a mere Labour strike. It became so clearly something else than a question of wages that it is free from the misrepresentation we are used to in this country whenever Labour unrest gets into the Press. In THE PATRIOT of 2 March, before there was any violence, it was pointed out that at the back of the strike was international Labour agitation, and that in Cape Town alien Jew Communists were busy in egging the strikers on in the Transvaal mines. The absolute necessity for more efficiency or lower wages among white miners can be seen from the following facts: The costs of working, which averaged in 1913 about 18s. per ton of ore, had risen steadily during the war, and at the end of 1921 were 25s. Average wages had risen from £308 to £478 per annum; contractor miners earn at times over £100 per month. The quantity of gold in a ton of ore does not increase; on the average its tendency is to diminish rather. The mines vary greatly in richness and quantity of ore; and some are more expensive to work than others. Until 1919 gold had always been of fixed market price, about 85s. per ounce; and the abnormal premium due to American exchange is now running off. The cost of producing one ounce of gold varies in different mines from 39s. 6d. to 99s. 8d. per ounce; and in December, 1921, seven of the properties were working at an actual loss. Those mines employ 3,666 Europeans and spend £5,316,000 in wages and stores. When gold drops another 10s. per ounce from present price, twenty-two mines will cease to be profitable; and they employ 10,412 Europeans and expend £14,395,000. In considering the unemployment caused by stoppage of mining it must be remembered that eight natives are employed to each European. If white miners did honestly try to increase efficiency, the industry could be maintained; but the senseless agitation of professional trade unionist leaders continually misleads the men; and the Communists work incessantly for their own end of destroying industry under Capitalism.

TRADE UNION NOTES.

Sir,—I would like to take this opportunity of thanking those readers of THE PATRIOT who have written to me in connection with my remarks published in your issue of the 9th inst. I have to-day replied to all of them, giving them the particulars of our League of Trades Unionists for which they asked. I would point out, if I may, that it would be much appreciated if correspondents would kindly enclose stamp for reply, as we are not a wealthy organisation at present.

Several persons to whom I have spoken have read the Notes suggested that I am taking too serious a view of the activities of the Communists and Extremists, and that I am a little bit of an alarmist.

Nothing of the kind. I know only too well, as do plenty of my fellow trades unionists, the very effective manner in which these people have engineered the action of trades unions during the last few years. They live and thrive on the apathy of the members. No one was more delighted than they when, for instance, in the present engineering dispute only 85,765 out of a total membership of 430,000 of the A.E.U. went to the trouble of recording their vote, and unless this indifference is overcome the ballot that is now taking place between the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation and the General Workers' and Foundrymen's Unions, who are involved in the dispute, will be another very unrepresentative declaration. Of course, it is nobody's fault but the men themselves, but signs are not lacking that many members of trades unions who hitherto have been content to leave the business of their branches in the hands of the extremists are now beginning to take a keener and much more intelligent interest in the administration of their unions, such as election of local officers; delegates to Trades Union Congress, etc.

Many of us are firmly of opinion that the present dispute, as have been disputes in the past, is the result of the propaganda of the Communist agitators. A man like Mr. J. Marriott, the Labour Mayor of Mansfield, who is himself a member of the A.E.U., advises trades unionists to throw out of their ranks Communists and hot-headed red-flags, and Mr. T. W. Casey, M.P., general secretary of the Winding and General Engineers' Society, states that all along the line the extremist element had been a nuisance and danger to the nation, and through their action the trades union movement "had been ripped from top to bottom." The constructive policy of our League of Trades Unionists is to counteract in every conceivable manner the activities of these people, for their methods of work are many, ingenious, and various, and they are not really concerned with the aims and objects of real trades unionism, but are out to achieve political objects of their own under the mantle of trades unionism; and I repeat again because it is so true—that they live and thrive on members of trades unions who will not go to the trouble of exerting themselves even in their own interests. These extremists and Communists do not desire good feelings between master and man, and the more men they can prevail upon to imagine that they are a very infinitesimal body the more

effective is their pernicious propaganda. What about the second-class passenger who arrived at Southampton the other day from America, whose baggage was found to contain Communist literature in English, German, and Russian, also reams of manuscripts of a seditious character, all of which was confiscated? What would have happened to that literature had it got through? I know that much of it would have found its way into trades union lodges here and elsewhere.

On Friday last a deputation of the unemployed in Salford met the Mayor and presented a petition to him asking for his assistance in helping to get rid of the Communist element and stop the propaganda work that was being carried on by them. The late Mayor, it seems, gave the genuine unemployed the use of a school on the understanding that there should not be any Communist propaganda allowed, but the "respectable" unemployed have found to their dismay that nothing else is carried on there, and money contributed by the public through collections is being used to their detriment. The complete extinction of this class, and the purification of the politically run trades unions, is long overdue, but it is (in railway language) signalled.

I was speaking this morning on Crewe Station to one of these Communist fraternity, and we had several heated arguments, and he concluded with the remark "that if he had his road he would blow England 'sky high' and everybody in it." I suppose he thought he might have an opportunity of clearing out before the elevation took place.

During the last few days I have come in contact with a number of trades unionists in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and have had a few words with them as to how and what would be the most effective means to establish a compulsory secret ballot of trades unionists (after the manner of Parliamentary ballots) on decisions affecting the nation generally, and next week I would like to give particulars of this and how it can be accomplished.

18 March.

W. E. LOVEDAY, N.U.R.

ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA.

The public have forgotten how long active revolutionary propaganda has been going on in this country, and there is a general impression that Communism or Bolshevism is a new disease originating in the war conditions. It is interesting as a corrective to go back even to February, 1911, and to read an article in the *Fortnightly*, entitled "Anarchist Propaganda in England," as a few extracts will show. The distinctions between Anarchism, Communism, Bolshevism, Revolutionary Socialism are not very important for the man in the street, because his money and his life are equally in danger with any of them breaking out; but it is important for him to know that they all have their roots in an ever-renewed underground layer of international conspirators and in all countries:—

"A fusillade of Anarchist bullets, poured in broad daylight from the windows of a house in Stepney, has startled the British public. If a volcano had burst into eruption at his feet, the Londoner would not have been more astounded. . . . When the first shock was over, the Press and the nation, with one voice, demanded increased restrictions on the sale of firearms. And all the while the evidence of a weapon far more deadly than the Mauser pistol was overlooked. For it is not chiefly by pistol and bomb that international Anarchism works. . . . For years the persuasive Anarchist pamphlet, the inflammatory Anarchist newspaper, have been freely sold and distributed throughout England. . . ."

Anarchism is being freely and attractively taught, as shown by a list of meetings in 1909 and 1910. . . . The Anarchist—being, above all things, "international" and of no country—places patriotism high in his list of crimes. "Patriotism," wrote the great Anarchist leader Bakunin, "is an evil, a narrow and a fatal custom." "When we have undermined the patriotic lie," writes the famous American Anarchist Emma Goldman, "we shall have cleared the path for that great structure wherein all nationalities shall be united into a universal brotherhood." In a recent *Report* of the Independent Labour Party, it is stated that "patriotism is one of the weapons used by the enemies of the people to blind them to facts." . . . In London and in every country of England, Socialist Sunday schools are at work. Truly there are means more efficient than Mauser bullets of riddling the national flag!

Anarchism aims at the reconstruction of human society into world-wide groups of loosely federated men and women, living under no compulsion, moral or material. "We foresee millions and millions of groups," writes that leading scientific and practical exponent of Anarchism and distinguished geographer, Prince Krapotkin, "freely constituting themselves for all the varied needs of human beings." And he quotes Fourier: "Take pebbles, put them into a box and shake them, and they will arrange themselves into a mosaic that you can never get by entrusting to anyone the work of arranging them harmoniously." . . . Prince Krapotkin says: "Each individual will be able to give free rein to his inclinations and his passions, without any other restraint than the love and respect of those who surround him." The groups are to be freed alike from the "fetish" law, and from the "poison" religion. "Let the hearts of our youths be fired," cries Krapotkin, in his penny pamphlet *An Appeal to the Young*, "with that glorious revolutionary enthusiasm which inflamed the souls of our ancestors; let them wish to stab all tyrants there and then; let them revolt against laws which imprison for life this man who shot at a crowned murderer."

The Executive of the Social Democratic Party issued a manifesto in *Justice* on the case of a revolutionist named Savakar convicted in Bombay of distributing instructions for preparation of bombs for Anarchists. In this manifesto on the "high-minded young student" it is said:—"English rule has absolutely forced the most peaceful and submissive race in the world into Anarchist propaganda of deed; what course is left open to the enslaved of any country except secret conspiracy and open assassination?" It was decided to reprint this article in the vernacular and distribute it throughout India. This solidarity of feeling between Socialists and Anarchists is shown in the case of Dr. Kotoku and twenty-three other Japanese, threatened with execution for plotting against the life of the Emperor. Our paper *Freedom* organised a campaign of protest, to which "Socialists of all parties responded." The Independent Labour Party had an international demonstration at Albert Hall, with Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., and other Labour leaders present, and which "shouted with holy joy" when reference was made to Kotoku and his fellow-prisoners. Next day Mr. W. C. Anderson, chairman of the Bradford Independent Labour Party, referring to "our twenty-six comrades in Japan," said: "They cannot choke Freedom, even with the blood of Freedom. . . . So our great cause goes on." Exactly. But what cause? That of the Independent Labour Party or of Anarchism? And how? By plots to assassinate rulers?

The comment on the recent Houndsditch outrages, printed in *Justice* of January 14, covers the suggestion that the crime "was part of an elaborate plot by the police, engineered by the international police, *mouchards*, and *agents-provocateurs*, in order to strike a blow at the right of asylum in this country."

The social ideal of Anarchist philosophy does not include marriage or religion. A leaflet, *What is Anarchism?* to the question, Do you believe in marriage? supplies the answer, We believe love in itself is sufficient; and a desire to separate is cause sufficient; and a family which is held together by external force had better be disrupted. The conceptions of good and evil among men and other animals are identical. The book *Woman*, by the Socialist Bebel, is recommended by Mrs. Dora Montefiore to every Socialist woman; and it is recommended for girls' classes, of ages of fifteen to eighteen, in one large Socialist Sunday school Bebel says, "Man and woman being animals, can we talk of matrimony on indissoluble bonds."

Mr. Wishart, secretary of the Leeds Independent Labour Party, heads a penny pamphlet, now in second edition, "Christ as a Venomous Poison." Similar views appear in the Socialist paper the *Clarion*. On the Statute Book of New York, a Criminal Anarchy Law sets out that any person preaching Anarchism is liable to imprisonment for ten years or a 5,000 dollar fine; and any person letting a hall to be used for Anarchist meetings can be imprisoned for two years.

"BLACK FRIDAY AND AFTER."

Mr. Robert Williams—who is familiarly known as Trotsky Bob Williams, from his having received a medal from Trotsky for services on the English front of Communism—wrote in the *Labour Monthly* of August, 1921, under the above title, about some of the causes of failure of the revolutionary coal strike, when the Triple Alliance failed to get the men out in a general strike to coerce the nation. The interest in this is not merely historical, for there is no weakening of intention on the part of the revolutionaries who manipulate certain of the trade unions; and the public and Press will do well to note for future explanation of coming events the following remarks on the past occurrences:—

"I am fully convinced the Triple Alliance is irretrievably broken, but the Labour Movement and its constituent sections remain, with all their possibilities, latent and actual. . . . Mr. Cole does well to point out that it is not worth while to use revolutionary means for purely reformist ends! . . . It must not be forgotten that, whether by prophetic insight, by audacious strategy, or by simple bluff, the Triple Alliance has rendered conspicuous service to the Working-class Movement in Great Britain, and to the International. Many of the leaders of the Soviet Government with whom I conversed whilst in Russia, during the visit of the Labour Delegation last year, were convinced that the action of the Triple Alliance, by its threat of strike action against Britain's anti-Russian policy, and in holding up the transport of munitions of war, saved the situation during the counter-revolutionary onslaughts of Koltchak, Denekin, Yudenitch, and others during 1918 and 1919. . . . Of course, we (trade unionists) were, and are, Socialists; certainly we had voted for, and shall continue to subscribe to, revolutionary principles. . . . We knew that at any time a Triple Alliance contest against 'all the resources of the State' would be an 'even' chance, but that on a falling market, with some million and a-half unemployed, the odds were against us. . . . Had the Miners' Federation gone to Lloyd George—who was just as scared as we were—in the forenoon of that important Friday when the Triple Alliance strike was still *in potentia*, the miners could have made a settlement wherein the Government would have given such financial assistance to the mining industry as would have been requisite to maintain wages up to cost-of-living figures. We were entitled to consider whether we could force the hands of the Cabinet as they were being forced by the Coalition members who were prepared to desert Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Robert Horne. I could fill many more pages with an array of incidents the mere revelation of which, whilst being of little value to us, would add to our opponents' knowledge of our manifold weaknesses. Military wars have an ending, when there can be the most intimate revelations regarding policy, tactics, and strategical consideration; *but the class struggle continues interminably.*

"We attempted to help the miners all we could by placing an embargo on imported coal. Both nationally and internationally, all the factors of unemployment, with the 'reserve army of labour' as a means of recruitment of strike-breakers, were against us. The coal embargo, like the threatened Triple Alliance strike, fizzled out. . . . *Things were obtained rather too easily during the war*, successes have made us over-confident; and my own sincere desire is that upon the ruins of the Triple Alliance shall be built another stronger and more helpful structure for the purpose of working-class emancipation. The Triple Alliance is dead! Long live International Working-class Solidarity!"

NOTE.—In THE PATRIOT of February 23, page 13, will be found the text of the challenge thrown down to the nation by the Triple Alliance on April 11, and signed by Smith, Hodges, Abraham, Cramp, J. H. Thomas, Gosling, and R. Williams.

KRASSIN'S PASSPORTS.

We have had the opportunity, says the *Morning Post*, of seeing the form of passport issued by M. Krassin, who is permitted by the British Government to reside in London as the Trade Delegate of the Russian Bolsheviks.

M. Krassin's passport accords to "Russian citizen . . ." the right "to live within the boundaries of England" for a certain number of months, and it is interesting to note that M. Krassin describes himself in it as "Plenipotentiary Representative of the Federated Republic of the Soviets of Russia in England."

THE WISDOM OF DISRAELI.

The British Empire.

No Cæsar or Charlemagne ever presided over a dominion so peculiar. Its flag floats in many waters. It has provinces in every zone; they are inhabited by persons of different races, different religions, different laws, manners, customs. Some of these are bound to us by ties of liberty, fully conscious that without their connection with the metropolis they have no security for public freedom and self-government; others are bound to us by flesh and blood and by material as well as moral considerations. There are millions who are bound to us by our military sway, and they bow to that sway because they know they are indebted to it for order and justice. All these communities agree in recognising the commanding spirit of these islands that has formed and fashioned in such a manner so great a portion of the globe. That Empire is no mean heritage; but it is not a heritage that can only be enjoyed; it must be maintained, and it can only be maintained by the same qualities that created it—by courage, by discipline, by patience, by determination, and by a reverence for public law and respect for national rights.—HOUSE OF LORDS, April, 1878.

Peace at Any Price.

It is that dangerous dogma—Peace at any Price—which I believe animates the ranks before me at this moment, although many of them may be unconscious of it. That deleterious doctrine haunts the people of this country in every form. Sometimes it is a Committee, sometimes it is a letter, sometimes it is an amendment to the Address, sometimes it is a proposition to stop the Supplies. That doctrine has done more mischief than any I can well recall that have been afloat in this country. It has occasioned more wars than the most ruthless conquerors. It has disturbed and nearly destroyed that equilibrium so necessary to the liberties of nations and the welfare of the world.—HOUSE OF LORDS, December, 1878.

Coalition Governments.

Yes! I know what I have to face. I have to face a coalition. The combination may be successful. But coalitions, though successful, have always found this: that their triumph has been short. This, too, I know: that England does not love coalitions. I appeal from the coalition to that public opinion whose mild and irresistible influence can control even decrees of Parliaments, and without whose support the most august and ancient institutions are but "the baseless fabric of a vision."—HOUSE OF COMMONS, December, 1852.

GERMAN INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY.

Manufacturers in Germany are conducting an intense advertising and propaganda activity in Great Britain. Their circulars and attractively illustrated notices of return to our markets are increasing in numbers, and are hitting our debilitated industries at a time they are gasping for breath under the repeated attacks of the trade union political leaders. If the Government are going to continue their post-war policy of meddling with industry and pandering to the demands of professional Labourites, it is impossible to see how the average conditions of life can be kept up to even pre-war standards, still less to present standards: nevertheless, our pro-Germans, with the help of the Press, make our atmosphere murky with gush.

HOW THE PRINCE WAS RECEIVED IN INDIA.

The following extracts from a letter received from Calcutta will be a corrective to some of the descriptions which have been published at home and in India. The letter is a private one, from a gentleman in Calcutta who served in the 3,500 Civil Guards who alone prevented a very serious outbreak such as occurred in Bombay, but this fact was never published widely:—

Perhaps, after all, the insult India has offered to the Prince, contemptible as it has been, may yet defeat its own ends and prove to be productive of good. It should show to wavering or misguided Non-Co-operators the ineptitude of Gandhi as a leader, his inability to control the forces he has invoked, and the fallacy of his much vaunted passive resistance. It should disclose to all communities the fierce hatred and intolerance of the Khalifatists, whose temporary alliance with the Non-Co-operators is merely a mask to hide their own ambitions.

But the pity of it all is that, had the tares been gathered earlier in the season, the weeds of nearly three years' growth would never have matured, and many thousands of lives would have been saved. It may be argued that a policy of giving Gandhi and his confederates enough rope with which to hang themselves has its merits, but it is extremely costly and remarkably dangerous; and, in any case, it has failed. After all, there is still something to be said for the old woman's adage: "A stitch in time saves nine."

One word more. Why do the papers so consistently endeavour to persuade the public that the Prince is receiving a good reception? To say he has been accorded an enthusiastic welcome in India is certainly true—we have seen to that. The emotional, though none the less sincere, loyalty displayed by the people of his own race—in Calcutta, anyway—was reminiscent of the patriotism of the early days of the war; but to pretend that India has given him a good reception is an unqualified lie. The indignation we feel here at the specious accounts of the Montagu muzzled Press is too deep for expression.

We all know that his arrival in India was the signal for a universal "hartal," and that there has been a local "hartal" in each city he has visited subsequently. We all know from indisputably reliable sources that there was the gravest trouble in Bombay when he landed; that every available military and police force was engaged in suppressing the rioters; that there were considerable casualties; and that the Viceroy's departure was delayed twenty-four hours because an escort could not be spared for him. And Madras appears to have been little better.

They talk of a hearty welcome in Calcutta. Why then, may I ask, were there 3,500 men—the newly-formed Civil Guard—who never went to bed on the night of December 23-24, as they were required to patrol the streets from midnight until 10 a.m. to prevent crowds forming, and thereafter continue their duties either as auxiliaries or policemen? Why were all the native quarters strongly picketed with military and police forces; and why were there machine-guns and Lewis guns pointing up every doubtful street? Yet these are undeniable facts which, as an eye witness, I unhesitatingly affirm. True, a few days later, at the pageant, the natives did turn out and show a certain amount of enthusiasm, but they had had their hartal—thereby offering the gravest insult they could—and they had learnt that whatever might obtain in other places, Calcutta at least was determined to stand no nonsense. Small credit to them, therefore, that there was not rioting during the Prince's visit. Yet the Press would have you believe India has welcomed him! Only the native States and Burmah can claim that privilege.

Calcutta, February 4, 1922.

Translation of the leaflet which was distributed broadcast in Calcutta on November 16, of which I have the original:—

"NOTICE TO ALL INDIANS.

"EARNEST REQUEST OF MAHATMA GANDHI.

"Dear Brothers,

"The Prince of Wales is coming to India to strengthen the system of Government against which the whole country is contending to-day. It is therefore earnestly expected that in order to honour the Motherland every Indian (Mohammedans) should strictly observe a complete Hartal to-morrow, the 17th inst., bearing in mind the Punjab atrocities, Kbalifat wrongs, etc.

"Yours faithfully,

"Bara Bazar Congress Committee.

"NOTE.—Everybody should observe it willingly, and there should be no violence."

REVIEW.

MINERS AND UNDER-MINERS.

We must put in a claim for an advance in wages—a substantial advance in wages—or we must force the Government to take off the 14s. 2d. on coal; either the one or the other. Either of these cuts fundamentally into the Government's policy. They cannot decontrol if we get an increase in wages.

R. SMILLIE. *Federation Conference, June, 1920.*

We are going to create a first-class economic crisis which will reduce the nation to chaos.

F. HODGES. *Federation Conference, June, 1920.*

These declarations of miners' leaders are the true justification of the booklet under the title of "The Mining Crisis," which was recently written by Mr. W. Livesey, for many years chief clerk to the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, a position which, it is needless to say, he no longer occupies, but sacrificed to a sense of duty to workers. The issue is sold at 1s. by the publishers, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., and some extracts will show the illumination cast on the inner workings of the conspiracy against the country involved in the great coal strike of a year ago, about which the man in the street was entirely misled by most of the Press. This conspiracy cost the nation untold millions directly; it effectively destroyed a large part of the industry of the country, drove orders abroad, and is now costing many millions in unemployment doles, which are rapidly diminishing the total wealth of the people.

The writer having a deeper knowledge of the facts and of the "policy" of the leaders than most people, found it, therefore, as impossible to divest himself of a feeling of deep personal responsibility for the cruel and needless misery and suffering borne by millions of men, women, and children, as it had been for him to refrain from making it clear to his superiors which side he would have to take in the event of the threatened "war to the knife" with the Government of the country taking place.

It is an appeal to the workers, for whom indeed it has been specially written, to take more interest in the affairs of their unions, to secure control, and rebuild and reorganise their movement on such lines as will make it an advantage to all and a menace to none.

The quotations given at the head of this article, however, give the clearest indication of the motives which led the miners' leaders, within a week or two after completion of the two agreements referred to, to set up another agitation, even at the cost of "creating a first-class economic crisis which will reduce the nation to chaos." This policy was to force the Government to increase the price of coal by securing advances in wages, and then demand further advances because prices were raised, thus necessitating further increases in price, and so on, until nationalisation would be accepted by the owners, the Government, and the public generally, as the only way out.

Wages a Bagatelle.

Whether we get a reduction of 3s., 4s. or 5s. a day is a mere bagatelle in comparison with the principles we are aiming at.

MR. VERNON HARTSHORN, M.P. *Federation Conference.*

On Monday and Tuesday, January 24 and 25, a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Miners' International Federation was held in London. Having naturally gone out of existence, so to speak, during the war, the Miners' International had been reconstituted at a Conference held in Geneva in August, 1920. A new set of objects and rules were submitted and approved, and affiliation was restricted to those national organisations who pledged themselves to work in every possible way, strike action not excluded, for the socialisation of the coal industry in their country.

At the meeting referred to reports were given by the representatives of each nation as to the progress they had made towards nationalisation, Mr. Smillie and Mr. Hodges reporting as to the position in Great Britain. After the reports were given a resolution was passed calling upon the various national organisations not to enter into any negotiations or agreement with the coal owners which would com-

promise international action being undertaken at any time to realise the resolutions in favour of socialisation passed at Geneva.

This resolution, which was passed unanimously, was either so much humbug or it was a clear indication that socialisation of the coal industry in this country was the one object of the responsible leaders of the British miners. No wage agreement was to be entered into which would retard nationalisation, and further, the leaders had thereby pledged themselves to call the British miners out on strike to secure nationalisation of the mines in, say, France or Belgium. . . .

Mr. Frank Hodges said: "We have been holding to one view-point: never will we go back to the old wage system," and he stated clearly "we might have to come to the arbitration of a struggle with the owners and the Government in attempting to set up this National Wages Board." Here was a clear intimation that the miners were to be called out by their leaders to secure a socialistic ideal of the unification of the industry which would have destroyed the principle of private enterprise and which would have needed a revolution to achieve it. . . .

Nursing the Baby.

The intimation by the Government of their intention to decontrol the industry on March 31, in spite of the fact that nothing less than a successful revolutionary struggle would secure the establishment of a National Wages Board and Profits Pool, had no effect on the policy adopted by the Executive, and no attempt was made to adopt a change of policy in the interests of the men. . . . The attitude taken by Mr. Smith was that, being the head of a democratic body, he must, as also must the Yorkshire miners, bow to the will of the majority. In other words, as a prominent member of the Executive humorously expressed it, "Here we are left nursing the baby fathered by Smillie and Hodges, and we must either rear it, or smother it, or kill ourselves," and not until the very last, when he and the other members of the Executive had worked themselves into such a state of frenzy and desperation as enabled the spirit of leadership to be reborn in them, was there any change.

Charged as the Executive Committee was with the conduct of a dispute involving not only the four or five million souls directly dependent upon the mining industry, but hardly less directly the entire population of the country, it might have been expected that the Committee would have remained in London in continuous session and devoted themselves night and day to effecting some settlement even at the last possible moment. This, however, they did not do. Never in the history of the Labour Movement have such huge interests been left in the hands of a body, which as a result of internal dissensions, had been reduced to absolute impotence.

This was a week of negotiation with the Government, in which both Mr. Herbert Smith and Mr. Hodges made it clear that no purely wages settlement could be accepted which did not embody the two principles (a National Wages Board and National Profits Pool), and at their own meeting; on April 12, the Executive passed the following resolution: "That, having fully considered the terms set forth in writing by the Government, we reject such terms, as they offer no solution to the present dispute. . . . Mr. Hodges, with his two colleagues, attended a House of Commons meeting, in which he was understood to say, and this is borne out by his subsequent utterances, that the miners were prepared to discuss wages without the controversial issue of the pool, provided they were not related to a permanent settlement on a district basis. . . . Can it be wondered, however, that Mr. Hodges' colleagues and those members of the Committee who, with whatever object in view, had subordinated not only their own views and individuality but also the homes and living of their members to the demand for the National Pool, refused to obey his command—"Right about turn." In view of the suffering already caused to the men through the persistence in this demand, this action would have put all the leaders in an impossible position in their own districts, and they, therefore, declined to attend the meeting.

The True Sufferers.

Much might also be written about the intense mental suffering endured by husbands and fathers, who, though willing to work, have been tyrannised into standing idly by to see their wives and children being slowly starved to death or living on charity—largely at the expense of their fellow workers, whose contributions, whether through their trade unions or by weekly collections, however unselfishly given, served only to prolong the agony and postpone the inevitable end—while the fight for Socialism, not necessarily Extremism or Communism, went on. . . .

Of the present financial position of the affiliated organisations it is unnecessary to speak, except to say that accumulated funds have been spent, property and effects mortgaged,

and huge debts piled up, so that it will take years of effort by increased or even doubled contributions from the members to restore the unions to a position of anything like financial stability. But even this is not the worst. As a result of its political activities and aspirations during the past nine or ten years, the Federation has seen its power diminished, and its moral influence destroyed. The mismanagement of its affairs during recent years has not only brought the Federation and its members to their present position, but there are few Labour leaders who do not hold that the leaders of the miners are in the main responsible for many of the evils attendant upon the movement generally. Throughout their attitude has been one of independence. They refused to take part with the rest of organised labour in the "truce" declared in 1915 for the period of the war, and their refusal has done more than anything else to bring about the present disruption of and dissensions in the movement. . . . For years the trade union movement has become more and more permeated with Socialism, whose adherents have systematically and with no small ability pursued the policy of "boring from within," but in no case has the Socialist domination been so complete as in the case of the Miners' Federation, and the Socialist leaders have in the end been overwhelmed by the very policy that they have advocated. . . . So completely is the Federation dominated by the Socialist element, that leaders of the old school, and, indeed, all those whose sense of responsibility has been awakened by experience in handling affairs on a great scale, have for some time recognised that sooner or later they would have to fight the "Extremists" for the control of the movement. The recent crisis was brought about almost wholly by the attempt of the Socialists to "socialise" the industry, and it was seized upon by the extremists as a means of doing away with private property in the industry altogether.

Doomed to Failure.

In view of all this, is it not a striking commentary on modern Labour leadership that, in spite of the accumulated evidence of the past failure of the policy of bigger and bigger unions, and the certainty that its failure must be more pronounced in future as the social consciousness of the workers grows, that the policy is still being pursued? Even an "intellectual" like Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, while admitting that the whole Trade Union movement is ripe for reform, argues that there must be bigger and fewer unions, and at the recent Council Meeting of the National Federation of General Workers, of which body the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., is the President, a resolution was passed approving the principle of one big union for all general workers. . . . Mass organisation has failed, as it always must fail. Whenever it has tried to come to grips with the nation the nation has always been able to defeat the attacks launched by any section, however strong, and has always been able to prove the truth of the old adage—the whole is stronger than any part.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTE.—While inviting correspondence, the Editor takes no responsibility for the opinions expressed.

HOW LONG?

To the Editor.

Sir,—How long shall we English allow our political leaders to play the game of our enemies to the harm of our nation? To go back a short way—to the Armistice—we, by pouring out the blood of the best of our land, had obtained victory, and when our enemy, who knew they were in the net, asked for an armistice, our warriors if left uninterfered with by our politicians would have insisted on "unconditional surrender," the Germans would have "thrown up their hands," and we would have run them into Berlin, pinned them down and forced them to compensate us and our Allies for his (the enemy's) ruthless brutality. The politicians snatched the sword out of the warriors' hands and temporised with the enemy almost on equal terms, leaving him "scotched," not crushed, able to crawl about, poisoning us and attacking us in all quarters in his attempts to destroy our Empire, by the same means that we allowed him to destroy Russia as a nation and absorb the great resources of that country in men and material for his world-hust of dominating and enslaving the rest of humanity. The German Reichstag—it stated that they deplored the resignation of Mr. Lloyd George, as he was the only one of the Allies who were friendly to Germany! Formerly, we English would never allow foreign dictation, but now the opinions of our rivals and of our enemies are consulted before those of the English.

Our leaders have allowed the dregs of the *citizens of the United States*, viz., some of the Irish-Americans and German-Americans, to invade and conquer the South of Ireland by *murder and terror*; they are still trying to do the same in loyal Ulster. This is "peace": an excuse to withdraw our protection of the poor Irish, who dare not open their mouths for fear of murder of themselves, women and children. When almost too late, we began to succour these poor Irish, who dare not call their soul their own; the "hired assassins" were on the run. Our leader made peace, putting these assassins and their leader, a Spanish Chilean, on a par with our nation, and withdrew our troops. Such scoundrels or their friends are now recognised as representing "all Ireland," open enemies paid by German money through America and Russia.

Our leader is dominated by the nominal "Labour" party, obviously in its turn under the influence of German agents acting through the Russian Bolsheviks.—Your obedient servant,

15 March.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

WANTED—A LEADER.

Sir,—As political events are now moving with such lightning rapidity, no time should be lost and no effort spared if the revival of a sound, honest and high-principled Conservative Party is to be accomplished.

With all due respect to the Duke of Northumberland, I most profoundly differ with him when he contends, as he does in his interesting article in your last issue, that "the resuscitation of Conservatism mainly depends on the efforts of the rank and file," and that "the motive power must come from below, not from above." Without a leader in whom trust and confidence can be placed, it is idle to hope to organise genuine Conservatives, and until that leader acclaims himself as ready to undertake such a role, there is no chance whatsoever of the desired end being attained.

The great weakness in this revival movement so far has been that its promoters have taken a defensive rather than an offensive attitude, but if it is to achieve the success it desires combative action must be adopted, as mere marking-time will be fruitless.

What is wanted is a leader such as Lord Bolingbroke so graphically portrayed in the following extract from his "Remarks on English History":—"Let but one great, brave, disinterested man arise, and he will be received, followed, and almost adored as the guardian-genius of these kingdoms. Without a foundation of solid virtue and public spirit the noblest accomplishments lose their importance: with it, commonsense grows venerable, and the dove triumphs over the serpent. If, then, there is any one man of sufficient eminence among us who, upon a thorough self-examination, feels himself to be within this description, let him stand forth, and by a solemn, open, explicit renunciation of all power, places, pensions, and every other species of court merchandise, lay the groundwork for obtaining the confidence of the people." Every Conservative who values the independence, and desires the good government of his country, would owe such an emancipator his support in the struggle against the present tyrannical and incapable faction, who in the course of their brief but disastrous career have contrived to shake every great interest of the Empire to its centre.

We must turn out the renegades and traitors, who have too long been allowed to control our forces. To arms, then, Conservatives! Strike, and strike well! Let the blow be no uncertain one. Remember that on the thoroughness of the cleansing depends the very honour and existence of Conservatism.—Yours, etc.,

E. JAMES.

Wallington, 13 March.

MR. MONTAGU.

Sir,—Mr. Lloyd George has drawn a herring across the trail of Mr. Montagu's misdemeanours by basing his dismissal on the ground of the publication of the telegram, thus enabling him to pose as a martyr to red tape, whereas he ought to have been impeached and punished some two years ago for stirring up to rebellion the native population from their pathetic contentment, which has involved the death of more than 10,000 natives and Europeans, for which he has been directly responsible. With incredible meanness he has thrown over his colleagues and dupes, and urged their punishment in order to divert public attention from himself.—Yours faithfully,

GUILDFORD L. MOLESWORTH.

The Manor House, Bexley, 16 March, 1922.

Sir,—As a reader of THE PATRIOT who does his best to extend its circulation, let me say that "Fair-play's" letter (16/3/22) looks very much like an attempt of the hidden hand to urge the Government to reverse its decision to main-

tain the embargo on Canadian cattle. This decision, I am fully convinced, is in the best interests of the country, because it involves not only the prosperity and safety of our greatest national industry, but the needs of everyone—the consumers. To lift the embargo on the pretext of excluding disease from Ireland (where the Government veterinary experts say there is no proof of its existence), or on any other pretence whatever, would injure all and sundry, even in the end the selfish profiteering butchers, middlemen farmers, and others who keep up the agitation, by lessening the number of cattle in the world, upsetting our meat trade, raising the price of meat, and inevitably introducing Indian rinderpest into this country through Canada from Brazil, by way of Colombia, Mexico, and the United States.—Yours, etc.,

ROBERT WALLACE.

Edinburgh University, 20 March, 1922.

Sir,—May I make a suggestion both to yourself and your readers? (Probably my suggestion is no longer original.)

In writing, why not put "Socialism" instead of Socialism? I contend that I, as a Conservative and Individualist, am the true Socialist, and that the other fellow, masquerading under his humanitarian cloak, is a mere sham, who should not be allowed to monopolise (or perhaps usurp would be the more appropriate word) a term which, in its true meaning, includes the duty towards one's neighbour. "Socialism" and "Socialist" would exactly visualise the distinction desired to be impressed. Many persons, too, object to be "anti" anything. Such would then be only "Anti-Socialist," thereby implying that they are Socialists in the true sense. They would then no longer suffer the prickings of a false conscience. Clear-headedness in such matters is not pedantry, why therefore not be clear?—Yours faithfully,

W. B. LAURENCE.

4, Gerard Road, Barnes, S.W.13,
20 March, 1922.

Sir,—Allow me to endorse the suggestion of "A. R." (writing from Westcliff-on-Sea), that "a petition should be drawn up demanding the compulsory closing of the *Proletariat Sunday Schools*." If issued by the heads of the Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, Boys' Brigade, Church Lads' Brigade, Primrose League, British Empire Union, National Citizens' Union, can anyone doubt that the response would be overwhelming?

Your correspondent makes a good point: that as Christians we shall not tolerate "blasphemous atheism," nor as Britons "insults to our flag." May I add: in the interests of fairplay we should not tolerate these organised attacks on the undeveloped and undefended minds of our children. They have, I submit, a right to expect protection from their "elders and betters" against contamination of the soul quite as much as against infection of the body. And if the elders fail to provide it, will not the children themselves be the first to reproach them for their neglect, and blame them for its inevitable consequences?—Yours, etc.,

C. F. BOYD.

18, Shandon Crescent, Edinburgh,
19 March, 1922.

Sir,—Your correspondent "H. W. W." has not quite uncovered a real secret of Communist success, namely: "The art of supporting (for a time) any good law or reform with the intent of later on using it for furthering revolutionary violence, discontent, etc. As to statistics, please send enclosed cuttings to your correspondent. Before submitting illustrations, let me observe that if enemies of Christianity and Anarchists, etc., use Prohibition, Local Option, or Limitation of Alcohol movements as subsequent revolutionary pretexts—this does not prove that such restrictive laws are wrong in themselves.

Under the guidance of a guard Mr. Loveday (leaflet enclosed), the right, just idea of a trade union may have a chance of prospering, but may be hopelessly perverted or abused into a wrong idea when Communists act as described in your issue of March 9 (Government desertion of ex-service men), and when certain classes of strikes appear.

Lastly, a certain small amount of unemployment pay may be a right idea of good in certain cases. But Communists in Poplar first support and then abuse utterly the system, causing discontent which they hope will ripen into revolution. Are we to allow Communist madness to drive us away from every reform? Perhaps if less selfish and more willing to suffer a little for righteousness' sake the reform could be made a success, whatever our enemies' strategy may be.—Yours faithfully,

E. P. C. AMPILETT.

The Copse, West Drayton, Middlesex.
19 March, 1922.

A GLOSSARY OF POLITICAL AND LABOUR TERMS.

No. 7.

As there is a demand for definition of many terms recently introduced in journalism, the following will be continued week by week.

N.

N.D.P.—National Democratic Party, a group in Parliament, and part of the Coalition Labour Group, loyal to the Constitution, and opposed to all revolutionaries.

N.S.P.—National Socialist Party, formed chiefly by those patriotic members of the British Socialist Party who were supporters of their country in the war; while the B.S.P. were anti-war, and forced the loyal men out of the party. The N.S.P. has now resumed its former title of Social Democratic Federation, the first English Socialist Party with its organ "Justice," and dating back to 1881. (See **Solidarity of the Proletariat**.)

N.T.W.F.—National Transport Workers' Federation.

N.U.R.—National Union of Railwaymen.

N.U.T.—National Union of Teachers.

O.

Ochlocracy.—Mob-rule: government by the populace. (See **Syndicalism**.)

Oligarchy.—Government by a few. Whether in the actual government of the country, or in the formation and directing of opinion among the people as a mass, the influence of the few over the many is always most powerful. It has been said that "only through Oligarchy does civilised Democracy know itself." In the case of all revolutions "the history begins with a swarm of rival oligarchs, most of them squalid, none of them capable of any permanent leadership, each of them (either singly or allied with a small group of associates) endeavouring to destroy some other group or individual, and each of them pretending, by some trick of successful or unsuccessful ventriloquism, that his own voice is really that of the people."

Opportunist.—One who regulates his policy by the conditions of the moment, rather than by any convictions or fixed principles.

P.

Pacifist.—A person opposed generally to war for the honour or rights of his own country; but very often one who encourages class war at home. In the Great War Pacifists were usually of the class who believe their own country is mostly in the wrong, and who by their actions encouraged her enemies and advocated peace on any terms.

Plebs League.—The propagandist section of the Central Labour College in the teaching of Socialism and class-war throughout the country.

Profiteering.—Used during the war to mean excessive profits made as a result of war conditions; but now used loosely to mean any large profits.

Proletariat.—The common people, the wage-earners; sometimes, as in Russia, it means only those who believe exactly the same as the particular group in possession of power. **Dictatorship of the Proletariat**, in practice, means exercise of authority by a small group who claim to represent the common people as a whole, but enforce their own political views on the masses, for the supposed ultimate good of the masses. (See **Solidarity of**.)

Proletarian Schools.—Revolutionary Schools, more extreme even than the **Socialist Sunday Schools**, to teach children the necessity of destroying the present Political State and building an **Industrial Republic**. There were seven of these schools in Scotland alone in 1920.

Proletcult.—Proletarian culture—as distinct from ordinary culture, which is bourgeois in origin. The special teaching of the Plebs League, as "Independent working-class education based on Marxism and Revolutionary Socialism," and directed particularly to the cultivation of class hatred. The Plebs Text-Book Committee say, "Science must not be taken from the hangers-on, however eminent, of the capitalist class."

P.R.—Proportional Representation.—Any system of voting which provides for substantial local minorities being represented in Parliament as well as the local majorities.

Propaganda.—Any organised system of spreading or extending principles and creeds.

R.

Rank-and-File Movement.—(See **Shop-Stewards**.)

Reactionary.—One who prefers a past political condition to some present, or contemplated, one. Usually employed in contempt by those who think all change is progress to describe those who know better. Communists describe State Socialists as "reactionaries." Any plan for reconstruction after revolution is reactionary—according to revolutionaries.

Reformism.—Used by Socialists and Revolutionaries to describe any attempts to improve present social conditions, instead of destroying them. (See **Mellorism**.)

(To be continued.)

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No. 7.—Vol. 1.

23 MARCH, 1922.

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