

Freedom

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BLOOD AND IRON.

Who is responsible? Now, when the red deluge has so suddenly and unexpectedly surprised the whole of Europe, we hear on every hand the same question: Who is responsible?

Evidently, each country has its own particular answer to the query. The rulers of every land throw the blame on their rivals, and the Press, whose special concern it is to manufacture "public opinion," makes the necessary observations and comments. The Kaiser declares that it was the enemies of Germany who compelled him to wage war, and that he was the sole person in Europe who continually strove to maintain peace among the European nations. In England and France, on the other hand, the Kaiser is the "mad dog" of Europe, the only one who continually hindered and disturbed the peaceful relations of its peoples. And the Tsar, the red-handed executioner of Russian freedom, who converted Russia into a huge cemetery, and endeavoured to stifle the last hope of his oppressed subjects in a sea of blood—he talks of a holy war, a just war, in order to ensure the happiness and well-being of Europe!

And in all lands the sounding church-bells are calling the pious Christians to come and unite their prayers that the Lord should destroy the enemy, and bless "their banners." The same God! the same Christians! the same Gospel, whose founder said, "Love thy neighbour as thyself"!

What scandalous comedy! And how deep the ignorance and deception of the people who neither will nor can see this colossal fraud, and the unscrupulous intrigues of their oppressors.

Who is responsible? you ask. Do not look for the responsibility in others. Look for it in yourselves. Seek it in the cursed system whose victims we all are; in the State capitalistic civilisation which is based on organised violence, on the shameful exploitation of all the nations!

You do not know, it seems, that we have been living in a state of war for many, many years past; you have ignored the war that is being waged daily in our beautiful society, therefore you now have a *real* war. You were silent when men, women, and children fell in great numbers upon the industrial field, therefore you now see your sons falling on the battlefield. For the same powers that deprived you of the fruits of your labour, and compelled you by hunger and starvation to create riches for a minority of privileged thieves and idlers—the same powers will now take away the lives of your sons and brothers, and force you with their guns to die for their interests.

In a word, you did not want the revolution, so you now have war—the wholesale murder of the nations. The revolutionaries only appeared to you as Utopians, dreamers, unpractical men. Your rulers were more practical, and the thunder of cannon, lacerated human bodies, and rivers of blood now speak to you of the results of their practicability.

Who is to blame? Capitalism and its twin-brother, the modern State! You yourselves are to blame, because you ignored the great doctrine of a new social culture, because you would not prevent the catastrophe while there was yet time to do so.

No one knows what the future has in store for us. One thing, however, is certain: Capitalism is war—Socialism means peace among the nations. So long as the producing classes will allow a minority of privileged robbers to monopolise the fruit of their labour, and to condemn millions of human beings to a state of eternal misery, just so long will you have war among the different races and nationalities. The immense fortunes that are to-day accumulating within the hands of a few do not arise merely from the usual exploitation of the workman by the master or manufacturer, but are the result of international speculations in the great hunt for the domination of the world's markets. That is why Capitalism in every country was obliged to increase the power of the modern State, and to develop militarism to such

mad proportions. For a strong military and centralised State is the only guarantee for the realisation of the modern Imperialistic tendencies of Capitalism everywhere. But Imperialism means nothing else but the economic exploitation of other nations, upon the basis of the exploitation of its own people. In other words, militarism is the inevitable result of the capitalistic régime, and therefore the cause of ceaseless strife.

The great misfortune is, that the majority of people cannot see this connection, and many will gauge the culture of a nation by the strength of its armies and its external technical improvements. But this is one of the greatest mistakes ever made. Germany offers us the best instance for this. The national unity of that country, under the supreme rule of Prussia, upon a basis of extreme militarism and an all-powerful bureaucracy, has certainly not produced what we call German culture. On the contrary, that unity has proved the greatest hindrance to the development of a true popular culture, and has always endeavoured to force the spiritual powers of the German people down to the level of the barracks.

The finest examples of German culture were produced before the military system and the renowned unity came into being. The classical philosophy of Germany, her wonderful art and literature—all that developed when the country consisted of separate little kingdoms, and had not yet come under the influence and domination of Prussian culture-hating militarism.

The so-called national unity and the conversion of Germany into a military State have no doubt been a great gain for German capitalism, but by no means for the culture of the German people. Under the rule of militarism, Germany has become a peril to the intellectual development of Europe, and a German victory in this war would be a great blow to every libertarian movement in Europe, a blow to the German people themselves.

The violation of France in 1870, and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, were the real causes of the crazy development of militarism in Europe. It is also known that Bismarck and the Prussian Junker class intended to make of France what has been made of Poland. To this end Bismarck carried on secret negotiations with England, and France was obliged to throw herself into the bloody arms of the Tsar in order to maintain her existence as an independent State. As a result of this we have witnessed the frightful development of Chauvinism all over Europe, the weakening of revolutionary and libertarian Socialism, and the triumph of the dread reaction under which the European peoples are groaning to this day.

The present war, the most outrageous crime mankind has ever seen, is but the last word of this reaction, the last word of Imperial capitalism and the military State.

And not only in Germany, but wherever this system exists, the same results will follow. The best Constitutions and most glorious traditions of liberty will not prevent these evil consequences.

"You cannot combat militarism by means of Parliament." This sentence was already pronounced as far back as forty years ago by the old democrat Johan Jakobi. A new revolutionary renaissance of the European peoples is the only means against this deadly enemy of mankind.

And it is not unlikely that the present bloody catastrophe will at last awaken the people from their indifference. The bitter pain and fearful suffering will perhaps make a deeper impression than the words of the revolutionaries. It is possible that the Social Revolution will be the last act in the present tragedy; possible that murderous militarism will be drowned in the blood of its numberless victims; that the people of the different countries will unite against the bloody régime of modern Capitalism and its institutions, and finally produce a new social culture upon the basis of free Socialism.

At the same time, the progressive elements must not lose courage, however great the disaster that has befallen us. We must be on our guard, and, if necessary, risk our lives for the triumph of a new social order.

R. R.

The Modern State.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

VII.

MONOPOLIES IN CONSTITUTIONAL ENGLAND.—IN GERMANY.—THE KINGS OF OUR OWN TIME.

Those economists who have studied lately the growth of monopoly in different States have made the remark that in this country—not only in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth—the creation of monopolies in *national industries*, as also the formation of Trusts for artificially raising the prices of goods, did not attain the development reached lately in Germany. However, this fact is not explained by the more solid virtues of the political organisation of Britain—the State in these islands is as monopolist as elsewhere. It is due to the insular position of this country, which allows it to import goods at a low price, even bulky goods of small value, and thus caused her to become a Free Trade country.

On the other hand, having succeeded in conquering rich countries such as India, and colonising vast territories in North America and Australia, the British Government was able to create for its favourites monopolies on such an immense scale that it directed its chief monopolist activity that way. No trade monopolies granted to manufacturers in these isles could equal those that were granted for plundering India, China (by means of an opium trade protected by the British Fleet), and later on in America and other parts of the world.

Without these two important causes, the State in this country would have shown the very same monopolist craving as every other State.

* *

Adam Smith had already made the remark that two or three British employers never met together without conspiring against their workers—and obviously also against their customers. The Trust conspiracies are not an American invention. They have always existed here, and Mr. Macrosty gives lots of facts to show how they succeeded in the legal plundering of the customers.

The British Parliament did not differ in this respect from other Governments. It favoured the employers' conspiracies, and punished only the conspiracies of the workers, which were considered treason against the State.

This was the function of the State, and it remained true to it—here as everywhere else.

* *

To check the monopolist tendency, there were, we just said, two factors: Free Trade, introduced in the "forties" of the nineteenth century, and, as a consequence of it, the low prices of imported goods, which often could counterbalance the Trust conspiracies of the manufacturers.

Having been the first nation to create a great manufacturing industry, which required the free import of the raw material (cotton, various ores, and so on); having given at the same time two-thirds of its soil to a handful of lords and driven the peasants from their lands, and therefore compelled the people to live upon imported food—this country *was bound to maintain Free Trade*.*

Free Trade rendered possible the importation of manufactured goods when Trusts were formed by the British manufacturers. This is very well told by Mr. Hermann Levy. Each time a coalition of manufacturers was formed to raise the prices of some goods—such as sewing cotton and thread, cement, glass goods, and so on—these goods were imported from abroad. True, they were of an inferior quality, but they competed with the home-made goods where a higher quality was not absolutely necessary. Those employers who had formed a Trust (or a "cartel") were thus checked. But—what terrible struggles had to be fought by the nation to retain Free Trade, which certainly was not to the liking of the landlords and their farmers.

However, gradually, in the years 1886-95, in England as elsewhere, began the formation of the big industrial Trusts on an international basis; and of course the State was the first to support them. The Trusts were now organised internationally, so as to take in the manufacturers of a given produce in the *Protectionist* countries, like Germany, Russia, and the United States, as well as those of England and Scotland.† In this way, a privilege established in favour of local manufacturers in Germany or in Russia is extended to the Free Trade countries. What is still worse is that such Trusts contribute to the inflation

* The few cattle which are reared in England are fed now to a great extent on imported hay, oil-cake, and grain. As to meat, the English peasants only began to eat it in the "sixties" of last century, when it was imported from America, and later on from Australia and New Zealand. Up to then, beef and mutton were inaccessible luxuries for the peasants.

† These Trusts, which are composed not only of the chief English manufacturers of sewing cotton, glass, cement, and so on, but also of the manufacturers of the same produce in Russia, Germany, etc., prevent the lowering of prices in this country by means of imports from abroad.

of all prices upon all manufactured produce directly or indirectly connected with the branch for which a Trust has been formed.

Needless to say, in a thousand ways such Trusts (especially the banks) enjoy the high protection of the State, while international Labour Syndicates are prohibited by these same States. Thus, the French Government still prohibits the International Working Men's Association, and the Belgian and German Governments immediately expel the English Labour man who has come to promote the international organisation of some trade. But we have never heard yet of an agent of a Trust having been expelled by any Government.*

(To be continued.)

THE LITERATURE OF ANARCHISM.

The present geographical extent of Anarchist literature is considerable. I am, of course, unable to follow it up into every corner of the globe, yet I have seen papers, pamphlets, and books (in many cases only papers or only pamphlets, etc.) from the following geographical units: England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Austria and Hungary, Russia, Finland, Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, Gibraltar, Azores and Canary Islands, Algiers, Tunis, Egypt, Portuguese East Africa, China, Japan, New South Wales, Victoria, the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Panama (Canal Zone), Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, the Argentine Republic, Chili, and Peru.

As languages and State frontiers by no means coincide, I will also enumerate the languages in which I am aware Anarchist literature has been published: English, Dutch, Flemish, German, Yiddish, Danish, Norwegian proper, Swedish, French, Catalanian, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Roumanian, Breton, Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Croatian and Servian, Bulgarian, Lithuanian, Lettish, Greek, Armenian, Hungarian, Finnish, Chinese, Japanese, and, I am told, also Georgian (in the Caucasus).†

Socialist literature, by the way, has penetrated into a few more countries; I have seen publications from Ireland, Iceland, Luxemburg, Turkey, French Indo-China, various parts of South Africa, all parts of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Porto Rico, Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana, and Bolivia. The following languages might be added: Welsh, Turkish, and the auxiliary languages, Esperanto and Ido. I am ignorant as to Persia, Tasmania, and some other countries.

It is really impossible to count the total number of Anarchist publications since the beginning of the various movements. We must first agree as to what shall be counted as a publication, for the usual distinctions of "book," "pamphlet," and "paper" are exceeded in all directions by minor publications like leaflets, posters, drawings, etc., which by their contents, often also by their dimension, are in many cases of equal importance to pamphlets. Again, where does Anarchist literature end? On the side of exclusively Anarchist papers, etc., range increasing numbers of Syndicalist or Direct Actionist, anti-militarist, educational, sex question, neo-Malthusian, and other papers, and literary and artistic reviews, some of which—not all, of course—are deeply penetrated by Anarchist thought. Elsewhere there is a tendency for local revolutionary papers in which Anarchists, revolutionary Socialists, and Syndicalists work together on equal terms. There is also that somewhat vague literature of spiritualised Anarchism of the Tolstoy or Walt Whitman type; and there are publications of a somewhat eccentric Individualism, the opposite extreme to the ultra-Labourist or Syndicalist spirit of some other publications, which almost merge into ordinary Socialism. There is no harm in this lack of definiteness on the outskirts of an idea; it shows, on the contrary, that this idea is not an isolated invention, but that it has grown naturally, side by side with other contending ideas, with which it is

* Concerning the modern development of international Trusts, let me sum up here what M. André Morizet told us in the *Guerre Sociale* of February 6, 1912, about the international agreement concluded by the manufacturers of armour plates for ironclads. At the outset, this agreement comprised ten companies—Krupp, Schneider, Maxim, Carnegie, and so on, divided into four groups: English, German, French, and American. These ten companies agreed to share the orders given by the different Governments, without entering into competition among themselves. In other words, they themselves determined their profits. A member of this Trust to whom an order had to go, according to their agreement, fixed his price, and none of the ten members of the Trust might compete with him: they all gave slightly higher prices in their estimates. (This is how big profits are made—they call that "the liberty of commerce.") The Trust had besides a "pool," composed of a certain percentage on all orders executed, paid by each of its members. This pool went to equalise the yearly profits. Since 1899, three more great companies have been admitted to the Trust, in order to avoid their competition. One sees what an immense power belongs to such a Trust. Not only does it provide means of plundering the exchequer of every military State, but its interests lie in inducing all States, large and small, to build ironclads. This is why we see a real fever for building Dreadnoughts and super-Dreadnoughts. The banking companies also have an interest in lending money to the States for military purposes, whatever the indebtedness of these States might be.

[Since these lines were published in French we have had the remarkable revelations of Liebknecht, jun., concerning the horrible methods to which the armaments manufacturers resort to create war scares and finally to provoke wars.]

† Additional information (care of FREEDOM) will be welcome.

connected by many links, some of which, having become fetters, must be severed, whilst others give us strength and prevent dogmatic isolation, the source of stagnation and decay. Only the bibliographer is often perplexed by this situation; but very few will feel any compunction for this!

When I thus define our literature in what I consider the most commonsense way, I form the opinion that a list of from 12,000 to 15,000 purely Anarchist publications (books, pamphlets, papers) could be drawn up, though with immense difficulty; besides, there might be about 10,000 minor publications (leaflets, posters, etc.), which are difficult to separate clearly from handbills and the like, as these also often contain some propagandist text besides business announcements. Then there are the thousands of articles, letters, etc., by Anarchists in other papers; the immense borderland literature alluded to; the reports, however unreliable, of Anarchist doings, acts, meetings, and trials, scattered in the ordinary press for half a century; and there are mountains of Socialist and bourgeois criticism and abuse, and so on. It would be of great interest to know exactly to what extent and in what direction this literature is really progressing. Here I feel less competent than ever to express an opinion, as I am no longer able to read up this literature to a satisfactory extent; but, subject to the criticism of the better informed, I venture to make the following observations.

A very considerable part of our present literature consists of continuous reprints and translations of standard pamphlets and books, and of routine articles of elementary propaganda and comments on current events in papers. It is obvious that good pamphlets cannot be too widely circulated, and the most widely spread pamphlet has but a small circulation in one country compared with even a single issue of one of the yellow daily papers which hour by hour poison the people's minds. We cannot fail to observe that their efforts to capture the people's brains by always coarser means are very powerful. The mind of the people is hardened and brutalised by this, and when they hit back, sometimes by very well intentioned but thoroughly *authoritarian* Direct Actionist Syndicalism, this also is an outcome of the modern spirit of reckless force and authority which the revival of Capitalism by Imperialism engendered. That unselfish love of freedom which characterises Anarchism is relegated far into the background by the desire to fight for material interests, a fight the necessity of which I do not contest. In this situation, great care should be taken that Anarchist literature be attractive, full of actuality; not, of course, pandering to sensationalism, but striking and lively in any case.

Now, our older pamphlets may be, some of them, literary gems, Anarchist classics, so to speak; but to appreciate them as such, greater preparation is needed, in my opinion, than is possessed, as a rule, by the average modern reader when he first sees them. These pamphlets originated at a time when the next outlook, however cleverly forecast by the author, was necessarily different from what has *really* happened since then; they were written by men of well-defined qualities, which, with all their desire for impartiality, they could not fail to impress on their work. All this makes these pamphlets of increasing interest to the student of history, but they do not appeal to the young people of the present and coming generations. What is needed are modern pamphlets, and such publications are not forthcoming—this is my impression—to a satisfactory extent, and they are not produced (for reasons which I shall explain) by the best Anarchist thinkers of our day, who are, I am glad to say, not lacking at all in energy and numbers.

The consequences are twofold: first, that our movement seems somewhat sterile to the newcomers, who cannot understand all at once our ties of sympathy with the authors of the earlier pamphlets, who worked under much greater difficulties than we do to-day; and secondly, these pamphlets tend to become, in the eyes of some, of a dogmatic character. Even elementary schoolbooks are constantly remodelled, and no handbook of any science lives more than a couple of years; religion only does not change. So also the propagandist equipment of Anarchism needs constant revision, and whilst this is being done by speakers and the writers of articles, it cannot possibly be done by reprinting the almost unchanged text of literature written a considerable time ago.

I appreciate the early pamphlets as much as anybody; they date from a more hopeful and less cynical period when Capitalism moved on simpler, less brutal lines, when national hatred seemed a relic of the past, like torture and the stake. But their humanitarian and optimist character makes them appear somewhat naïve and artless to the modern mind, brought up in the daily presence of unheard of horrors all over the globe. These people, I believe, need first to be talked to in some more modern way; later on, those in whom an unselfish love for freedom can be awakened will discover with delight, like a beautiful oasis, the earlier pamphlets of a better time.

Why are so few really independent and modern pamphlets forthcoming? I can only say what I think is an important reason of this; others may disagree with me. There was a time in the early "nineties" (I am speaking of France) when Anarchism, by literature, art, and science, seemed about to become a real factor of modern life. To become so in fact, it ought to have examined and acknowledged the reasonable claims of Individualism, which, when Anarchist ideas were first formulated on the Continent, at a time when Socialism was the principal object of hatred and persecution, was somewhat neglected, whilst Socialism (Collectivism or Communism) was emphasised. Since

then the claims of Individualism on the modern spirit became stronger, but Anarchism failed to respond to them. On the contrary, it became fascinated by a dream of power, by the big numbers of Syndicalists, which evolution corresponds to that of Social Democrats, who bow before the millions of their electors. Syndicalism absorbed and finally paralysed many of the best brains; others, dissatisfied and isolated, took refuge in eccentric forms of Individualism, and often drifted away. Thus Anarchism was intellectually starved for many years; but now *the spell is broken*, I am happy to say; and to-day the best French Anarchist writers keenly expose the fatuity of a Syndicalism which a few victories and many defeats have quickly demoralised.

At present, many excellent things have been said on all points of Anarchist theory by younger writers in France and other countries in recent years; but these authors see much better now than the early propagandists could see, how difficult it is to trace the merest outline of a "system," how purely personal and hypothetical all apparent prevision of a future state of society is, how little a single mind can comprehend the immense complexity of present and coming life; and they abstain from generalising. They feel that each of us, as we become Anarchists, must think out *our own* conception of the future, and not look to programmes, books, or papers for it. Some of their articles are reprinted and form the best modern Anarchist reading; but the bulk of their work is only found in papers, and thus falls into oblivion within a few weeks.

I believe that some very good, live Anarchist literature could be obtained, if the files of a number of papers, say, of the last five years, were examined, and the principal opinions and arguments of these writers on a number of questions extracted and systematically arranged. Each of a series of pamphlets could deal with a separate subject. Comrades and groups could distribute such work among themselves and co-ordinate their efforts. Such intelligent summaries of really modern Anarchist thought, if translated and circulated, would be a permanent literary "congress," whilst at present so much that is worth keeping remains buried in periodicals.

In general, Anarchist literature, though, of course, all questions are discussed or commented on in the papers, tries too little to get a real hold on modern public opinion. If this were otherwise, new adherents could be won *over every question*. Who heard the voice of the Anarchists during the Balkan horrors from 1912 until to-day? Which of their utterances on the present peace and war problem is before the mind of the public? Did they produce anything that would strike people's minds on tariff reform, the land tax, health insurance, Home Rule, or the women's movement? With the exception of some literature on Mexico, they remained on the defence.

It is difficult to change all this, as the hostile influences which brought about this situation are constantly at work; but some fault, I feel, lies at our own door—too much reliance on the excellent work done by our pioneers, but which cannot possibly be as efficient as really modern work would be; a certain doctrinaire narrowness and abstention from fresh research work; and that strange fascination of the economic question, which limits our contact with modern life, where we could have so much to say, from the standpoint of our ideas, and also to learn.

There is no lack of keen Anarchist thinkers whom it is a pleasure to read; I will but mention Marc Pierrot, Max Clair, Jacques Mesnil, G. Landauer, the late Voltairine de Cleyre, Harry Kelly, Ricardo Mella. May their work be more generally known; may some of them find time for an up-to-date exposition of Anarchism. It is to these and numbers of others whom I cannot mention that I look to hopefully for a revival of modern Anarchist literature.

M. N.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHAT OF RENT?

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—In the face of so many phases of Anarchism, I can well ignore friend Robins's cheap sneer. The point is: "What are you going to do with rent?" Mr. Robins says: "Abolish it"; but any student of political economy will tell him that he might as well attempt to abolish the moon.

"C. P." has an idea that the action of "the law of diminishing returns in agriculture" will solve the problem. But there is no such law, as any one who is familiar with "The Science of Political Economy," by Henry George, will sufficiently demonstrate. Besides, we are talking about the rent of land—Ossulston Street, for instance—not the return for agriculture; more labourers, more rent, *ad infinitum*. Which is an entirely different matter. I wonder, does friend Robins believe in the Group idea?

Neither is this a matter that "relates to a somewhat distant future," but is terribly of the present, ruling indeed the world to-day.

We need to get down from the clouds and consider how best to bring about freedom, leaving the issue of the form it will take to "some distant future." I opine that the freest man to-day is he who has possession of land. They are working this out in Southern Mexico. Magon's article in the current issue of FREEDOM shows that right enough. When shall we start to work it out in this country?—Yours fraternally,

JOHN BAGOT.

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Communist Kitchens.

"Let any great city be visited to-morrow by a calamity—a siege, or the like—and you will see that immediately the Communist idea will come to affirm itself in life. The question of 'bread,' of food for all, will impose itself upon the community, while the question as to the remuneration of the services rendered by this or that member of society will be thrust into the background. Every one's needs will be every one's right to his share in the common store of available food."

This is what Anarchists were teaching all these years while learned economists were repeating the bourgeois formula: "To every one according to his services."

Now, Western Europe is living through a period of calamity, and we see how the idea of Communist kitchens is rapidly spreading everywhere, as a first small step towards a Communistic conception of organisation.

In Paris, the Syndicate of coachmen and chauffeurs has opened their *Popotte communiste*, "popotte" being the slang name of a small restaurant. It is, of course, only a small affair yet, worked voluntarily by women and men. Their means are limited, and all they can do for the present is to give free meals—paid for by those who can pay, and free to those who cannot—three hundred lunches and three hundred dinners being served every day.

"But, shall we refuse a meal if a woman whose husband does not belong to our trade comes to ask us to give her a meal for herself and her children?" This was the question which the organisers of the *Popotte* had to ask themselves the very first day they opened it; and their reply obviously was this: "Of course, we shall not refuse! We shall say, on the contrary, that she is welcome. The utmost we can do is to ask some sort of assurance that those who claim a free meal are not impostors." And the result is that half the free meals served every day are given to absolute strangers to the Syndicate.

"Yes, the barracks! We know that!" we were told by our critics. "And if there are those who for some reason prefer to have their meals at home, and eat it with their families, how are you going to organise that? Are you going to send the meals to the homes?" And when we replied that the Communist kitchen would easily find ways to distribute the meals, the wiseacres laughed to their hearts' contents about these "Anarchist Utopias."

And to-day we read in the *Guerre Sociale*, under the signature of Emile Pouget, that even this is already done in Paris, at a widely known swell restaurant, Ledoyen, and this restaurant has been turned into a kitchen for the wives of the combatants. No less than 2,400 meals, consisting of the usual popular restaurant's *ordinaire*—that is, of soup, with meat and vegetables, all of the best quality—are served and distributed every day. A special room in the same establishment is set apart for the use of those women who prefer to come there with their work, instead of sitting in their rooms, where everything reminds them of their dear absent ones.

"But this is a secondary matter," the organisers say. "Our chief aim is to secure food for the greatest number possible." And to attain this aim the sending of the meals to the homes has been introduced.

Out of the 2,400 meals served every day, only about a hundred are eaten in the restaurant; the remainder are sent out. Motor cars distribute the dinners in the 8th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 20th *Arrondissements* of Paris, and even in two suburbs. The *ordinaire* is put into big milk-cans, each of which

contains sixty rations, and the motor cars rapidly distribute their loads.

This restaurant alone could supply, the organisers say, 20,000 rations every day. "Only send us demands, give us addresses!"

This is how life itself teaches the Communist lesson against which bourgeois journalists have launched so many criticisms and witticisms. The necessities of daily life, indeed, compel us to organise everywhere Communist kitchens, where good, solid food could be got, both at a low price by those who can still afford to pay for it, and free for those who cannot and do not care to beg their exploiters for charity.

This is why our comrades begin to start Communist kitchens everywhere. Yiddish and Russian comrades in Whitechapel, French and German in the central parts of London, have already organised such kitchens with their extremely limited means. Most probably a similar movement is going on in the Provinces, and the modest Communist kitchens will surely gradually widen the scope of their activities (labour enquiry bureaux, reading rooms, etc.).

Therefore, many comrades are quite right in seeing in such kitchens the means of remaining in contact with each other, as also the means to prove to the working men that in constructive work Anarchists can be *practical*, and even more so than those who pretend to be practical, simply because the latter stifle every revolutionary thought. A good propaganda of the Communist idea is already being made by this supply of food, and the communalisation of housing and clothing may follow very soon.

P. K.

SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

It is, perhaps, a fitting commentary upon the usefulness of the diplomacy of Governments that the first anniversary of the opening of the Peace Palace at the Hague, which occurred on August 28, should have witnessed the European nations engaged in the most gigantic struggle the world has yet seen. In barbaric times those responsible for war had the decency to refrain from any cant about peace. There was a lusty frankness in their methods which might be emulated with advantage by our present Governments.

There is much perturbation these days when we hear the amount the war is costing the nation, but how much attention do we pay to the cost incurred in our attempts to maintain industrial peace? The committee appointed to deal with the Leeds municipal strike recently issued a statement giving the total cost of that strike to the ratepayers. We give two items:—"Expended by the Special Committee, £12,333. Sums expended by the Watch Committee to maintain the peace of the city, £22,771. Total, £35,104." Preserving industrial peace can, therefore, prove as costly in its way to the community as a state of war. When will those soldiers in the army of construction learn who the enemy really is?

Meanwhile it is heartening to find the Lord Mayor of Leeds among those suffering from patriotic mania. "One half of my capital is freely at the disposal of my country. One half—nay, the whole—of my income my country can have if required." So he declared at a meeting of the Leeds Council held recently to consider unemployment and distress. Is it possible this gentleman was an office-holder when the Leeds industrial war was in progress, and, if so, did he then give voice to the same noble sentiments?

The names of donors to the Prince of Wales's Relief Fund should awaken interesting emotions in the breasts of those workers who happen to be wage-slaves in the employ of these gentlemen. In some cases the largest subscribers are those who have during the past few years been strenuously fighting their employees' demand for a living wage. Do we see here tardy acts of repentance towards those who have been systematically wronged, or are the gentlemen, like the bad, bold barons of old, merely eager to square things with Providence with a view to an earthly halo, and a title?

By releasing unconditionally the Suffragette and industrial rebels who have been languishing in prison, the Government has shown an eager desire to buy the neutrality of these dangerous "criminals." The war is disclosing the function of Government in its true light, and we will hope that when it is over these victims of false imprisonment will demand why they were ever brought under the ban of the law. The very actions of the Government are giving away the whole case for Government.

Trade Unionists, not being persons possessed of malice, are now cheerfully aiding the Government in the present crisis. We find that local Trade Unions in Newcastle have decided to keep in benefit, without calling upon them to make contributions, all members enlisting in the Regular Army, or summoned for service with the Reserves or Territorials. Similar cases have reached us from other parts of the country, all showing the sheer generosity of the workers towards a

Government that has so often in the past, when asked for justice, menaced them with the Army machine, upon which all governmental authority rests. Anxious to support the Government, and therefore Capitalism, they are now giving their all in men, money, and loyalty. Could generosity or idiocy be carried further?

Few people seem to have grasped the fact that during the past month we have been passing through a revolutionary stage in Parliament. With the collapse of British credit, it became very evident that our much-vaunted commercial system had suffered shipwreck, and the only way to save the whole rotten fabric was by means of patches of Collectivism. Parliament has passed more such measures during the past few weeks than at any time during its history. The Government started by taking control of the railways, and may end in controlling the banks, for a wail has gone up in the House that these same banks are withholding deposits and crippling trade. The wickedness of it! So the Government, with high-souled endeavour, may yet rescue the trader and turn its talents to banking.

All this has not been without effect upon the man in the street, who now sees the State in a new and startling light. He has become convinced that he is an almost negligible factor—a pawn necessary to the State's existence—and his supposed freedom of action appears in its real garb. It is an anxious moment. To quote from "A. G. G." of the *Daily News*: "The individual has gone under. There is only one life, the life of the State, that concerns us. . . . The only political doctrine extant is the doctrine of the collective necessity. We are discovering, in the face of that necessity, we have no individual rights or possessions that the State cannot resume almost without so much as a 'by your leave.'"

The writer then shows that the lesson we are now learning is "that in the ultimate analysis we own nothing, and the State owns all. It can take our money to the last penny, it can restrict our liberties until we are little better than prisoners of war, it can appropriate our institutions with a stroke of the pen; in the final necessity, it can take our lives to the last drop of our blood." What an appalling indictment, yet one that no longer falls on deaf ears, for the war has given us a useful demonstration of the power of the State. Now is the time to show up the immorality of all Government, and prevent Collectivist legislation from converting us into more servile subjects than we are at present.

A Bill recently introduced by Mr. Dickinson, to provide for the regulation of traffic in London, makes us realise very plainly the folly of huge cities. In 1904 the fatal accidents on London's streets were 155; in 1912 the number increased to 537; in 1913 to 612. All the Government has done so far is to inquire into the causes—causes that will continue so long as trade exists on its present basis, and individuals are attracted from country to town. But the folly in not checking this movement is on a par with the wanton waste in deliberately sending men into battle, and then providing elaborate machinery for patching them up again should they escape with their lives. It would save a lot of trouble if the Government first took pains to remove the cause of the evil—which it is hardly likely to do.

M. B. HOPE.

THE CLASS WAR IN NEW YORK.

Though it is difficult to tear our attention away from the ghastly events in Europe, we must not lose sight of important happenings across the Atlantic.

On July 4, in a tenement house in Lexington Avenue, in New York, an explosion of dynamite killed three men, Caron, Berg, and Hanson, and a woman, Marie Chavez, and wounded other persons in the building. The dead take with them the secret of this explosion. They were persons devoted to the cause of the oppressed, and had all suffered in the fight for liberty. As this was well known, very soon the rumour spread that the bombs which cost the lives of those three had been intended for Rockefeller, whose obstinate refusal to bring the long and painful Colorado miners' strike to an end has aroused a deep resentment in the whole of America. Others, knowing the tricks of the capitalists, are convinced that the bomb was placed in the room of the victims by an agent of Rockefeller. Either way, Caron, Berg, and Hanson have lost their lives in the cause of Labour. We quite agree, however, with Berkman, who said that he hoped our dead comrades had died whilst actively engaged against that arch-exploiter Rockefeller.

Our Anarchist comrades in New York wished to give the dead a public funeral, but the police interfered. Nevertheless, a long procession of friends and comrades filed past the urns containing the ashes of the dead, which had been exposed in the *Mother Earth* offices.

On July 11, a great demonstration was held, in which 18,000 to 20,000 people took part. Berkman and many other speakers dealt with the necessity of fighting Capitalism, if it must be with dynamite, as our dead comrades perhaps intended. Berkman pointed out the striking difference between the Haymarket times and now: then Anarchists were hunted and treated like wild beasts, now the people have learned at least to understand if not to appreciate the fight which Anarchists are waging against Capitalism.

EDWARD CARPENTER.

The seventieth birthday (August 29) of Edward Carpenter was celebrated by the presentation of a congratulatory address signed by many people well known in the advanced movement. After expressing the feelings of admiration and gratitude with which his readers and friends regarded his life-work, the address says:—

"We thank you for the genius with which you have interpreted great spiritual truths; for the deep conviction underlying all your teaching that wisdom must be sought not only in the study of external nature, but also in a fuller knowledge of the human heart; for your insistence upon the truth that there can be no real wealth or happiness for the individual apart from the welfare of his fellows; for your fidelity and countless services to the cause of the poor and friendless; for the light you have thrown on so many social problems; and for the equal courage, delicacy, and directness with which you have discussed various questions of sex, the study of which is essential to a right understanding of human nature."

In reply to this and many other congratulatory letters, Edward Carpenter touches upon the present war, and hopes for "a great move forward—when this present nightmare madness is over—among the Western States of Europe towards the consolidation of their respective democracies, and the establishment of a great Federation on a Labour basis among them"; and he expects "a sturdy reaction, perhaps amounting to revolution, among the Central and Eastern peoples against the military despotism and bureaucracy from which they have so long suffered. . . . Nor is it possible to doubt that the new order thus arriving will largely be the outcome of those years of work all over Europe in which the ideal of a generous Common Life has been preached and propagated as against the sordid and self-seeking Commercialism of the era that is passing away."

In a further passage, he says:—

"My friends speak of gratitude, and I am touched by these expressions, because I do indeed think the genuine feeling of gratitude is a very human and loveable thing—blessing in a sense both him that gives and him that takes. Yet I confess that somehow, when directed towards myself, I find the feeling difficult to realise. After all, what a man does he does out of the necessity of his nature: one can claim no credit for it, for one could hardly do otherwise. I have sometimes, for instance, been accused of taking to a rather plain and Bohemian kind of life, of associating with manual workers, of speaking at street-corners, of growing fruit, making sandals, writing verses, or what not, as at great cost to my own comfort, and with some ulterior or artificial purpose—as of reforming the world. But I can safely say that in any such case I have done the thing primarily and simply because of the joy I had in doing it, and to please myself. If the world or any part of it should in consequence insist on being reformed, that is not my fault. And this perhaps after all is a good general rule: namely, that people should endeavour (more than they do) to express or liberate their own real and deep-rooted needs and feelings. Then in doing so they will probably liberate and aid the expression of the lives of thousands of others; and so will have the pleasure of helping, without the unpleasant sense of laying anyone under an obligation."

In referring to the congratulatory letters he has received, Carpenter remarks:—

"In all reason letters equally grateful and full of recognition ought to be addressed to the joiner, the farm labourer, the dairy-maid, and the washerwoman of your village, or to the soldier fighting now in the ranks. . . . The lives of all of us are so built and founded one on the work of another that it is impossible to assign any credit to one whose name happens to be known, which is not equally due to the thousands or millions of nameless and unknown ones who really have contributed to his work. We literary folk, I need hardly say, think a great deal too much about ourselves and our importance."

We are sure that all of our readers will join with us in hearty congratulations to Edward Carpenter.

A comfort to the starving unemployed in war time:—

Every shot of a	4-inch gun costs	..	..	£6
"	" 8-inch "	..	..	£19
"	" 11-inch "	..	..	£98
"	" 12-inch "	..	..	£210

Not counting the damage every shot inflicts! If money was spent at such a rate for education, feeding of hungry children, etc., what an outcry there would be among the rich!—*Voix du Peuple* (Geneva).

NOW READY.

A Pamphlet for the Times.

WARS AND CAPITALISM.

By P. KROPOTKIN.

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ARMIES AND NAVIES.

The first great instrument which supports every Government on earth is the soldier with his gun and sword. True, the army may be but rarely used. The civil power, the courts of justice, the policemen and jails generally suffice in civilised lands to maintain existing things; but back of these, to enforce each decree, is the power of armed men with all the modern implements of death.

Thousands of church organisations throughout the Christian world profess the doctrine of non-resistance to evil, of peace on earth and good will to men, and yet each of these Christian lands trains great bodies of armed men to kill their fellows for the preservation of existing things. Europe is made up of great military camps where millions of men are kept apart from their fellows and taught the trade of war alone. Not only are these trained soldiers a living denial of the doctrines that are professed, but in obedience to an eternal law, deeper and more beneficent than any ever made by man, these mighty forces are working their own ruin and death.

These great armies and navies which give the lie to our professions of faith exist for two purposes: first, to keep in subjection the people of their own land; second, to make war upon and defend against the other nations of the earth. The history of the world is little else than the story of the carnage and destruction wrought on battlefields, carnage and destruction springing not from any difference between the common people of the earth, but due alone to the desires and passions of the rulers of the earth. This ruling class, ever eager to extend its power and strength, ever looking for new people to govern and new lands to tax, has always been ready to turn its face against other Powers to satisfy the ruler's will, and, without pity or regret, these rulers have depopulated their kingdoms, and carried ruin and destruction to every portion of the earth for gold and power.

Not only do these European rulers keep many millions of men whose only trade is war, but these must be supported in worse than useless idleness by the labour of the poor. Still other millions are trained to war and are ever ready to answer to their master's call, to desert their homes and trades and offer up their lives to satisfy the vain ambitions of the ruler of the State. Millions more must give their strength and lives to build forts and ships, make guns and cannon and all the modern implements of war. Apart from any moral question of the right of man to slay his fellow man, all this great burden rests upon the poor. The vast expense of war comes from the production of the land, and must serve to weaken and impair its industrial strength. This very force must destroy itself. The best talent of every nation is called upon to invent new implements of destruction—faster ships, stronger forts, more powerful explosives, and more deadly guns. As one nation adds to its military stores, so every other nation is also bound to increase its army and navy too. Thus the added force does not augment the military power, but only makes larger the burden of the State, until to-day these great armies, aside from producing the moral degradation of the world, are sapping and undermining and consuming the vitality and strength of all the nations of the earth. . . .

But when these armies are in action, how stands the case? Over and over again the world has been submerged by war. The strongest nations of the earth have been almost destroyed. Devastating wars have left consequences that centuries could not repair. Countless millions of men have been used as food for guns. The miseries and sufferings and brutality following in the wake of war have never been described or imagined, and yet the world persists in teaching the glory and honour and greatness of war. To excuse the wholesale butcheries of men by the governing powers, learned apologists have taught that without the havoc and cruel devastation of war the human race would overrun the earth; and yet every Government in the world has used its power and influence to promote and encourage marriage and the rearing of children, to punish infanticide and abortion, and make criminal every device to prevent population; have used their power to heal the sick, to alleviate misery, and to prolong life. Every movement to overcome disease, to make cities sanitary, to produce and maintain men and women and children has received the sanction and encouragement of all Governments; and still these glorious rulers have ruthlessly slaughtered in the most barbarous and cruel way tens of millions of their fellow men, to add to their glory and perpetuate their names. And philosophers have told us that this was necessary to prevent the over-population of the earth!

No single ruler, however cruel or ambitious, has ever yet been able to bring the whole world beneath his sway, and the ambitions and lusts of these separate chiefs have divided the world into hostile camps and hostile States. Endless wars have been waged to increase or protect the territory governed by these various rulers. In these bloody conflicts, the poor serfs have dumbly and patiently met death in a thousand sickening ways to uphold the authority and prowess of the ruler, whose sole function has ever been to pillage and rob the poor victims that fate has placed in his power. To these brutal, senseless, fighting millions, the boundaries of the State or the colour of the flag that they were taught to love could not in the least affect their lives. Whoever their rulers, their mission has ever been to toil and fight and die for the honour of the State and the glory of the chief.

CLARENCE DARROW.

WHAT WE WANT.

By JEAN GRAVE.

(Concluded.)

Things being as they are, no one can choose the means by which to obtain freedom. In crying out for revolution, the Anarchist does not express a preference, he states a fact. We suffer from the consequences of a false society—a society turned out of its course.

In waiting for the spirit of revolt to develop among the oppressed; in waiting for its conscience to awaken, in order that they may obtain those liberties which they know how to take, and those concessions they know how to force; fully recognising in the present state of society in which it is necessary to live, and from which we cannot separate ourselves, that partial betterments have no relative value to the complete freedom which every individual should seek, and for which he must always work, without ceasing, to prepare the revolution which alone will free the individual, making a clean sweep of the institutions of oppression and exploitation—in all this Anarchists recognise above all that although the workers have to fight day by day, hour by hour, to defend the wages they have, their liberty, their dignity in the workshops, they are fights to keep partial betterments, even those acquired through the course of centuries; yet these struggles, imposed by circumstances, ought never to absorb the whole effort of the individuals, nor make them lose sight of the general revolt which is alone capable of freeing them.

To work for the future is at the same time a means to better the present.

Syndicalism and its fights for the defence of wages, the reduction of hours of labour, or the obtaining of better methods in the organisation of labour, is a fatal consequence of the economic organisation which governs us.

In awaiting the revolution which should free them, the workers have to defend their lives each day; but, in aiding them in the fight, the part of the Anarchist is always to make them understand how precarious are all reforms which do not make even an approach to cutting at the root of the capitalist system, since it is necessary to begin again each day. How slight is the advantage brought about by an increase of wages, it being understood that the result is but to increase the cost of living, and that the lessening of hours of labour is but to increase speeding up.

Contrary to what the Syndicalists pretend, Syndicalism is not sufficient of itself. By itself it does not represent in the least the general freedom which must be reached by each conscious being. It takes part in one side only of the fight—let us say the most important, but nevertheless one side only.

Because, urgent thought it be that the workers shall not starve waiting for the revolution, it is none the less true that they will not obtain all the well-being to which each has a right, all the liberty and development to which they may aspire, by the reduction of hours, nor by an increase of wages, but by a complete change of the political and economic system, that is to say, by the Social Revolution.

In order to arrive at this revolution, all that aims at destroying or weakening political or economic authority is good—syndicates of workers against their masters, syndicates of tenants against landlords, groups to obtain a rational education for children, leagues of consumers against traders, the fight against drunkenness, leagues against the abuses of power, against the omnipotence of judges, against the encroachments of the police.

In short, as on the morrow of the revolution there will only be developed those forms of groups which the movement has prepared, Anarchists must seek those which can at once take over the productive groups in accordance with their sympathies and needs.

All these methods of fighting are good in so far as they bring together for a definite object those individuals whom it is not necessary to convert to a general view in order to make them work for the revolution, expressing as they do the general discontent, and not a philosophic idea, however just it may be.

There is, however, one danger to avoid; and that is the spirit of "particularism," which tends to make each one see in his own particular method the best method of all, and to consider other methods not only insufficient and useless, but very often to regard as enemies those who employ them.

That which has happened to those Anarchists who have lapsed into Syndicalism, and who to-day are endeavouring to find means to subvert the Anarchist propaganda, has also happened to the Neo-Malthusians, who, starting from the just idea of liberty for woman in not submitting to undesirable motherhood, and for individuals in general not to have children except as it may please them, and when they are physically fit to hope for healthy children, have made of it a dogma that in order to make the revolution it is only necessary not to have any more children, and to make the social question one of population, although it is above all a question of the wrong distribution of riches.

To demolish our present society, it is not necessary that all the blows be given together at the same point. It can have as many points of attack as it is possible to conceive, but Anarchists ought always to be guided by their conception of future society if they wish to escape from the sidetracks, which are the result of mistaking the means for the end.

If Anarchists wish to take part in all the fights which have in view the dismantling of the capitalist fortress, the disappearance of

abuses, the redressing of injustice, the ending of an iniquity, they should also keep an eye on their final goal, towards which all their efforts should be directed—the disappearance of capitalist society and the installation of a harmonious society, where the individual, freed from exploitation and the domination of various parasites, will find opportunity to develop his inherent powers for his greatest benefit and that of his fellows.

A PRIMER OF ANARCHISM.

VI.—THE MEANS AND THE END.

We now reach the point at which it is time to say a few words as to the end we wish to reach, and the means by which we hope to reach it. The wrongs and woes which all men who work have borne in the past to pile up wealth for the rich thieves are no more than signs of their lack of sense. In this, of course, they were not to blame, for the brain of man, who sprang from the brute world, which marks him off from the brutes in point of kind, did not reach a high plane so soon as the rest of his parts. So far as the brain goes, it is not quite true to say that man has grown up from the beasts—not yet, at least; but we have hopes. From out of the mass of men here and there great minds sprang up from time to time; but the thought of most of these would stop short at how to get a rich life at the cost of those who were round them. They could not see that a rich life could be had by the whole world of men at the cost of the whole world of things, with the least work and strife. But, as I have said, they were not to blame, and so we had the war of man with man, and not as it should have been: the war of man with things.

The war of man with man gave us want, and woe, and death. The war of man with things would give us wealth, and joy, and life. But the men of those times could not see that, and so thus they had their kings, priests, and, down the course of time, all that vast horde of thieves who rob those who work. Most of these thieves must have seen that their chance to live on the work of the poor lay in the fact that the minds of the poor were not so keen as their own, and so they kept the means to read and think from the poor, as far as they could. Their work was made so hard and long that they could not spare the time to read and think. Now and then, when the rich did give them some time and chance to read, they saw to it that the books were such as taught them to be good slaves.

Still, here and there from time to time, strong minds stood forth to tell the poor the way out of their woe. Most of these were soon put to death by the rich thieves, but their words of hope grew in the minds of some of the poor, and this seed was sown in all lands, and that which the rich thieves could not choke bore fruit in the minds of men. This fruit grew in the form of a class of men like those first strong minds who came out to teach the poor that they ought to take all the wealth which was made by their work. These men saw that the whole of the force which the rich thieves had lay in the State, and that the strength of the State at the same time was nought but lack of will on the part of the poor. Through their toil for the rich thieves they paid "for the class that robs them as well as for the class that flogs them." The wealth from their work paid the whole cost of the State, from the troops who shot them down in the streets when they came out on strike, to the M.P.'s who sold their cause in the House of Jaw. And so they came out to teach these thoughts to those who work. As in the past, the State sought out from those who taught these thoughts some of the most bold. These were put to death or else in jail; but the thoughts spread more and more in the minds of men. Great minds in the world of Art and Thought took up the cause of the free life and the fall of the State, and now the cause looms large in the life of the world. But there is much to be done. We have to cast these thoughts far and wide, and try to turn the minds of all men who work from the net which is spread in front of them—viz., the vote. True, much has been done in that line, but there is still much more to be done. As it is the mind of man that has made the State, it will need a change of mind to make him free from the State. We strive for a state of things in which men shall live on the lines of "give and take" in fair shares. But we shall have no chance to live on a give-and-take plan if we do not, first of all, take a lot from the rich thieves. And it all rests on the way we take it if we are to get what we need. If we try to take it by the vote, we shall find that we do not take it at all, but that it takes us—in. If we try to take it a few at a time and in small parts, well—there is the "jug" for "mugs." But if we go for it in a sane style, and make up our minds that we who make all the wealth need all the wealth; if we reach a high plane of thought, and lay it down as the first law of life that work is the sole claim to wealth, then the rich thieves will fall, and with them will fall the State.

And now, at last, let us think of the means by which we may reach the free life—that is, a life free from the State, with its rule of brute force. We who strive for the free life are not all of the same mind as to the means we would use to reach the end. Why should we be? All that we need be at one on is the chief point: Down with the State! down with it in all its forms! The free life means that each shall be free to live his life in his own way, and so all that we need to strive for is the end of the rule of brute force.

Some men may like to live and work in groups, where each one who works shares in the wealth made by all. Where this is so, it will be the free life of the mass. Then some may like to live and work one

by one, and if their work is of a kind that it can fill their needs, or part of their needs, and part of those who are round them, there will be trade, or work for work, and this will be the free life of the self. If this fails, they will be brought to the mass life. But as long as there is free scope for the mass life and the self life, each will choose that which suits him best. The chief means, then, by which we hope to throw down the State is by a change of mind on the part of those who work. Now, there are lots of men who see that those who are said to lead are a drag on those who work, and how, when they try to get more pay for their work, those who feign to lead them do no more than sell them to the boss. Lots of them see, too, that the M.P. is a quack, if not worse, and it is but a few steps from that for them to see through the State and all its shams, and to know how the State binds them hand and foot as slaves to the rich thieves; and when these facts are known by a large class of those who work, then the death knell of the State will sound. To throw off their chains, all that the slaves have to do is to lay plans to take all that they make: to get wealth for their own use, and not for the band of rich thieves.

Up till now, the poor slaves have thought that they could not live if the rich thieves did not give them work to do. They have been taught to look on work as a gift from the rich to the poor. The rich have, as a rule, dealt out this gift in a stiff and stern style, and with a cold eye; but our task is to try to show all those who work how to throw these thieves off their backs by a plain change of mind. They have to get the thought well set in their minds, as a mass, that there is no need for them to work but for their own needs; that the needs of the rich are as naught to them, and that they will get much more wealth for much less work if their sole thought is of their own needs, and not the needs of the rich. And then the rich thieves will get the cold eye.

So the State must go. That is the main point; for its claim to the sole right to use the force of arms is that which makes slaves of us all. To throw down the State is to end the reign of brute force, and to make life free for the first time on earth. Such is the faith of those who are said to throw bombs!

WILLIAM J. ROBINS.

THE END.

RICH OR POOR?

Generally speaking, China is very poor, extremely poor; it is on the verge of bankruptcy, and thus it struggles and manages to live only by constant loans—that nobody can deny. I, however, have another dream.

What is the state of Government finance in China? Only, yes, only an eternal loan! One borrows from people of other lands sums of a million, ten millions of pounds or more, and these vast amounts the moneylenders of other lands place in the hands of the Chinese Government. Oh! how happy are they! Million after million arrives and flows into China. Can one say, then, that China is poor? I imagine that in all the world China is the richest country, for is not China receiving money from many countries? And surely the treasuries of those countries must be impoverished to that extent, till at last all the treasuries of other lands will become exhausted, and China will be the only country that has collected money. I, therefore, hope that the Government will take courage and borrow with zeal.

If the brain by which I dream about a rich China will allow me to become calm, and for the purpose of seeing better, will open my eyes, in what state do I find Chinese society? Alas! misery, even more misery than before, when the money did not flow into China.

Thieves everywhere and always multiply with their crimes, which is easily seen. The same number of poor exists; the cost of everyday necessities, food, clothes, etc., is so high that one often cannot cover the expenditure by the income; duties on imports increase—for the upkeep of the Government. This is a poor and impecunious outlook. Therefore, every one will wonder where those large sums of borrowed money have gone. I present the following picture in order to shed light on the subject.

The moneylenders claim the right—be it understood that the Almighty gave them the right—to receive commission on money lent, as recompense. Oh! how thankful we people must be to compensate them! Therefore, firstly, 10 to 20 per cent. of the loan remains in the pockets of the moneylenders. The remaining sum is divided up into salaries for State officials and the Government, the Army receiving the greater part. Not a farthing is received by any one who is not a Government official or a moneylender. Not a public institution which would be of use to the people is supported by the loans. Therefore, neither China nor the Chinese people borrows money; only those in high favour with the Army, for without those butchers they would not dare to do such evil—their wives, children, jewels, mansions, automobiles, and so on swallow up large sums. For example, Minister A. pays £400 for one evening's theatrical amusement at home, to commemorate the birthday of his mother. Alas! my own mother was never so fortunate as to enter a theatre even once. Ex-Minister B., after one year's service possesses £20,000, which he puts in a Swiss National Bank. Unfortunately, I don't know much of those others who receive a thousand times that sum. Officials in China are as numerous as fish in the sea, and they do no good for the people, but they receive salaries.

He who borrows should pay back. Now the fish borrow, therefore the fish should pay back; but the reverse is the case: we people are

left to pay the debts. Every year import duties increase; for example, the salt-tax chiefly falls on us, the poor, unhappy people. We, therefore, labour not for ourselves, nor for our family, but for those of high rank and the Army, and their wives and children: £400 for theatricals, £20,000 at the bank, automobiles, etc., etc.

Very heavily we are oppressed; surely we will die. Our dear readers of other lands possibly will say: "Surely the Government does for the people?" Yes, but it is not the same in China as in other countries. If you ask anybody you meet in the street if the Government does that person any good, or if any good is received from the Government, you will get the following answer: "Nothing, absolutely nothing good, but evil; taxes increase, money that was put aside for schools is stolen, and so the schools will become less numerous, and finally disappear for want of money; and thieves and soldiers disturb the peace of many towns."

But you again reply, saying: "The soldiers will certainly expel the robbers and rebels, so that peace be restored." Yes, why not? But the rebel spirit remains. The more money that is borrowed, the more the people will be oppressed, and the more will thieves multiply because of the greater struggle to exist.

The more that thieves increase, the more will the Government increase the Army, and swallow money; and again another loan, and again oppression of the people. Finally, by sheer force of circumstances, more robbers are created; therefore the disorder of China is caused only by the Government, a useless hindrance of a Government, thanks to whom the Chinese people become poorer.

Why do we need Government? . . . ?

SAN.

[Translation from the *Voice of the People* (Shanghai), a weekly journal printed in Chinese and Esperanto. Copies of this journal can be obtained for 2d. post-free, from L. Haensler, 27 Binnie Street, Bradford.]

BRISTOL GROUP'S ACTIVITY

BRISTOL.—It is good to be able at last to report group activity in this city. Each Sunday since the commencement of the war, comrades Porter, Hall, and Platin have endeavoured to turn the patriotic sentiments of the "man in the street" into a more healthy direction than the subsidised Press would have them take, exposing the warmongers and the "patriotism" of the armaments and dynamite manufacturers and food merchants. We have had, of course, considerable interruption from the Jingoists, and our literature sales have not been very encouraging. On the 16th, we were fortunate in having a visit from our comrade George Barrett, who in a quarter of an hour's earnest talk with the crowd (the first in the open air since his long illness) completely silenced the Jingoists, and evoked applause from the more thoughtful of his audience. The following Sunday, comrade Gosling, late of the Royal Navy, and now of the Bricklayers' Union, ably held the fort.

These meetings will be continued each Sunday, at 7 o'clock, at Ashton Avenue. Comrades all, let us have your support.

B. P.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(August 6—September 2.)

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