SENTENCED TO DEATH

STORY OF THE OBJECTORS WHO WERE TRANSFERRED TO FRANCE

The story of the thirty-seven conscientious objectors who were transferred to France in May, 1916, and of the thirty who were sentenced to death, has been told well by Hubert W. Peet. We summarise his story.

Whilst conscription was passing through the House of Commons, the highest civil authorities promised that no conscientious objector would be transferred from Britain. The undertaking was given because it was known that such transference meant the death sentence for the genuine conscientious objector. The military authorities rode rough-shod over the parliamentary pledges, and the conscientious objectors were transferred to France from Landguard Fort, Harwich; from Richmond, Yorks; and from Scardov.

The first rumours of the intended transference reached the No Conscription Fellowship from Harwich, where a party of conscientious objectors were in irons at Landguard Fort. Definite information was received that the Non-Combatant Corps, and its C.O. prisoners, were on their way to Southampton. This warning reached the N.C.C. in a letter, thrown out of the train by one of the ordinary N.C.C. men, while it was passing through a London suburban. The letter was posted by unknown hands and the facts became published property.

The party was delayed at Southampton, by the discovery of an outbreak of measles in the corps. Mr. Asquith, then Prime Minister, telegraphed to Southampton, ordering the retention of the C.O.s in Britain. But the prisoners had been separated from the other men and shipped to Havre. The Army authorities intended to make an "example" of them, it would seem.

They were technically "released" after leaving England. Their first real contest with the Military Authorities came on May 10. It was then that 17 of the Landguard party, alone in the midst of the B.E.F., began their refusal to be coerced into being soldiers.

On the parade ground at Cinder City, this May morning, an extraordinary scene was witnessed. The C.O.s were hustled into their places in different parts of the ranks. The order, "Boys turn! Quick march!" was shouted. The company moved briskly off! But dotted on the parade ground were seventeen conscientious objectors still in their original positions. This was actually and symbolically true. These men stood in their original positions to the end, the bulwark of the protest against war and militarism, tested, well tested, and not found wanting.

Physical ill-treatment, bullying, and threatening ensued. Here and there an ordinary private whispered: "Stick it!" Finally, the party of C.O.s were split up. Some of the men were ordered 28 days' Field Punishment No. 1. They were marched to the Field Punishment Camp at Harluer. They refused to work in the quarry and were returned to the main camp.

Hubert Peet described the subsequent happenings by quoting from the account of his experiences, written by one of the men who stood firm:

"The Quartermaster Sergeant had us each handcuffed to a tent, with our hands round the pole behind us, which made the shoulders ache to a quite exceedingly degree. The young Canadian, who had been so hostile the previous evening, came up. He broke into a torrent of curses at the authorities who imposed such penalties. After three hours, one of the handcuffs was unlocked to enable us to feel ourselves, after which the punishment was again inflicted.

Finally, hands were handcuffed in front.

"Crucifixion" followed.

"Each of us was placed with our backs to the framework, consisting of uprights at intervals of four or five yards, and cross-beams at a height of about five feet from the ground. Our ankles were tied together and our arms then tied tightly at the wrists to the cross-beams; and we were prepared to remain in this position for the next two hours."

"Crucifixion," on the second evening, was in a different part of the camp.

We were placed with our faces to the barbed wire of the inner fence. As the ropes with which we were tied, twisted round the barbed wire instead of the usual thick wooden post, it was possible to tie them much more tightly, and I found myself drawn so closely to the fence that when I wished to turn my head I had to do so very cautiously to avoid my face being torn by the barbe. To make matters less comfortable, it came on to rain and cold wind blew straight across the top of the hill."

In imposing this sentence, the Commandant explained: "I have no special instructions about C.O.s. I shall treat you as ordinary soldiers."

The shamefulness of this sentence did not consist in the suggestion that C.O.s should be treated as ordinary soldiers. The shame was that any Commandant could sentence an ordinary soldier to such punishment, for the merest trivial offence.

The prisoners were hurried back to Cinder City, and told that they were being sent to Boulogne, en route for the front line, "where you will be shot if you continue to disobey orders."

In the eyes of the soldiers and the guard, the threat was no idle one. The following week was one of a．very real danger to these determined objectors.

Arrived at Boulogne, the men were taken direct to the Field Punishment Barracks, a disused fish market near the Quay. They refused to work. They were placed on bread and water, in dark and disgracefully crowded punishment cells. Their arms were handcuffed behind their backs for certain periods. They suffered an imposition of "crucifixion." And they still discussed: The existence of the Devil; the truth of Marx; the merits of Esperanto; the influence of Tolstoy; vaccination.
THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM

Dr. Barnes Defends Absolute Opposition to War

The Manchester Guardian for Thursday, December 7, 1939, published a report of one of many of Judge Richardson's sentences as Chairman of the Westminster Tribunal. The next day, Friday, December 8, Dr. Barnes, a leading Quaker, produced a powerful letter to the Guardian, which appeared in the columns of our contemporary on Monday, December 11.

Dr. Barnes summarised the incident:

"It would appear that on Wednesday a man applied to the Westminster Tribunal, which might be registered as a conscientious objector. He was rejected and told that it was not Christian to take up arms. "How dare you say that?" said Judge Richardson. "There are plenty of good Christians helping to prevent the evil of aggression." Finally the Judge expressed his opinion of the two men, who did not register as "Jehovah's witnesses", by saying, "You are a lot of cranks.""

Dr. Barnes then poses the direct Christian challenge to Judge Richardson, and to the militaryists of Church and State and in the following trenchant treatment of German barbarism.

"Does the Judge know that for the first two and a half centuries of its history the Church was progressively pacific? A careful examination of this question by a first-rate scholar is to be found in his book "The Christian Attitude to War," published by Professor C. J. Cadoux in 1939. If he had read that book, he would have been reminded of the fact that we, as Christians, are called to serve in the arms of the State even against what is termed a "Jehovah's witnesses". Such are members of an organisation called the International Registration Office of the World Council of Churches, and it is quite possible that the New Testament differs widely from our own. They require a pacifist attitude, an attitude that is advocated by modern critical scholars. But we agree in our conviction that Christianity forbids the concept of fighting. We believe, therefore, that Christians ought not to serve in the war, nor to do anything to support the war. The M.C. is to belong to an organisation forbidden to Christians. We must understand that the war is an anti-Christian and anti-civilian "help as the Christian conscience will allow". Such was the early Christian attitude to war. The Bible contains a famous passage in Omer's (Contra Celsius) (a.D. 240) which has permanence: "God's warns the war of the world.

Dr. Barnes proceeds to ask Judge Richardson, "If he, when he calls the Jehovah's Witnesses 'cranks', is he going to refuse opposing war and militarism? He knows what is going on in Germany. More than 6,000 Jehovah Witnesses are imprisoned in Germany, with fools, criminals, and the others. Thus, the war and militarism are the cause of their suffering."

"Such is the attitude of the world. It is our duty to stand up for what is right."

The White Paper states that they are "proscribed by the government because they refuse militarist service in defence of Britain. It describes their "courage and religious faith as remarkable. They are a definite organisation, with a definite service, in defence of Hitlerism. They are condemned "Bible bugs" and wear a blue or purple badge. The recent British White Paper describes them "a dangerous secret organisation in the service of their German masters."

Dr. Barnes concludes: "We are not afraid of the war, but we are not going to fight it. We are not going to support it. We are going to fight it with our minds and our hands, with our thoughts and our prayers."

"The Bishops and the World," aimed at being strictly historical, presenting and summarising evidence. Professor Cadoux includes terms employed by the early Church Fathers in denouncing bloodshed excluded participation in warfare.

Professor Cadoux explained: "The Bishops' attitude is: the dangers of the universal is by no means a new idea. It is the old idea, but it is the old idea in a new form."

"It was a great mistake to think that the Bishops' attitude was not in the Bible. It was in the Bible. It was in the New Testament. It was in the Old Testament. It was in the Apocrypha. It was in the Church Fathers. It was in the Church councils. It was in the Church councils. It was in the Church councils. It was in the Church councils. It was in the Church councils. It was in the Church councils. It was in the Church councils. It was in the Church councils. It was in the Church councils. It was in the Church councils.

"And the Bishops are not afraid of the war, but they are not going to fight it. They are not going to support it. They are going to fight it with their minds and their hands, with their thoughts and their prayers."

Writing from the Bishop's House, Lincoln, the Rev. Patrick Blakeston supports the Bishop's attitude, stating that there are other pacifists who are not on the list of "Bible bugs". These include Tertullian, Origen, and Lactantius:

"Then wish to make war, says Tertullian, "and begin to war?"

"It is not right for us either to see or hear of a man being slain."

Ste. Cyril speaks of wars scattered everywhere with the bloody horror.
PRINCIPLE OR CRIME?

MEDITATION

When the history of this war comes to be written, one thing is certain, and that is, nothing so terrible and disgraceful as the wholesale extermination of the vast numbers of the human race will be done in a systematic and deliberate manner. This is the history of war, and it is the history of all forms of government. It is the history of all forms of human society.

I have a sheet of paper on which to prepare my defense to the charge of murder. I have before me before-to-morrow's court martial. I intend to use it to prepare my defense. I am thinking of threats and promises, of fear and violence. I want to injure the good, to deplete the bad, to denounce the virtuous and to heal the vicious, the good and bad, virtue and vice, are not what they appear.

I am thinking not of the good in essence, but the accepted good, the good in appearance. This good of fair speech, modest manners, and pretty dresses has been accepted as good throughout the ages. And it is a lie. It is vice through and through, lust instead of love, adultery instead of integrity, all done upon a sham. It is a business of piety, a carnal sin, a stomach morality. Christ denounced it, Gautama exposed it, Socrates analysed it. And we must say it.

What is reputed vice then? But reputed virtue is so much the more of the same sort. Reputable respectability is the same with vice, and the respectability with the prostitution exposed. Sometimes even, reputed virtue is real virtue seeking a resting place for the night, after a weary day of witnessing.

Man is ignorant. But there is an ignorance of innocence, which one day will know truth and testify accordingly. That ignorance is splendid. It is the universal ignorance of the hooligan child, whose brilliant future all can foresee. But there is an ignorance of squalor, of mental and moral misadventure, of stagnation, crime, filth, and filthiness, of which we know very little, and which, for superstition, is found on the bench, preach in the pulpit, and exalts itself in politics. That ignorance counts itself respectable and controls the majority mark. The ignorance I feared destroy.

And now let me pray. To the destiny of man, to the instinct of my own nature; to the martyred soul who makes the possibilities of a marvelous child, whose brilliant future all can foresee. But there is an ignorance of squalor, of mental and moral misadventure, of stagnation, crime, filth, and filthiness, of which we know very little, and which, for superstition, is found on the bench, preach in the pulpit, and exalts itself in politics. That ignorance counts itself respectable and controls the majority mark. The ignorance I feared destroy.

Youth and Conscience

Dear Sir,—The chairman of the Lancashire Tribunal (Judge Besants) was reported to have said: 'I am having said that a man should examine his conscience about participation in war at frequent intervals.

If this is true of those about to register for military service or to appear at a Tribunal, it must surely be the case with all young men of military age at all times; and must continue to examine their course of duty and duty of conscience, and when they reach the front, and, if they come to the conclusion that their course of duty is wrong, they must take the steps to follow the guidance of their consciences.'

May I urge the provision, if any, is made by the Government for men who may thus become troubled in conscience about their decision to perform military service.

Yours sincerely, C. GASKILL

The Virago, Littleborough, Lancs., 26th February, 1940.
C.O.s WHO DIED: 1916-18

Facts Revealed in the House of Commons

Below we reproduce questions from the House of Commons with the answers given by those who died. The date in italics is that of the day when the question arose in Parliament.

1. DIED IN PRISON.

I. ARTHUR BUTLER.

Thursday, 13th December, 1917.

Mr. Snowden asked the Home Secretary whether he is able to report the result of his inquiries into the health of Arthur Butler, a conscientious objector, now undergoing his third year of imprisonment at Preston?

Sir G. Cave—At the time when I made the inquiry the prisoner was recovering from an attack of influenza and doing fairly well. Last Tuesday, however, an attack of pneumonia suddenly developed, his parents were summoned to see him on that evening, and I regret to say that he

Mr. Snowden—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that more than a month ago I made representations to the Governor of the prison that the prisoner had returned to the condition of health of this prisoner, who at that time was known to be suffering from consumption, and that I received a report from the medical officer that there was little or no foundation for these allegations; that letters which had been sent out of the prison by this prisoner had statements in regard to his health published; and in view of the fact that this man undoubtedly died yesterday as a result of the treatment he has received in prison, does the Home Secretary intend to take this matter to the Governor of the prison?

Sir G. Cave—In consequence of the inquiries which the hon. Gentleman has been good enough to make, a careful medical examination of this man was made, and he was reported not to be suffering in any way from tuberculosis. With regard to the other suggestions that the doctors did take little or no personal consideration to this matter, and not leave it merely to some subordinate like the head of this institution, who may be himself in some way implicated in the conduct of the prison doctor.

Sir G. Cave—Of course I will try and do so.

Monday, 17th December, 1917.

Mr. Snowden asked the Home Secretary whether, having received a further report relative to the case of Arthur Butler, a conscientious objector who has died in Preston Gaol, and what action he has taken or proposes to take in the matter?

Sir G. Cave—The inquest in this case, which was opened on the 14th instant, has been adjourned to the 18th to allow of a post-mortem being held. I can, therefore, make no statement at present.

Thursday, 20th December, 1917.

Mr. Snowden asked the Home Secretary if he is now able to make a statement about the case of Arthur Butler, who recently died in Preston Gaol?

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir George Cave)—Owing to the adjournment of the inquest I am unable to give a full report of the inquest, but I understand that the verdict of the jury was to the effect that Butler died from pneumonia, that he received proper medical treatment and proper nourishment, that he had been humanely treated and properly nursed, and that no blame whatever attached to anyone. The post-mortem examination showed that he died from pneumonia, and that there was no trace of tuberculosis.

2. ARTHUR HORTON.

Thursday, 5th February, 1918.

Mr. Whitehouse asked the Home Secretary if he has made any inquiry into the circumstances of the death of Arthur Horton in prison; and, if so, with what result?

Sir G. Cave—An inquest was held in this case, and all the circumstances were fully investigated by the coroner and jury, who found that the death was due to pneumonia. The facts were as follows: The prisoner had been treated in hospital, and on his return to prison was put in a cell in a small room. He developed pneumonia, and was put in a ward and nursed. He died in hospital, and the death was due to pneumonia.

Mr. Lees-Smith—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that on the 16th, when the inquest was held, the medical officer said that the prisoner had pneumonia, and was put in a ward and nurses were suddenly summoned when it was too late; and will he have inquiries made into the circumstances of this death?

Sir G. Cave—That was the allegation which was made before and at the inquest. It was contradicted by reliable evidence at the inquest, and was disbelieved by the jury. I regret very much that any serious error of the medical officer should have occurred.

Mr. Whitehouse—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that no other than that, but many other shocking allegations have been made regarding the treatment of prisoners in prison; and have you any authority that the prison medical officer has his attention called to the fact that the doctor who gave evidence and whose evidence had weight, is reported in the Manchester Guardian to have said, "the system of ill-treatment in public upon these prisoners, who are in gaol, is a scandal."?

A. E. W. Burns.

Monday, 15th April, 1918.

Mr. R. Lambeth asked the Home Secretary whether the inquest on the death of A. E. W. Burns, who died in Hull Prison on or about 13th March, shows that death was in any way connected with the treatment or punishment of the prisoner, or whether an independent inquest has been ordered?

Sir G. Cave—At the inquest held in this case the jury found that death resulted from pneumonia, which was due to the food during forcible feeding, and that no blame whatever was attributable to the doctor. Although I had no reason to feel any doubt in the finding of the inquest as it is perfectly independent, I thought it right, in view of the importance of the question of forcible feeding, that a special inquiry should be made by a man of the highest standing, and it is arranged that my request of the Medical Officer of the Royal College of Surgeons, Sir John Craig, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, who has an exceptionally wide experience of this matter, undertook the inquiry. I have now received their report to me in writing, and the finding of the inquiry. They are satisfied that the case was one where resort to artificial feeding was necessary, and that the death of the patient was not due to any want of care or skill on the part of the medical officer.

Friday, 10th June, 1918.

Mr. T. Richardson asked the Home Secretary whether an inquiry was held in Hull Prison on or about 6th April, 1918, into the death of E. E. Burns; and, if so, whether the inquiry was made public; whether the medical officer conducted the inquiry; what action has been taken on the report; how many prisoners gave evidence; if any were legally restrained, or protected or required their evidence be given against the staff; if the evidence was taken down; if it can be made public; and how many of the staff gave evidence?

Sir G. Cave—The inquiry in question was made by the hon. Member for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and by Dr. Maurice Craig, F.R.C.P. The terms of the inquiry were fully stated by the Home Secretary in reply to a question in this House on 15th April last. To what he said I need only add that it is not proposed to publish the evidence, but that report of the inquiry was given by the governor, the medical officer, and three other officers of the prison, and by the staff. Copies of the evidence were given to all those who were called to give evidence. The prisoners, who were all conscientious objectors, were given an opportunity of making their statement, which was taken in the presence of the governor—the governor and all prison officials withdrawing at the governor's suggestion.

P. E. Gillan.

Tuesday, 9th April, 1918.

Mr. Richard Lamberti asked the Home Secretary whether Paul Leo Gillan died in Winchester Prison on 16th March; whether the inquest showed the cause of death; whether the medical officer had already reported that he died of acute heart disease; and whether the Home Office possesses and exercises the power to release from prison any prisoner whose continued detention is likely to have grave consequences?

Sir G. Cave—Gillan was admitted to hospital on 29th March, and was released on the 30th. His health had developed on the 16th, the day of his death. The inquest showed that death was due to heart disease. Following this report, the medical officer had not previously reported the case, and there were no symptoms to show that the prisoner's heart was affected until the day on which he died. The Home Secretary has thought it wise that removal from prison during his illness would have been in any way beneficial to the prisoner.

Mr. Byrne—Is there any evidence to show that the medical officer interfered with the course of treatment, and was he ill-treated because he was an Irishman?

Sir G. Cave—There is no evidence of ill-treatment of any kind.

Mr. Byrne—Was the right hon. Gentleman aware as to why the medical officer did not report the condition of this man's health?

Sir G. Cave—The matter was thoroughly gone into at the inquest, and it appeared that the medical officer was anxious to do his best to treat the sick and the severely ill patients during the present world war and recommended the release of this prisoner, which was carried out.

2. DIED IN THE ASYLUM.

1. ALFRED ENSINGH.

Wednesday, 14th March, 1917.

Mr. Chancellor asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board whether Mr. Alfred Ensingh, a conscientious objector who voluntarily gave himself up on 12th September last, was court-martialized at Salisbury, and sent to the Workhouse at Woolloomooloo; and, from there to Epsom Lunatic Asylum; and, seeing that this man was driven insane by the ill-treatment that he received at the hands of the military authorities, and was in a serious state of health and possibly dying, will he say what action he proposes to take?

Sir G. Cave—My right hon. Friend has asked me to reply to this question. This man was sentenced by court-martial on the 28th September last to 112 days imprisonment. On the 10th November he was certified to be insane and remanded to a military asylum; but he refused to submit to it whatever for supposing that his insanity was due to ill-treatment by the military, but if the hon. Member has any evidence to show that this man refused to submit to it, he should adduce that evidence. The Army Council are the case for their consideration and not one that comes within my purview.

2. JOHN TAYLOR.

Tuesday, 13th November, 1917.

Mr. King asked whether John Taylor, a conscientious objector at the Wakefield work centre, recently attempted suicide by cutting his throat; whether the Investigation Committee of the 6th Battalion, 2nd Infantry, Essex Regiment, who was granted a non-combatant certificate by his tribunal, was forced into a combatant regiment, ordered to take the field, and afterwards sent to deep punishment No. 1, whether it is owing to this and subsequent treatment that the
CONSCIENCE STRUGGLE: 1916-1919
Told in Press Cuttings

Those conscientious objectors who have not been disabled from military service have made a great struggle. For them the 1916-1919 struggle will have some interest. Part of the story is related in the following reproductions. The Daily Herald has been told that the Secretary of State for War decided to terminate the registration for the duration of the war. With all its faults, it has to be regarded as a kind of a workers' paper during the Great War. —The Herald, Saturday, November 19, 1918.

GUY A. ALDRED

GUY A. ALDRED

Conscientious objects have been released from Wandsworth Prison. Mr. Guy A. Aldred, a conscientious objector who has been in prison since June 1917, has now been released under the Cat and Mouse Act. —The Herald, February 24, 1919.

HUNGER "STRIKES" IN GAOL

Mr. Henry Smart, formerly assistant editor of the "Spur," and eleven other men are on hunger strike against the "Spur." Mr. Smart is in gaol for refusing to publish the "Spur," which is against the law. The men are now on their second day's fast, and they have declared that they will continue their fast until they are released. —Daily Express, Monday, March 4, 1919.

The "SUPER-MOUSE"

Mr. G. A. Aldred, a well-known agitator, has been released from Wandsworth Prison under the Cat and Mouse Act. He was arrested in September and has been in prison ever since. —The Daily Express, Thursday, March 7, 1919.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian:

Sir,—At the request of my husband, Guy A. Aldred, I beg to ask Mr. J. H. Salter, the General Secretary of the Manchester Guardian, to present this letter to you. My husband has been in prison for some time, and he asks me to write to you on his behalf. He says that he has been in prison for a long time, and he would like to know if you can help him. He says that he has been in prison for a long time, and he would like to know if you can help him. He says that he has been in prison for a long time, and he would like to know if you can help him.

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. J. H. Salter

Richmond Gardens, Sheeprace, Bush

March 4, 1919.

THE COWARDLY PERSECUTORS

By George Lansbury.

Last week we briefly announced the fact that the "Herald" petition, containing nearly 15,000 signatures, asking for the release of Mr. Sharp, the Home Secretary, by myself and Gerald Gough, would like readers to know that this petition was signed by many people who have suffered and are suffering at the hands of the law for the sake of their friends in the labour movement. I know that organised Labour is not taking these men to remain silent, but I also know that organised Labour does not desire their release strongly enough to attempt to have them released. The latest reports from Wandsworth Prison prove how clearly some of these men are being treated, and prove that we should demand a full and impartial inquiry into the charges brought against the governor and into the charges brought against the inspector. —The Daily Express, Sunday, March 3, 1919.

CONSCIENCE STRUGGLE: 1916-1919

The list published in the Christmas issue, under the heading: "CONSCiENCIeS, 1916-1919," should be corrected. The line reading: "B.S.P. 21" should read "S.P. Objectors."
Towards the end of the Daily Worker article, the write-up on the Liverpool Conscientious Objectors Tribunal continues as follows:

The tribunal was convened to hear the cases of conscientious objectors. The first case was that of a man named Kirby, who was sentenced to serve in the minesweeper service. Kirby argued that his pacifist beliefs prevented him from serving in a war, as it was against his conscience. The tribunal agreed with his argument and sentenced him to a shorter period in prison.

Another case was that of a man named John David Roberts. He was sentenced to two years in prison for refusing to serve in the army. Roberts argued that his conscientious objection to war was based on his religious beliefs. The tribunal agreed with his argument and sentenced him to a shorter period in prison.

The tribunal also heard the case of a woman named Arthur Scott, who was sentenced to six months in prison for her conscientious objection to war. Scott argued that her religious beliefs prevented her from serving in the army. The tribunal agreed with her argument and sentenced her to a shorter period in prison.

The tribunal continued to hear cases of conscientious objectors, including cases of men and women who were sentenced to shorter periods in prison for their conscientious objection to war. The tribunal was determined to uphold the rights of conscientious objectors and to sentence them to shorter periods in prison.

The tribunal concluded by reminding the public of the importance of supporting conscientious objectors. They emphasized that the war was being fought by those who had chosen to fight, while those who refused to fight were being punished by the state. The tribunal called on the public to support conscientious objectors and to remember their contributions to the war effort.

The tribunal ended by reminding the public of the importance of supporting conscientious objectors and to remember their contributions to the war effort. They emphasized that the war was being fought by those who had chosen to fight, while those who refused to fight were being punished by the state. The tribunal called on the public to support conscientious objectors and to remember their contributions to the war effort.
HANDED OVER!
What it means

I was arrested at 17 Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, on Thursday, April 13, 1916, and charged with failing to surrender myself for service at the G.P.O. I was arraigned at the West London Police Court the following day, and appeared again at the same Court, on April 27 and May 4. I was never released from police custody, and then the chances are that I could be no doubt, and there never was any doubt, that the first Military Service Act never applied to me. I had made myself a nuisance by sitting and standing in public places, and the authorities of the time were resolved on my detention or imprisonment. The question no longer matters. It is the later resistance to that determination which would have come.

To those who now face being handed over it is useful to know how the Conchie felt in 1916. From the columns of The Spur I make excerpts from contemporary comment about the case of Capt. Major did this for me. Later same morning charged before the Colchester Police Court. I was released on bail, but that was then turned out under another armed escort to Major Wightlough, who drew up particulars of evidence. I am still kept in close confinement, without exercise of any kind, awaiting court martial—D.C.M.

1. POLICE COURT FAREWELL.
West London Police Court, May 4, 1916.

After editing a monthly journal of Socialist and rebel thought continuously since December, 1910, I must say goodbye to the editorial chair. A flag I do not respect, upheld by a militarism I despise, is being borne aloft. The use made of my physical presence, even though it cannot command my allegiance. I must line up with many comrades similarly placed. Our fight is against a foe which garners no quarter in a struggle. Only humiliation awaits those who are against Concription at home and so strive to secure real freedom in the commonwealth. I am that, in this movement. I am not a mere sloganist, for I am a warrior. Whether I shall survive the fight or not, only a godless providence can say. I hope I shall live to see the day, but, having made it possible and having not less important work to do than I am attempting now, Action tests the strength of one's thought, and it is good to be tested. I believe that the Colours were lifted, and I am ready to meet the future with the calm of a strong conviction. I am well aware that I am leaving all political life for Socialism.

2. IN THE HANDS OF THE MILITARY.
Davies Street Barracks, May 4, 1916.

I was taken from West London in a taxicab. Refused medical examination there, but it was treated courteously enough. I was put on uniform, but was treated courteously and reasonably. Am going to hunger strike, I think.

Forty Camp, 6th May.

I am a good few miles from Hurdcott Camp (Sara was at this time at Hurdcott). I have little to say, beyond stating that I am standing firm by my principles. My journey down here was pleasant enough. I am in one of the finest camps I have ever seen. It would be absurd. I believe in soldiering. I do not ask for no better comrades, but I do not. In other times, my faith would have been considered as splendid qualities. But now the camp is too bad are opposing each other. It is a shame and a fact. My attitude from the military viewpoint is unforgivable. There are opposite views of duty.

Forty Camp, 6th May.

When I was taken to the Davies Street Headquarter of the 9th London Regiment I refused to sign for my kit or to don khaki. I was sent down here under escort with the kit. I refused to don khaki or to strip for examination. Was charged to-day with six charges of refusing to obey orders. After this, I was forcibly examined and put into police custody. I was remanded in custody and I shall be called upon to sign my papers and to drill. After this I shall be put into the guard room to await court martial. I put up a hunger strike till to-day. Recommended as fit on condition that I withdrew strike until end of week. It is possible to get two years for my refusal to drill.

Forty Camp, 7th May.

I shall go back to the Guard Room to-day, as I intend to continue my hunger strike. If my refusal to put on the uniform entirely, I am told that if I persist, I shall get 3 years' penal servitude. At Hurdcott, Sara lays down on parade. He is terribly treated.

Forty Camp, 10th May.

On Monday I refused to put on my parades and hat to go down to breakfast. Was ordered to do so by Sergeant Mortimer and replied that I would take no breakfast. Was charged before Capt. Henderson, and then got my own way. Finally, he refused to button uniform, so the Sergt.-Sergeant-Major did this for me. Later same morning charged before the Colchester Police Court. I was released. He said one man like me caused more trouble than 100 good men. He asked me to accept his punishment and I demanded a court martial. He said he wouldn't do it, and that I would gain no credit from it. I retorted that I wanted no cheap notoriety, but that I would stand by principle. Was then taken under armed guard again under armed escort to Major Wightlough, who drew up particulars of evidence. I am still kept in close confinement, without exercise of any kind, awaiting court martial—D.C.M.

Forty Camp, 12th May.

On Thursday, the Colonel visited me. He is bitter, but not bad. He complained that it was against the Army regulations to mention liberty in any letter. Repeatedly tried to put me in the camp. I am waiting for one, the day will come. Our tyrants have not all the power they think.

11th May.

Colonel again visited me. He was sad he refused to see me. He is seeing my fine intellect that I should remain in such a position. Urged me to change. Asked what 500 or 600 men in London and such a man as I, could do to bring about that was wrong and horrible. But admitted that England must maintain a large Army ready to defend the country and must suffer for my principles. Confessed his regret that he could not throw my lot with the others.

3. DETENTION ROOM MUSINGS:
[These “Musings” were published in The Spur, June 1916. Only part are printed. Penned while awaiting my first court martial.]

I believe that the warriors of the world are the curse of the world. Do you then think that either cavalry or menace will make ally itself to a curse? Whoever thinks so knows me not well.

The working women of the world are doing the Manual work of the world. They are being told that they are equal to man because they are driving man to self-slaughter. When they proved mental equality, women were jeered at.
and brutally treated. Now they are showing slavish equality; they are being reduced to the position where they would have the vote. But who will take the vote back? Working women or their mistresses?

The great argument against Socialism was that it would bring an end to personal servility. That was said to be the vice of Socialism. Now magazine articles are being written to show how nobly men are being treated in the U.S.S.R. How funny despotism becomes when it tries to argue.

Militarism can starve, cage, and chain. But it lacks prestige. It boasts the trappings of pomp, but lacks the soul of majesty. It matters not a hoot. Finally militarism will fail. Only revolution has majesty. That is because revolution means liberty.

Militarism is a machine. You refuse to do its bidding, and the machine is out of gear. You refuse to wear a hat and half the machinery is at a standstill. You refuse to "right turn" and the machine is scrapped.

Militarism is a conflagration. Its ego is threatened. Thinking and becoming clogs. They feel themselves gripped by trickery and disregarding for the pressure. They have discovered their own strength. They are no longer a cipher and become worth less. So the crude machine is scraping.

Thought is active and questioning and virile. Thought will be spoken and written and read. Thought will be uttered, communicated and disseminated. Its aims are papers suppressed and thinkers jailed. No Bastille prevents a revolution.

What are we Sons of the army of the night, they ask. We are what our martyred forbears were. I face the facts. Let the truth and the powerful beware.

"Be a man," said the Colonel, "and give up these ideas." This is like saying, "be a soldier and desert your colors." Who are these ideas? What are these colors?

What can you believe do?" asked the Colonel. "Vanquish militarism," I replied.

"You are not like others, you are an intelligent man," exclaimed the Colonel, "which accounts for my position. You are converted.

"Join up with us now," said another officer, "and we'll give you a week-end at home." So much generosity appalled me. But I smiled.

The chaplain has not visited me, and I have not visited him. We are on excellent terms with each other.

"Resist to the utmost as long as you are able," said a Glasgow comrade, in a letter which escaped the censor. Quite so, and after that—I'll resist again.

The king of beasts is hunted by hunters to the most cowardly of brutes. Is that why the military machine can't be stopped? I wish you could wish.

It was after I was getting used to being searched about the camp under armed guard. I was brought in contact with an officer, who was always with me, in a "tomfooler." as he phrased it. He had a face and a manner that convinced one. "You are a pacifist?" I am sorry, sir," I replied, "but I only know it. I will not need to cast me out however.

Life here resembles somewhat civilian life. In the city, the police, the newspapers, the less officers are against you. I have committed many offenses since I have been here, but that have been overlooked.

"You have refused all orders," queried a Derby recruiter, in wondering amaze. "Yes, even holy ones," I replied.

The Colonel cannot understand me quoting Jesus Christ in a crucible. And I cannot understand the chaplain preaching Jesus Christ, since he is a militarist.

One of the Captains visited me. "I am not a Field Marshal," he said, "only a Captain." We travelled miles to join up, he said. "I wish to be one of us. But I admire a man who stands by his guns." Shake! that was a soldier's greetings—and I welcomed it.

BUILD THE N.C.L.

(By ANNESLEY G. ALDRED.)

Questions and answers put forward by audiences at recent meetings show, only too plainly, that the "boy-gang" has not been silenced, nor the cry for peace seriously even reviewed. In 1914, the one man was the Kaiser. To-day, it is one who was then the Kaiser's ablest "ally." In 1917, the Allies of the Kaiser defeated him. In 1918 he deposed the Kaiser to elevate Hitler whose present importance is the product of that "blood-bath," and its after-results. And we are told, in order to "achieve decency in International Relationship," once more the English and French workers are to be drafted for the Inquisition, to be shot, if they must kill, and be killed by, the German workers.

This last point is one on which those of us who are conscious of the working-class situation are in agreement. It is so much to the stupidity of the workers (which is the easy way of dismissing the fact) as to the strength of the war propaganda. Indeed, so ridiculous is this that it is difficult not to be deluded into the feeling that the British and French cause, has justice on its side and that, even if it should do at least render some equivalent form of non-combatant service or work of national importance, the atmosphere must be charged with the scoundrels of science.

It is, in fact, only by realizing that the fundamental issue is still the same, that the war is being fought, that it is that the need for absolute opposition to the military machine is as great as ever, and senses that there is no justification for any relaxation in opposition, no justification for the system of which war is an integral part. Neither the workers of Britain, nor of any other country, can afford to vote for ways and means and the threat, which was so illustrated so well in The Spirit during the last war, "What would be the result if you were to allow these workers once more to pay the whip of the man who would oppose the war. So few think. So few understand that it is they who wield the knapsacks, it is they who are to be their captive, and that they will wield them no longer. Only when they do say this, will war end.

A return to war, the exchange of war to the individual conscience, even the use of a boy-gang cannot obscure the social reality of the class consciousness. Only through the class conscience, blocked by the bolshevist drops on cities or only on battlefields. In war-time, in as time-place, the struggle to attain a saner system of society must go on. Objection to war, to be replaced by direct individuation in consequence whereby the Tribunal does not recognize the imperative dictate of conscience, is merely the first negative-positive step towards the new social order.

Because I know that this step must be taken, that paralysed and paralysed Labour careerism can't be direct individuation in consequence. I have identified myself with the non-Conscription League.

The developing of a powerful anti-war movement is the supremacy of individual conscience over the herd-instinct of blind obedience, are required at this crisis. Only this can save our nerve and only this can save our life. It is in the taking of humanity and end its menace to civilisation. Because of the "boy-gang," those now effected by conscience must square with their confidence, resist and build the movement of war resisters, the men of conscience— the N.C.L.

VIews, Comments and Problems

One of the great problems confronting C.O.'s when they appear before the Tribunals is how are they to deal with the "trick" questions which are put forward in order to lead them into an untenable position. Judging by the reports of the various Tribunals many of the C.O.'s are falling only too easily into the traps laid for them. But if this is the case the seriousness of the lies not in the fact that the particular individual may suffer as a consequence, however regrettable that may be, but in the extremely obvious publicity which is given by the press to such cases.

For example at a recent Mock Tribunal held in West London one year, the case was of the "extended service of Five Brigades!" In the obviously friendly surroundings we were able to laugh and pull his leg. But really it was not a laughing matter.

The fundamental error seems to be that most of those who are appearing before Tribunals are hoping to obtain exemption and are losing their answers on that theme. This can be met by strengthening in meaning that they are not genuine, but it does mean that they are bound to be more and more nervous in expounding their case, to those who are suffering the consequences of this and is consequently indirectly to the construction which the members of the Tribunal may care to put upon his case.

The answer to the charge that the Tribunals are not sitting to grant exemption to as many C.O.'s as possible but to refuse exemption, to incorporate the military machine into life. Realising that C.O.'s are moving forward; state one case boldly and clearly and; and not afraid of admitting what seems to be a slight inconsistency.

The case of the C.O. in the pacifist press is sandwiched between the C.O. and not fundamental or wrong in itself, Compromise—or Starve! That is, in effect, the choice which is thus being handed and deed those opposition to militarism and the military machine.

A choice that is all the more difficult to make when there are dependents and when the choice is on an individual, one that may well determine the
The CAREERIST DANGER

BY MATT KAVANAGH.

The Southend N.C.L. is getting some good work done indoors with "Mock Tribunals," for we have had two of our members up at Southwark: one obtained complete exemption; the other was given work on the basis that he cannot do this two victories against the "body politic"! The real struggle will come when the older groups are called up, consisting of men who have a greater work. But they are old enough to remember the last blood-bath.

Unfortunately, in this town, the P.U.U., the F.O.R., and other like bodies have been reluctant to accept this idea. The co-ordination is not the fault of the N.C.L. Because we advocate mass action (the general strike), as well as individual refusal to serve, the P.U.U. and the F.O.R. are both right. But the mass action is more sentimental. We must teach the workers the cause of war: capitalism and government.

To stop this war by negotiation, or any other means, with coming to grips with war and its cause, is only going to prove another armistice. This time, the armistice will be signed by Londoners. If we do not eradicate the root cause of war, we are entering on an epoch of a series of wars.

It is because of mental myopia, that such bodies as the P.U.U., will not sell THE WORLD. The paper is too sane, too realistic, for these sentimentalists. Rather than use the lancet, and excise the evil cancer of capitalism, they prefer to apply the futile plaster of State Federation. They cease to be the opponents of militarism and prove themselves the promoters of future wars.

Communism is only the old, useless, bankrupt League of Nations. The old long-firm swindle has opened business under a new name.

This mental perversion arises in our intellectuals and pacifists because of their good-natured, and to a certain extent, because of the lack of respectability. They see, if they ally themselves with a group of militant workers, that they are thrown in with a platform, with a crowd of M.P.s, Reverend Sky Pilots, and J.P.s. Why they should stop there, and stop so modestly, I do not know. The Public will just laugh and say the man is no match for a parson or M.P. Was not the Kaiser to be handed over to this public official after the last war? I seem to remember the slogan: "Hang the Kaiser!"

Some of this criticism applies as much to sections of our own organisation, the N.C.L., as to the P.U.U., and the F.O.R. The N.C.L. seems to be becoming a happy hunting ground for the leaders of Co-operative and other syndicalist groups who are out to save the soul of the Labour Party! Men who went to prison during the last war, and who have spent a second period of service of the movement, who have sought neither place nor power, whose political career has been to give and not to take, are over-looked or side-stepped. They are told to go and become Financial Political careerists, seeking the golden letters, M.P. after their names, yearning for £600 per annum, secured income, are given to understand that they are to be dissipated callously to make careers for these useless self-seekers. Unless the workers in the N.C.L. guard against this, their organisation has been turned into a mere political machine. This tendency is manifest already.

I write in no narrow spirit. The Southend Group of the N.C.L. does not wish to force its view on other groups or branches. In a spirit of tolerance, recognising the right of all Co-ops to unite for mutual aid, but denying the right of those who have not really Co-ops to exploit comrades maimed with imprisonment and suffering, we say: if your sport is parliamentary- and that is all this political window dressing under N.C.L. auspices amounts to—join the I.L.P. or the Labour Party.

The N.C.L. is, or should be, above the sortid atmosphere of parliamentarism. The N.C.L. aims to be a body of real, active, radical anti-militarists, who are determined, by the method and weapon of Direct Action, to smash the hated system. The N.C.L. ought not to be employed creating a new set of masters, evoking more careerists, more Judases. It ought to be pioneering a world and era of Freedom for All Mankind.

EDITOR'S PERSONAL APPEAL

This appeal is for a special sum of £166 13/4, to cover losses on the paper prior to Xmas, 1939, and on the London Law proceedings in connection with the Hyde Park, "Military Pamphlet" issue of the paper has entailed a heavy loss. We set up machinery at great cost. And we are producing pamphlets of large size. Your immediate response is greatly needed.

Address donations to editor's private address:
Guy Aldred, 5 Balilo Street, Glasgow, C.3.

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Glasgow Comrades can make their donations while buying pamphlets and "Words" at 104 George Street. Open daily 9:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m.

throw the mops upon the Government to do so. We can do it all, all the time, and before being forced to do so, constitutes a quite definite evasion of the issue and is reasonably entitled to throw upon the whole burden of their opposition to was...
ADAPTABLE "COMMUNISTS"

William Gallacher stood as C.P. candidate at Dundee in 1922. He issued an election address full of "Conrad and Fellow Workers...On November 25th you will be called upon to make a decision that will determine the consequences for you and to the future of our class."

Had Gallacher been elected at that time, his speech would have lightened the load of the jute workers in Dundee for a moment. The hoovers would have swollen and they would have bent their backs to the yoke as the jute bond, naturally, had not benefited the miners in his constituency one little bit.

Gallacher’s election address proceeded to denounce Parliament as a sham. He added hastily:—

"If it is your will that I shall carry on the struggle for the working class, I will give my whole strength to the task."

Only James Russell Lowell’s classic vernacular poem on "I’m just a candidate in short," could do justice to the phrase: "I will do the best I can for my constituents."

He made a mild reference to Russia, to prove that the revolution was not so hot after all:

"Recognition of Soviet Russia means an opportunity to workers there and work for the unemployed here."

He promised to support movements towards national independence in Ireland, India, and South Africa.

"In general, I will support the Labour Party."

Which makes nonsense, since the Labour Party does not stand for such national independence.

In his concluding sentences, Mr. Gallacher says that he is the "Constitutional Monarchist and the Constitution." He fell over himself three times to demonstrate his loyalty when Edward VIII abdicated, in his base to prove capacity to swear allegiance to the Monarchy.

In the Commune we referred to Gallacher’s articles in the Worker’s Dreadnought and the Worker. In February, 1929, in the former paper, he wrote scathingly of Parliamentary action and those seeking Parliamentary honours. Writing in the name of the Scottish Workers’ Committee, he said:

"This Committee is definitely anti-Parliamentarian. We represent the revolutionary movement in Scotland. There have been dealings with the official Parliamentary parties and the Socialist parties. We have been discussing the question of the new Parliament with the official parties and the Socialists. But this Parliament can only be established through the struggle of the workers."

Lest Parliamentarians Forget

Speaking at the I.L.P. Conference, on Easter Monday, 1919, Philip Snowden—who became First and Second Labour Governments, and followed Ramsay MacDonald into the National Government, said:—

"The Labour Party was doing well, but it was disappointing in regard to such fundamental questions as civil liberty and social policy."

He had remained silent while conscientious objectors had been tortured by the Government and its military forces had been used to suppress the just aspirations of the subject peoples of India and Ireland, while statements concerning the war in the Orient have deprived the people of the promised just and lasting peace."

We anticipated this general treachery when we left the parliamentarians and the S.D.F. in 1906. Snowden earned a title depopulated by the Labour Party attitude towards the conscientious objectors and war. The folly of Labour parliamentarianism must be apparent to all those who, either from fear or from interest, are blind.

The next letter on the subject:—

"The Second section was what one might call the opening of the serious 'Politics' of the Congress. Harry Pollitt took him exactly two hours. Again one had the impression of the product of the machine."

A SCOURGE OF SMALL CORDS

"The Scourge of Christ" was translated from the French of Paul Richard, and published in English, about seven or eight years ago. The first edition was recommended by Rabindranath Tagore. The Indian publication of this book is full of suggestions and surprises."

"The idea of the book is taken from the passage: "and he made a scourge of small cords."

Paul Richard’s book is actually a commentary on the life and teachings of Jesus.

Describing the 70 missionaries that are reported to have been sent out on the first Gospel Mission, he writes:—

"Today should the Seventy start on their mission, they would first take out an insurance policy, probably, it would have been the Wesleyan and General Assurance Company!"

Richard attacks hypocrisy bitterly in the following passages:

"Twelve apostles...and that even was too high an expectation!"

"Peter followed afar off...and the Church follows Peter."

"When the rock career, Peter wept: shall our country become one rock-bed?"

"For greater security, Christians have put off the second coming of Christ until the end of the world."

"The good Christian prays for Heaven, without imagination!"

Paul Richard treats us to some definitions that impress with hope of time:

"Life...the all-at-one to men for death to one another."

"Civilisation— the privilege of a few peoples over the right of man."

"Barbarism— not to have your friends up-to-date."

"Moralist— one who has a high sense of other people’s duties."

"The living faith of the dead become the dead faith of the living."

"Christian— a person who believes that Christ was the son of God."

"Patriot— a man who feels pride when his mother-country slaughters or steals."

"Colour Prejudice— a species of skin disease especially injurious to white people."

With Christian nations preparing for and against bomb attacks, with the skies declaring the glory of hell, it is well to know how to handle Richard’s scourge of small cords. Hypocrisy is a disease that infects individuals. In time of war, national established hypocrisy is privileged in every country, to the suffering of humanity and the devastation of the world.

We can but hope that a living book the New Testament is.

He quotes:— "Now unto the rich he adds:"

"Not Lethe, but Christ said this." Richard quotes again:

"Go to now, ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries that are coming upon you, for your riches are corrupted...Ye have lived delicately on the earth and taken your pleasure. The lye of you laborers...is that of you that cared not enough in the ears of the Lord of Hosts."

He comments on this passage:— "Not Trebizond, but James the brother of Jesus, wrote this."

In a powerful passage, replete with wisdom and understanding, Richard says:—

"Years, with their habits, have shown themselves with the business of the poor it is called charity. When the poor assemble to converse themselves with the perils of the world they are employed. Richard attacks sectarianism with a cord that binds rather than laces:

"What matter cults or sects: the Spirit pours its wine into the flasks."

There is hope and comfort in this thought for those who frequent doctor and saint, and hear much argument, and depart by the same door as they entered, and who see war succeeding war, clouds skies, the black-out of humanity, and no promise of dawn. Rebukes Richard:—

"The honest man! Does the tree complain because it bears fruit only in the autumn?" (Concluded page 67, col. 2)
Dear Sir,—I would like to thank you very much for sending me THE WORD. It is inspiring, and was a slap in the face.

I have been before the Folham Tribunal and objected on Religious Grounds, but was given R.A.M.C., against which I have appealed. I now await the summons to appear before the Appelate Tribunal.

It was a grand experience and I felt that I was walking in the footsteps of the others who have stood against the laws of the land. But I was not the only one who would like to hear the news and to give it to you.

I wish you well in your future efforts. May success come to you in your work and may the sun shine on your road to victory.

Yours sincerely,

WILFRED I. DAILY

Hard, Essex, 29/1/40.

Dear Friend,—I have already expressed an appreciation of your paper.

Douglas Jackson, a member of this pacifist communist group, was tried on the .21st of March for being an un registered conscientious objector at Cambridge on Tuesday, January 22. The important point is that he appeared to receive a sentence on purely pacifist and fully pacifist grounds, and not on the grounds that he was a criminal and a traitor, but because he renounced war and sought to live a pacific life.

The tribunal was fast and courteously. Another application from him was granted conditional exemption for work in the post office. It is a pity that he was not awarded a pacifist pension.

Another interesting case was that of a man who was plainly incompetent of writing out a statement of his conscience. It was his first offense of this kind and he was found guilty, "The strongest man in the world is the man who stands alone." Not alone, of course, for he was a conscientious objector against war, and the Labour Party's acceptance of the last few years of Imperialism, will say that this was a case of a man for whom a pacifist pension would be awarded.

I am sure I can convey to you the spirit in which the Chairman told Mr. Barret, he placed him in a position where he was forced to pick a side in truth, or to go on to, to confess him. The decision seems one of exemplary fairness.

Yours sincerely,

LEONARD READ

Colchester, January 28.

Dear Comrade Guy,—If the workers continued before the war, many of them were started, how are they ever to control economic conditions, or stop the war now?

No: it will be left to the individual: to those individuals who have heard your words, "The strongest man in the world is the man who stands alone." Not alone, of course, for he was a conscientious objector against war, and the Labour Party's acceptance of the last few years of Imperialism, will say that this was a case of a man for whom a pacifist pension would be awarded.

I am sure I can convey to you the spirit in which the Chairman told Mr. Barret, he placed him in a position where he was forced to pick a side in truth, or to go on to, to confess him. The decision seems one of exemplary fairness.

Yours sincerely,

CLAIRE COLE

Kirby, Essex, Feb. 4, 1940.

Dear Comrade Guy,—Many thanks for copies of THE WORD. Your essay "Word To The World" was indeed fine: compare your old extract from the essay in THE COMMUNE, entitled: "Why Jesus' Veil?" Your essay has strengthened me here, in our group, to work on our medium and uphold THE WORD till the last.

Fraternally greetings in the Cause.

SIDNEY KAYE


Dear Guy,—I note your remarks about political journalism. I can confirm your conclusions after attending a comparatively insignificant hearing at the Appelate Tribunal. My view is that the Bench deliberately attempts to resemblence on the tribunal and intimate the C.O.'s. Alderman Marshall, especially, makes no attempt to understand the case of the applicants. Young lads—-who, obviously are sincere in their objections—are made to feel like criminals. It does no credit to those "learned gowns" on the Tribunal. They aim to trick the lads by most subtle and cunning devices.

One applicant, Mr. J. Bull, remarked that he was too old to be sent to prison. Alderman Marshall asked, "What do you call the hall a sending?" Deepseated kindness may be present on the part of the judge.

Every attempt is made to ridicule sincere, Christian pacifism. Homer of 119,351 in moral principles is ridiculed by the learned Court, an evil intimidation to be abandoned in time of war.

The practical advice of A. H. Seawes—except for constant restatement: "You will accept work of national importance?" shows what extremity involves.

We find James L. Cohen, who took the Socialists stand, the Tribunal declared that Cohen had not their discussion. Cohen is appealing. No doubt will we hear from him in the future.

Cohen stated his objections in written form. He maintained that he was conscientious, he was opposed to war. He stood for the Brotherhood of Man, and for the interests of the capitalists and the working people. We indignantly told Mr. Coker, from the Shop Assistants Union Legal Department, spoke of Cohen's sincerity in trade union work. He maintained that Cohen's sincerity was not a case of juggling with words. Seawes was impressed and said to Judge Bageshree: "There is a real case of objection in the case of Mr. Cohen. But the Bench refused to accept it.

You have found your "Letters to the Editor" deep interesting. Let me pay tribute, once again, to our great paper, The Word. The Male Seals and its cause of Freedom. I only wish that your pen and paper might be able to meet the demands, everybody in the world would hold the forum of Freedom. You have held high the forum of Freedom—keep it yours.

Yours for Sociology,

ALEX KAYE

Mile End, February 6, 1940.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—It is a great pleasure to see this new paper of yours. THE WORD is good and remember you at Wands. Dutch is making inquiry into the case of a messenger in the post office.尺度 useful has been done for this comrade in the near future.

Wishing you all the best.

G. JONES

Willesden, N.W.10.

(Another letter, page 59)

(Copied from Ol. 3, page 66)

Finally, he would have us witness against war. We must not serve Caesar or the New World government, or "Let Caesar have a Christ." Witness during the night even though the dawn reveals your corpse hanging on the gallows. Witness during the night, that the moral witness that we have to consecrate your purpose. Witness—that they want need and brotherhood he real. Witness—that freedom may come with the Sun.

The NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

Glasgow and West of Scotland Council
Headquarters
S.S.P. Room, 190 Earlyon Street, Glasgow C.
Chairman—GUY A. ALDRED, Hon. Secretary—BERT VAILLANCE, Hon. Treasurer—W. MCCLURE,
172 Great Western Rd., Glasgow, W.3

This is a League of Individual members and Association members to work for War and Industrial Conscription.

This appeal is to all conscientious objectors to join its ranks for the sake of the establishment of the end of violence.

Funds urgently required. Send donations to the Treasurer.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND COUNCIL
Chairman—GUY A. ALDRED. Secretary—BRIAN McFADDEN, W. McARTHUR, 8 Househill Crescent, Househill Crescent, Glasgow.

AGGREGATE MEETING. Christian Institute, Bothwell St., Glasgow, 7 p.m., Wednesday, March 28. This meeting is held every fortnight. Members should attend.

ADVISORY BUREAU—George St., E. 31—Every Thursday, 3-5 p.m.

GLASGOW C.P. CENTRAL GROUP—Every second Thursday (alternately to Aggregate Members' Meetings) every Thursday at Balshon Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, and every Friday at Patullo, Glencairn Street, Cumbernauld.

TODD AND KNIGHTSBRIDGE—Every Sunday, 3 p.m.; Band Hall, Knightswood Road. All R.A.M.C., S.M.C. and R.A.E.S. meeting, Thursday, 6 p.m., Thomas F. McKechnie, 30 Dowlamend Road, Knightswood Road.

COVANHALL N.C.L.—Every Monday and Friday, 5 p.m.; Room, Bathston Street, Secretary, Hamilton.

BRIDGETON N.C.L.—Every Friday, 11 P.M., Rooms, 362 Barrhead Road. Secretary, Frank Gaffney, 335 Nunnaton Street, Glasgow, H.

NAIRN N.C.L.—Every Thursday, 11 P.M., Room, 63 Govan Road. Secretary, Rev. H. B. earth, 35 West Avenue, invited. Secretary: A. Porter, 164 Carnage Drive, Balfron Walk.

S.C.W.S. EMPLOYEES' BRANCH. Every Thursday, 7.30 p.m.; Room, 33, St. Joseph's Street, Glasgow, W.7. Secretary, Malcolm Waterton, 113 Kensington Street, Glasgow, S.4.

All employees invited. Subscription 6d. per month.

PARTICK N.C.L.—Every Monday, 7.30 p.m., Young Pioneers, 246 Parkhead Road. Secretary, W. J. Campbell, Willow Kirk, 12 Balfron Road.

GORBALS AND HUTCHESONTOWN N.C.L.—Every Friday, 11 p.m., Room, 207 Rutherglen Road, at 7.30 p.m. at Balshon Hall.

SPRINGBURN N.C.L.—Every Friday, Red Hall (lower), Queenshill Street, 7.30 p.m. prompt. Secretary, Mr. J. Robertson, 15 Chalmers Street, Springburn, Glasgow.

MARYHILL N.C.L.—Every Thursday, Labour Hut, Kelvinvale Avenue, 7.30 p.m. Secretary, Vincent F. McTavish, 51 Kirkland Street, Maryhill.

POLLOKSHAW—Meets alternates Thursdays, 7.30 p.m.; Aitkenhead Hall, Secretary, Murdo McLean, 714 Byston Road, Stepps.

STETELLEST.—Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., I.P.L. Hall, Barrie Street (off Old Stretton Street); Secretary, Miss Betty Fawcett, 293 Arden Street, E.R.

BARRHEAD.—Meets every Thursday, 11 p.m., Rooms, Coogan Street, Barrhead. Secretary, Robert McPhail, 103 Balfour Crescent, Barrhead, Secretary, Miss W. F. Rowan, 10 Forbes Place (near Sqaure), Paisley. Assistant, Miss M. Innes, 6/10 (Tron) Street, Stepps, 20 Underwood Lane, Paisley.

OUTWITH GLASGOW.

SOUTHWEST OF GLASGOW.—Meets every Thursday, 11 p.m., I.P.L. Hall, 6 Broadway Market, 7.30 p.m.


Hammersmith Group meets every Monday at Sevic's address until headquarters are obtained. THE WORD can be obtained in London from this address.

A. Aldred is addressing N.C.L meetings through Hamme.

HAMPSTEAD N.C.L.—Hon. Secretary, Mrs. M. Westmore, 3 Waywick Mansions, Pim St., Hampstead, London. N.1.

All other N.C.L. Groups or Branches are invited to send their addresses to the above address.

SOUTHAMPTON N.C.L.—Albert McCarty, Secy., 14 Colbrooke Avenue, Shirley, Southampton.

I.P.L. Head Office.—I.P.L. Hall, 139 George Street.

ABERDEEN N.C.L.—Meets every month, 9.30, Aberdeen Street, Neck Branch meets every Monday, 7.30 p.m. All unattached Socialists should join to make the meetings interesting, we are aware that socialists are quite capable of sending subscriptions to our meetings, and the meeting is held every month, 7.30 p.m., Belton Cinema. Questions and discussion are the order of the meetings.
PRISON: WHAT IT MEANS AND REQUIRES

An Essay for Conscientious Objectors

II. Thomas Dowd.

In life, Dowd seemingly was a very ordinary person. He was not tall, and his face was not striking; the general impression given was of a rather mild, unassuming man. In his behavior, however, there was a hint of something more. He had a quiet, unassuming manner, and it was not uncommon for people to comment on his ability to put others at ease. He was a man of few words, but those he did use were always carefully chosen. His speech was clear and direct, and he had a way of making his points that left little room for misunderstanding. He was not a man who sought attention, but he had a quiet confidence that made him approachable.

Vince and Tom found shelter of a sort. Chapman and Smiley cloaked with great caution. Each had drawn his revolver.

"Step out, you two," Smiley ordered, "and come out with your muffs in the air!"

Two policemen fired. Vince fired, too. Then Tom fired. He took a hand in the fight. Vince's third shot struck Chapman full in the face and killed him instantly. Smiley sprawled with a scream. Both fellows fired. Vince fired first. Tom fired second. Both policemen fared. Tom, of course, fell with one leg doubled beneath him. A few feet distant was an open cellar entrance. Tom turned. "Here to help his brother," he grimly said, "let's do it.

"Stop it," Tom ordered. With amazing quickness and fortitude, he dragged his injured leg to the mouth of the cellar and dumped the water.

"Keep going, kid—you can outrun any of 'em," Tom's voice urged. "I'm set!"

So far as Vince could see, his brother had secured a miraculous hide-out. He was assisted into position by Tom and ran to the cellar entrance, turned over a gas light, and ran so as to draw the chase right away from Tom's impromptu cover. He lifted clear of the earth, and crossed his hands over his mouth. A flash of firelight. He was an air light, and so exposed himself to Smiley's accurate fire. The policeman's gun got him in the cheek. He ran on recklessly and might have been killed but for his great length of foot and the way in which he ran into another blue-coat and gleaming shield. The officer fired and missed. Vince fired and missed. Tom's last shot. Smiley charged around the corner and fired—and did not miss. He did not die but lingered in the hospital, recovered, was put on trial, and hanged.

Tom Dowd lost hold of his gun when he fell. He was lucky. Had he been privy to other tools in his possession and run into another blue-coat and gleaming shield. The officer fired and missed. Vince fired and missed. Tom's last shot. Smiley charged around the corner and fired—and did not miss. He did not die but lingered in the hospital, recovered, was put on trial, and hanged.

Tom Dowd was a true man of the social system into which he was born. His courage and patience belonged to him as an individual: was, in fact, the man himself.

The story begins some years before August, 1898. Tom and his brother, Vince, were engaged in a house-breaking expedition at A. Brady's store; in Birmingham, Alabama. The two brothers, with four others, started to pry it open with a jack and aパン. They found that the window had been unatched. They climbed in gently, discovered an old-fashioned safe, it was opened, and its contents, and found themselves the possessors of $27 dollars in bills, and $65 in coins. In after making certain that there was neither safe nor strength, the brothers got out and the implements of their craft, turned and went back to the shaded rear window by which they had entered.

Unfortunately, the brothers' movements had been noticed by Officer Joe Chapman, who was standing outside, the next best, for redress. The Dowd brothers made their exit almost openly. They had secured so little that they felt no crime had been committed. Chapman was the only one to intercept them. Vince was ahead of his brother, caught the flash of the policeman's shield, ducked aside, crying out: "Look out, Tom."

Tom Dowd wandered through the country, attacking suburbs and villages in small towns. At last, in Bloomington, Illinois, he broke into a house and managed to get away with a telephone wire. This act as a burglar alarm and the store was surrounded by armed men and had been dead two years and Tom was never heard of. He had been sentenced to the Illinois State penitentiary at Joliet for a term of fifteen years. He settled in pursuit of his brother. Smiley had a vision of a sight made his way to the negro quarter of Birmingham, sick, feeble, yet plucky and persevering. The cellar from which he had escaped was in litigation. The care was made and a new one was discovered.

At some time later, after he had gained a place in which to hide and nurse his ideals, he was sheltered and cared for tenderly by a kind-hearted friend. Tom Dowd's thigh wound had turned gangrenous, and he was kept in the attention of his undercover samaritan saved both his life and his leg. Otherwise his leg would have had to be amputated and he would have become a cripple.

He learned sadly of the fate of his younger brother, who lay, dangerously wounded in five places and had a bullet wound. "Every day," was being done to nurse the wound in order that the State might hang him. He raised a $2000 reward. Tom Dowd's wallet had turned gangrenous, and he was kept in the attention of his undercover samaritan saved both his life and his leg. Otherwise his leg would have had to be amputated and he would have become a cripple.

Vince Dowd is a true man of the social system into which he was born. His courage and patience belonged to him as an individual: was, in fact, the man himself.

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