



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JUNE 8, 1902.

WHOLE NO. 365.

#### Tolstoy.

He sought to follow God. The Church,  
Respectable and old,  
Accustomed but to follow form,  
Was shocked at one so bold,  
To follow God was blasphemous—  
It drove him from the fold.  
He sought to help humanity,  
The despots in command  
Had never heard of such a thing—  
They could not understand,  
They thought it must be treason, so  
They drove him from the land.

—J. A. E.

#### How can Governments be Abolished?

Slavery results from laws, laws are made by governments, and, therefore, people can only be freed from slavery by the abolition of governments.

But how can governments be abolished?

All attempts to get rid of governments by violence have hitherto, always and everywhere, resulted only in this: that in place of the deposed governments new ones established themselves, often more cruel than those they replaced.

Not to mention past attempts to abolish governments by violence, according to the Socialist theory, the coming abolition of the rule of the capitalists—that is, the communalization of the means of production and the new economic order of society—is also to be carried out by a fresh organization of violence, and will have to be maintained by the same means. So that attempts to abolish violence by violence neither have in the past nor, evidently, can in the future emancipate people from violence nor, consequently, from slavery.

It cannot be otherwise.

Apart from outbursts of revenge or anger, violence is used only in order to compel some people, against their own will, to do the will of others. But the necessity to do what other people wish against your own will is slavery. And, therefore, as long as any violence, designed to compel some people to do the will of others exists, there will be slavery.

All attempts to abolish slavery by violence are like extinguishing fire with fire, stopping water with water, or filling up one hole by digging another.

Therefore, the means of escape from slavery, if such means exist, must be found, not in setting up fresh violence, but in abolishing whatever renders governmental violence possible. And the possibility of governmental violence, like every other violence perpetrated by a small number of people upon a larger number, has always depended,

and still depends, simply on the fact that the small number are armed while the large number are unarmed, or that the small number are better armed than the large number.

That has been the case in all the conquests: it was thus the Greeks, the Romans, the Knights, and Pizarros conquered nations, and it is thus that people are now conquered in Africa and Asia. And in this same way in times of peace all governments hold their subjects in subjection.

As of old, so now, people rule over other people only because some are armed and others are not.

In olden times the warriors, with their chiefs, fell upon the defenseless inhabitants, subdued them and robbed them, and all divided the spoils in proportion to their participation, courage and cruelty; and each warrior saw clearly that the violence he perpetrated was profitable to him. Now, armed men (taken chiefly from the working classes) attack defenseless people: men on strikes, rioters, or the inhabitants of other countries, and subdue them and rob them—that is, make them yield the fruits of their labor—not for themselves, but for people who do not even take a share in the subjugation.

The difference between the conquerors and the governments is only that the conquerors have themselves, with their soldiers, attacked the unarmed inhabitants, and have, in cases of insubordination, carried their threats to torture and to kill into execution; while the government, in cases of insubordination, do not themselves torture or execute the unarmed inhabitants, but oblige others to do it who have been deceived and specially brutalized for the purpose, and who are chosen from among the very people on whom the government inflicts violence.

Thus, violence was formerly inflicted by personal effort, by the courage, cruelty and agility of the conquerors themselves, but now violence is inflicted by means of fraud.

So that if formerly, in order to get rid of armed violence, it was necessary to arm one's self and to oppose armed violence by armed violence, now when people are subdued, not by direct violence, but by fraud, in order to abolish violence it is only necessary to expose the deception which enables a small number of people to exercise violence upon a larger number.

The deception by means of which this is done consists in the fact that the small number who rule, on obtaining power from their predecessors, who were installed by con-

qust, say to the majority: "There are a lot of you, but you are stupid and uneducated, and cannot either govern yourselves or organize your public affairs, and, therefore, we will take those cares on ourselves; we will protect you from foreign foes, and arrange and maintain internal peace among you; we will set up courts of justice, arrange for you and take care of public institutions—schools, roads, and the postal service—and in general we will take care of your well-being; and in return for all this you only have to fulfil those slight demands which we make, and, among other things, you must give into our complete control a small part of your incomes, and you must yourselves enter the armies which are needed for your own safety and government."

And most people agree to this, not because they have weighed the advantages and disadvantages of these conditions (they never have a chance to do that), but because from their very birth they have found themselves in conditions such as these.

If doubts suggest themselves to some people as to whether all this is necessary, each one thinks only about himself, and fears to suffer if he refuses to accept these conditions; each one hopes to take advantage of them for his own profit, and everyone agrees, thinking that by paying a small part of his means to the government, and by consenting to military service, he cannot do himself very much harm. But, in reality, submission to the demands of government deprives him of all that is valuable in human life.

And when the soldiers are enrolled, and hired, and armed, they are subjected to a special training called discipline, introduced in recent times, since soldiers have ceased to share the plunder.

Discipline consists in this, that by complex and artful methods, which have been perfected in the course of ages, people who are subjected to this training and remain under it for some time are completely deprived of man's chief attribute, rational freedom, and become submissive, machine-like instruments of murder in the hands of their organized hierarchical stratoracy. And it is in this disciplined army that the essence of the fraud dwells which gives to modern governments dominion over the peoples.

As soon as the government has the money and the soldiers, instead of fulfilling their promises to defend their subjects from foreign enemies, and to arrange things for their benefit, they do all they can to provoke the neighboring nations and to produce war



and they not only do not promote the internal well-being of their people, but they ruin and corrupt them.

In the Arabian Nights there is a story of a traveler who, being cast upon an uninhabited island, found a little old man with withered legs sitting on the ground by the side of a stream. The old man asked the traveler to take him on his shoulder and to carry him over the stream. The traveler consented; but no sooner was the old man settled on the traveler's shoulders than the former twined his legs round the latter's neck and would not get off again. Having control of the traveler, the old man drove him about as he liked, plucked fruit from the trees and ate it himself, not giving any to his bearer, and abused him in every way.

This is just what happens with the people who give soldiers and money to the governments. With the money the governments buy guns and hire or train up by education subservient, brutalized military commanders. And these commanders, by means of an artful system of stupefaction, perfected in the course of ages and called discipline, make those who have been taken as soldiers into a disciplined army. When the governments have in their power this instrument of violence and murder, that possesses no will of its own, the whole people are in their hands, and they do not let them go again, and not only prey upon them, but also abuse them, instilling into the people, by means of a pseudo-religious and patriotic education, loyalty to and even adoration of themselves—that is, of the very men who keep the whole people in slavery and torment them.

It is not for nothing that all the kings, emperors, and presidents esteem discipline so highly, are so afraid of any breach of discipline, and attach the highest importance to reviews, maneuvers, parades, ceremonial marches and other such nonsense. They know that it all maintains discipline, and that not only their power, but their very existence depends on discipline.

A disciplined army is not even required for a defensive war, as has often been shown in history and as was again demonstrated the other day in South Africa. A disciplined army is only needed for conquest—that is, for robbery, or for fratricide or parricide, as was expressed by that most stupid or insolent of crowned personages, William II, who made a speech to his recruits telling them they had sworn obedience to him, and ought to be ready to kill their own brothers and fathers should he desire it. Disciplined armies are the means by which they, without using their own hands, accomplish the greatest atrocities, the possibility of perpetrating which gives them power over the people.

And, therefore, the only means to destroy governments is not force, but it is the exposure of this fraud. It is necessary people should understand: First, that in Christendom there is no need to protect the peoples one from another; that all the enmity of the peoples, one to another, are produced by the governments themselves, and that armies are only needed by the small number of those who rule; for the people it is not only unnecessary, but it is in the highest degree harmful, serving as the instrument to enslave them. Secondly, it is necessary that people should understand that the discipline which

is so highly esteemed by all the governments is the greatest of crimes that man can commit, and is a clear indication of the criminality of the aims of governments. Discipline is the suppression of reason and of freedom in man, and can have no other aim than preparation for the performance of crimes such as no man can commit while in a normal condition. It is not even needed for war, when the war is defensive and national, as the Boers have recently shown. It is wanted and wanted only for the purpose indicated by William II—for the committal of the greatest crimes, fratricide and parricide.

The terrible old man who sat on the traveler's shoulders behaved in the same way: he mocked him and insulted him, knowing that as long as he sat on the traveler's neck the latter was in his power.

And it is just this fraud, by means of which a small number of unworthy people, called the government, have power over the people, and not only impoverish them, but do what is the most harmful of all actions—pervert whole generations from childhood upwards—just this terrible fraud which should be exposed, in order that the abolition of government and of the slavery that results from it may become possible.

The German writer Eugen Schmitt, in the newspaper *Ohne Staat*, that he published in Buda-Pesth, wrote an article that was profoundly true and bold, not only in expression, but in thought. In it he showed that governments, justifying their existence on the ground that they ensure a certain kind of safety to their subjects, are like the Calabrian robber-chief who collected a regular tax from all who wished to travel in safety along the highways. Schmitt was committed for trial for that article, but was acquitted by the jury.

We are so hypnotized by the governments that such a comparison seems to us an exaggeration, a paradox or a joke; but in reality it is not a paradox or a joke; the only inaccuracy in the comparison is that the activity of all the governments is many times more inhuman and, above all, more harmful than the activity of the Calabrian robber.

The robber generally plundered the rich, the governments generally plunder the poor and protect those rich who assist in their crimes. The robber doing his work risked his life, while the governments risk nothing, but base their whole activity on lies and deception. The robber did not compel anyone to join his band, the governments generally enrol their soldiers by force. All who paid the tax to the robber had equal security from danger. But in the State, the more one takes part in the organized fraud the more he receives not merely of protection, but also of reward. Most of all, the emperors, kings and presidents are protected (with their perpetual body guards), and they can spend the largest share of the money collected from the taxpaying subjects; next in the scale of participation in the governmental crimes come the commanders-in-chief, the ministers, the heads of police, governors, and so on, down to the policemen, who are least protected, and who receive the smallest salaries of all. Those who do not take any part in the crimes of government, who refuse to serve, to pay taxes, or to go to law, are

subjected to violence, as among the robbers. The robber does not intentionally vitiate people, but the governments, to accomplish their ends, vitiate whole generations from childhood to manhood with false religious and patriotic instruction. Above all, not even the most cruel robber, no Sténka Razin,\* no Cartouche,† can be compared for cruelty, pitilessness and ingenuity in torturing, I will not say with the villain kings notorious for their cruelty—John the Terrible, Louis XI, the Elizabeths, etc.—but even with the present constitutional and liberal governments, with their solitary cells, disciplinary battalions, suppressions of revolts, and their massacres in war.

Toward governments, as toward churches, it is impossible to feel otherwise than with veneration or aversion. Until a man has understood what a government is and until he has understood what a church is he cannot but feel veneration for those institutions. As long as he is guided by them his vanity makes it necessary for him to think that what guides him is something primal, great and holy; but as soon as he understands that what guides him is not something primal and holy, but that it is a fraud carried out by unworthy people, who, under pretense of guiding him, make use of him for their own personal ends, he cannot but at once feel aversion towards these people, and the more important the side of his life that has been guided the more aversion will he feel.

People cannot but feel this when they have understood what governments are.

People must feel that their participation in the criminal activity of governments, whether by giving part of their work in the form of money, or by direct participation in military service, is not, as is generally supposed, an indifferent action, but, besides being harmful to one's self and to one's brothers, is a participation in the crimes unceasingly committed by all governments and a preparation for new crimes, which governments are always preparing by maintaining disciplined armies.

The age of veneration for governments, notwithstanding all the hypnotic influence they employ to maintain their position, is more and more passing away. And it is time for people to understand that governments not only are not necessary, but are harmful and most highly immoral institutions, in which a self-respecting, honest man cannot and must not take part, and the advantages of which he cannot and should not enjoy.

And as soon as people clearly understand that, they will naturally cease to take part in such deeds—that is, cease to give the governments soldiers and money. And as soon as a majority of the people ceases to do this the fraud which enslaves people will be abolished. Only in this way can people be freed from slavery.—From "The Slavery of Our Times," by Leo Tolstoy. (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.)

\* The Cossack leader of a formidable insurrection in the latter part of the seventeenth century.—Trans.

† The chief of a Paris band of robbers in the early years of the eighteenth century.—Trans.

Majority rule is often the most oppressive tyranny.



**Intellectual and Emotional Propaganda.**

In his "Criticism on the Propaganda," Comrade Jay Fox has thrown a bomb, so to speak, in the ranks of some Anarchists. Comrade Fox may, if he is not more careful in the future, be labelled as a "philosophic Anarchist"—and the degradation following is enough to make anyone shudder with fear. My friend has a very good insight; he knows that the tight shoe which he has thrown out of his sanctum will fit many comrades; and has, very meekly, so to say, hidden himself under the words, "my remarks are not inspired by any particular case, nor directed at any particular comrade." If I do not violate some ethical conceptions, I can safely say that he was aiming at Comrade MacQueen, editor of *Liberty*, and I say that he was just, too.

Whoever has perused the columns of *Liberty*, or has heard Comrade MacQueen, will not deny or disagree with me, if he will use the slightest semblance of fairness, that the method of propaganda used is least and last conducive towards the successful promulgation of our ideas. In the same category of journals and speakers you may also place some others.

My wish is that Comrade MacQueen will accept my scathing criticism of him in the same spirit as it is given. But emotional propaganda is being carried on everywhere and by many, and I will consider it upon its face value, to the best of my ability.

Those who have been in the labor movement for many years, or have studied social movements in general, know how short-lived enthusiasm is, and enthusiasts are. Am I to deprecate on this ground only? No, most decidedly no! And what do I deprecate?

That which is soon learned is soon forgotten. Money accumulated with ease is spent with ease. An idea which is quickly taken up and accepted is either misunderstood or soon abandoned. What takes both time and labor to learn, to accomplish,—an idea which we hold or accept, and which is a product of the evolution and revolution within ourselves—and that is the only basis upon which we can stand—is dearest and most lasting with us.

I agree that the dramatic force of man needs must enter in all his work. But this force must go hand in hand with the intellectual force. The dramatic force by itself evaporates too soon. The dramatic and intellectual force when coupled together form an everlasting creation of thought. The intellect is the greatest factor; the great conceiver and iconoclast of what is and what should be.

There are dramatic speakers among us. There is Sebastian Faure, the Frenchman, who has the inherent power to sway his audience one moment to tears, the next to laughter, and the next to consternation, in short he can arouse all the passion in man; but behind all this is what? Sincerity and humor combined into one—intelligence. Another is Malatesta, the most striking speaker for so small a mass of muscles and nerves; but the dominating factor is intelligence. They never resort, in the wording of a most able comrade, to "coarse, silly vulgar things," combined with denunciation which never educates nor accomplishes anything.

I know of many cases, as short as my experience may be, where the enthusiast has fallen out of the ranks; and the men who most stubbornly opposed and fought our ideas have, by the fact that they were once our intelligent opponents, become our staunch friends. Study yourself, dear reader, and see why you are an Anarchist. Of course you must search beneath the surface. The true enthusiast is he who understands his ideas and beliefs most. Tolstoy and Kropotkin are the greatest enthusiasts. Their enthusiasm is so great that their very lives are dominated by their ideas.

If we desire our ideas to spread we must disseminate our teachings in the most simple, plain, and convincing manner. Such propaganda is the most effective. A man need not read the greater or even the smaller part of the library of the neighborhood, but he should at least know for himself, in justification to himself, why he holds such beliefs. This requires some reading and a sharp scrutiny and understanding of facts in life. Not until the individual is saturated with our ideas, no matter how large or small the component part, will any or great progress take place.

The slow and hurtful work of ignorance is the cause of all existing institutions and evils. The greatest foe of ignorance is intelligence; and the progress of intelligence is so slow that it requires much time for its blossoming.

S. MINTS.

**"Our Land of the Free."**

Some time ago, our Comrade MacQueen, editor of *Liberty*, received a letter from an American gentleman who in the most imperative manner told him to go back to "his old England and stop preaching his absurd ideas in this land of the free and home of the brave."

Where does the freedom and justice of this country come in? In the shedding of innocent blood as in the Philippines, or in the hanging of innocent men as was the case with the Chicago martyrs in 1887, or in the arrest of men for distributing literature, for spreading an idea which is some day destined to bring about equity to all men?

Now comes the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press. On May 9, a meeting was held in New Irving Hall in New York of which the principal speaker was our old warrior, John Most. Just before the end of the meeting two detectives appeared and arrested two of the speakers; the charge against one was his applauding another. Was this a just cause for his arrest? Did not the rest of the audience also applaud him? The charge against the other was a violation of the law. We had held a meeting and free speech was forbidden.

Why would they close our lips? To blind the eyes of the masses. For should they open their eyes and see to what a great extent their oppression and exploitation is carried, they would probably stand up and revolt, and this again, would dispossess the capitalistic class; so they say, let the fools remain blind,—all the better for us. But those of us who have courage and understand these wrongs, should we follow that immense line of donkeys who persist in going about and preaching that there is prosperity in the land, or should we protest?

I, for my part, prefer the latter and I say, the longer we remain dumb, the longer will the recognition of a free society, one in which all shall be free and equal, take.

ANNIE FRITZ.

**Criticisms.**

Interloper was evidently in a humorous mood when he said, "discontented people there are many; but few are real Anarchists or Socialists." It might be interesting if he would take it seriously and tell the readers of *FREE SOCIETY* just what he considers to be a "real" Anarchist. I trust Interloper will not get the name "real Anarchist" copyrighted.

To the comrades who are engaged in active propaganda work I would like to offer a little suggestion. If they would think as much as possible of Anarchism and as little as possible of themselves, the personal quibbles and discussions which cause bad blood would rapidly diminish and a general improvement in our movement result.

Ross Winn, who admits that he is inconsistent and imagines he is a revolutionist, altho he at one time condemned the act of Leon Czolgosz, tries to make me appear ridiculous for stating what I considered to be a fact recognized by most Anarchists: that we are in the Social Revolution now. Then in the next paragraph he repeats the same thing. As a crazy conglomeration of ideas and principles Ross Winn is without an equal.

H. W. KOEHN.

**From Denver.**

Eugene Debs is in Denver talking Socialism to thousands in the Western Miners' Union and the American Federation of Labor in session here now. He believes that Socialism is the next step in their evolution, and hundreds of unaffiliated middle class citizens believe so too. Several groups of students in the New Thought in continual session in the city are espousing the higher phases of Socialism, endeavoring to lead materialists into the more spiritual outlook of love for one another. Among these groups are "Liberals," Spiritualists, Anarchists, and ex-orthodox of all the churches who hunger for the truth from any angle, and hand it out again to those who will receive it and present to others from their own standpoint. The preachers are waking up to understand the cause of their empty pews and catching on in their awkward way, to the fact that people are after something alive, not pausing even to attend the funeral of the old theology. Hence the clergy hastily pronounce the benediction, the "last sad rites" are over, and they go on the run to join the procession of modern Christians who are on the way to save themselves by the blood that is in them.

A. L. B.

**Home Defense Fund.**

Amount previously announced, \$105.28. G. P. P., Mass., \$10. J. C., Ill., M. B., Wash., each \$2. B. F. H., Ore., D. R., Ohio, W. H., New York, C. B. H., Kansas, each \$1. D. B., New Jersey, 50c. A. A. C., Calif., 25c. Total to May 27, \$124.03. O. A. VERITY. Home, Wash.



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If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

## Notes.

To anyone sending us \$2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and \$2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

Subscribers to C. L. James' "History of the French Revolution" are asked to have a little patience. A contemplated arrangement with a publisher caused some delay; but the book is now in the hands of a printer, and will be delivered at an early date.

Comrade Jay Fox, 336 Fifth St., New York, N. Y., will furnish information to comrades interested in Cosmos Colony, such as to the best means of transportation, fare, etc., to Brazil, and other useful intelligence.

A Free Speech League has been organized in New York. Edwin C. Walker is provisional president, W. J. Terwilliger, 171 E. 83d St., New York, is secretary. Membership is \$1 a year.

Some Chicago comrades wish to start a Tolstoy literary club immediately. Its purpose will be to read, discuss, and properly understand the great Russian writer and philosopher. The necessity for such an association is very apparent at this time when pamphlet writers and reform speakers are manifesting so much ignorance of the man and his writings. Those wishing to join will please address R. Goodheart, 902 N. Washtenaw Ave., Chicago.

The pamphlet "Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarchy," which is so unpalatable to the New York police authorities, can be obtained of R. Fritz, 267 Madison St., New York, N. Y. Single copies 3 cents; in lots of 25 or more one half cent a copy.

## Splinters.

A Chicago jury, this time with unusually long ears, has decided that Balzac's writings are immoral. It is safe to assume that all prudes have been sleepless for many nights—no doubt to find out whether it is true or

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not. And Tomy Comstock had better see that he is speedily excluded from the mails.

Bishop Spalding says women are responsible of three-fourths of all crime. No doubt the bishop knows the priests better than most people do.

Roosevelt has smuggled in some imperial buncombe from Russia, and palmed it off as his own native invention. He boasted that wherever the American flag is, it will "stay put." When Muravieff annexed the Amur to the Russian empire, it was at first regarded with indifference in St. Petersburg. But the czar, when sounded as to abandoning the barren province, is reported to have said, "Whenever the Russian flag goes up, it never comes down."

The governmental postoffice, among its other useful purposes, usually serves as an adjunct of the strong political parties, more particularly the party in power. Millions of campaign documents are "franked" thru the mails. It is these that create a deficit, without considering exorbitant railroad contracts. But there are more ways than one of using the postoffice. The Chicago Tribune, a Republican paper, charges Mark Hanna with having sold the second assistant postmaster's office for a campaign contribution. All railroad contracts are under this office, and the man selected for the job was a railroad attorney.

Some congressmen have made an ingenious attempt to cast odium on Anarchists by classing them with prostitutes in a bill. The New York legislature has tried to make criminals of them. Well and good. If it is necessary they will be criminals. And if the congressmen get any satisfaction out of it, they will be classed with prostitutes. Neither the one nor the other is a disgrace. But they will not cease being Anarchists. Prostitutes! Wretched victims of a foul system, they are not to blame. They are not at all beneath the haughty society ladies who turn aside their skirts, for very many of them are no more or less than high-priced, respectable, married prostitutes.

The Chicago American of June 2 prints a striking cartoon. It is the picture of a political boss looking at an announcement that the people want an "honest legislature." He exclaims that the people must be mad. If we come to a correct analysis of the situation, we will see that the political boss is correct. It is sheer madness to expect an honest legislature, altho there may be honest men in it. It is not the corruptness of the individuals, but the position they are placed in that breeds all the corruption. As far back in history as we can trace, whenever the people placed power in a clique of men to sell them, they have been sold. The people should make it impossible for a Boss This or Boss That to sell them, by having no legislature. Then if there are any bribe-takers, the most they can do will be to sell themselves.

At last the Boers have succumbed to the larger number of the Britons. No one can

withhold admiration for these brave people. From the start they battled against tremendous odds, and from the start the result was almost a foregone conclusion. They have been overwhelmed, but they are not conquered.

Altho the Boers are down, still they have gained the victory of defeat. They have shown the world what a united people can do in a defensive warfare. They have given an example of tenacity of purpose and devotion to their ideal of independence. They have staggered the prestige of the British Empire. While to all outward appearance Britain is as powerful as ever, history has taught again and again the lesson that the unity of an empire based on repression cannot last. Russia has never been safe from Poland; and the Irish have given the British no strength. JR.

## Various Notes.

By the tone of R. W.'s reference to "the youthful editor of FREE SOCIETY" I infer that R. W.'s scalp must be as described in Revelation 1: 14. On other grounds I shouldn't have guessed so.

It is fashionable to propose that the Anarchist movement should change its name. Therefore nobody will be surprised if I suggest that we drop the name with an A and take one beginning with a Z. My reason is that when a new cyclopedia is being got out we don't hear of it till the volume A—ANA is already in type if not actually on the market, and it is too late to object to an article "Anarchism" that rehashes all the familiar misconceptions. If the name began with a Z, then as soon as the first volumes came out our letter-writers could get to work to show the editor the advantage of having the Anarchism article written by some one really competent to speak on the subject. Therefore I suggest that we call it Zukunfism or Zedekism or Zygomisy or some other attractive and appropriate name with a Z; then we shall have a pull on the cyclopedia.

I note in FREE SOCIETY for March 16 that on one page R. W. says those who advocate passive resistance are ignorant of human history; on another page he advocates a policy mainly of passive resistance, to be supplemented by violence on special occasions. This is moderately acceptable, but what I kick on is his describing the ballot-box as a form of passive resistance. If voting is passive, then voting for candidates at an ordinary election does not make a man guilty of crimes of violence; a conclusion which I for one am unwilling to accept. I am afraid the comrade has been mixing up "passive" and "legal."

I am rather tempted to put all this "general strike" talk down as moonshine. Yet I see a possibility of great things in that way under one condition. This is, if in some country on the continent of Europe, where the workingmen hate the army, somebody should work up a universal strike for the abolition of military conscription. Such a strike would have tremendous vitality, and



might have tremendous consequences. Ross Winn thinks one might start a general strike about any old thing, and this would put such magic into the course of events that the course of events would drive that general strike to produce the Social Revolution; and he supports this by saying that the American Revolution was started by calling the people's attention to "a puerile side issue—the stamp tax." I have not so read history. The attention of the American people—the masses, I mean to say—was fixed on the proposition that parliament had no legal authority to legislate for the colonies. They seized on the small taxes, they cared for which in themselves they always said nothing, as a convenient "test case." Afterward, as a war measure, they declared themselves independent not only of parliament but of king.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

#### Special Appeal to the Comrades in New Jersey.

In the month of April, 1902, an act was passed by the New Jersey legislature, making it a crime punishable by a fine of \$2000 or fifteen years in prison "to circulate any book, paper, or pamphlet encouraging hostility or opposition to any and all government." This law is unconstitutional in several particulars, and would certainly not stand the test of a trial, if conducted intelligently. Nevertheless it is a constant menace to free speech as long as it stands on the statute books, and should be at once repealed. Timid persons will be harassed by it, the ordinarily indifferent will refuse to run counter to it even to the extent of reading or passing around even so mild a book as that of Leo Tolstoy; and it is easy to see that the blackmailing forces of the police will make use of it to extort money from those who are so situated that to fight the law would mean ruin of their livelihood. In every way this law is a most noxious product of legislation, and its unconstitutionality should be presented to the general public in such a way as to bring about its speedy repeal. While Anarchists are not believers in the constitution as an entire document, they certainly should insist that those who do believe in it should not trample on the freedoms it is supposed to guarantee; and wherever the constitution goes our way, it is worth while to use it for its full value.

In this conviction, one of the Atlantic City comrades proposed that the law together with those of the constitution and Declaration of Independence with which it conflicts shall be printed and commented upon in a small pamphlet for free distribution, the opposing passage to be printed in parallel columns that all may see at a glance the conflict.

The pamphlet has been prepared and is ready for the printer. Comments are by the writer of this appeal. The cost of printing 3000 copies is \$29. One man in Atlantic City has given \$5; the Paterson comrades, burned out, flooded out, and on strike, have nevertheless sent \$3.25. Will the rest of the comrades of New Jersey try to raise sufficient to bear the remainder of the expense,—about \$20?

We in Philadelphia have done the work of preparation; we undertake all the details connected with attending to the printing; if a sufficient amount is raised to leave a slight deficiency, we are willing to make that up, to the extent of \$5. But we consider that this is primarily the duty of New Jersey Anarchists, and that they should be able to do that much for themselves. Will all of them who read this at once send whatever the money they can spare for this purpose to N. Notkin, 337 South 5th St., Philadelphia, together with a statement as to how many copies they wish for distribution. I would suggest that to save trouble, those who have several comrades in one town, should club together. In case sufficient money is not raised, it will then be easier to return it. It is to be hoped, however, that there will be sufficient interest shown to make that unnecessary. The pamphlet has been written with a view to distribution among those who do believe in American tradition, and to show how the Lord Bill threatens not only Anarchists but all who dare criticize government or its administration.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

#### Attention!

To avoid unnecessary expenses and disappointment, some of the Chicago comrades have concluded to send one or two reliable and experienced men to Brazil, to investigate Comrade Condor's proposition for colonization. All comrades contemplating to join the colony eventually and willing to contribute toward the expense of the delegates, are kindly requested to send their names and addresses immediately to the address below, in order that we may be able to find out how much the cost will be for each.

J. D. MACK.

Chicago, Ill., 331 Walnut St.

#### The Belief in God.

The belief in God has often been advanced as not only the greatest, but the most complete, of all the distinctions between man and the lower animals. It is, however, impossible, as we have seen, to maintain that this belief is innate or instinctive in man. On the other hand, a belief in all-pervading spiritual agencies seem to be universal; and apparently follows from a considerable advance in man's reason, and from a still greater advance in his faculties of imagination, curiosity, and wonder. I am aware that the assumed instinctive belief in God has been used by many persons as an argument for his existence. But this is a rash argument, as we should thus be compelled to believe in the existence of many cruel and malignant spirits, only a little more powerful than man; for the belief in them is far more general than in a beneficent Deity.—Charles Darwin.

#### Natural Sense of Justice.

I have lived with communities of savages in South America and in the East, who have no laws or law courts but the public opinion of the village freely expressed. Each man scrupulously respects the rights of his fellows, and any infraction of those rights

rarely or never takes place. In such a community all are nearly equal. There are none of those distinctions of education and ignorance, wealth and poverty, master and servant which are the product of our civilization. There is none of that wide-spread division of labor, which, while it increases wealth, produces also conflicting interests. There is not that severe competition and struggle for existence or for wealth which the dense population of civilized countries inevitably creates. All incitements to great crimes are thus wanting, and petty ones are suppressed partly by the influence of public opinion, but chiefly by that natural sense of justice and his neighbor's right which seem to be in some degree inherent in every race of men.—Alfred Russell Wallace, "Malay Archipelago," Ch. XL.

#### Here and There.

Pumpmen were called out of the mines by the miners on June 2. But as the operators had ample time to prepare themselves, the effect was almost nil.

Teamsters employed by the packers in Chicago have been on strike about two weeks. The teamsters nearly succeeded in stopping the meat trade in Chicago. Meat wagons are now driven about town with a squad of police "protecting" each wagon. The teamsters are required to work at all hours at small pay.

Many farm hands in Badajose, Spain, were shot and arrested during the week because they asked for living wages. Everywhere government is against the weak and for the strong, yet they laborers do not realize that government is the cause of their misery.

A new Anarchist paper, *La Libertà*, appeared in New York, thru initiative of Italian comrades of the Club Indipendente. The address of the paper is 13 Minnetta St., New York. Our greetings to the new paper.

A revolutionary Congress took place at Liege (Belgium) in last week of May. About hundred fifty comrades from all countries participated in the Congress, which had a particular importance after the last revolutionary events of Belgium. A complete summary of this Congress will be given later.

Government is the tool, to obtain which avarice and ambition strive; it is the sword with which now this, now that one strikes and hits, and calls it governing. We shall constantly be struck and wounded, let who will wield the sword, until we have destroyed the weapon itself.—Dr. S. Engländer.

Every man will submit with becoming patience to evils which he believes to arise from the general laws of nature; but when the vanity and mistaken benevolence of the government and the higher classes of society have, by a perpetual interference with the concerns of the lower classes, endeavored to persuade them, that all the good the enjoy is conferred upon them by their rulers and rich benefactors, it is very natural that they should attribute all the evils which they suffer to the same sources, and patience under such circumstances cannot reasonably be expected.—Matthews.



## In an English Prison.

Eight years ago I belonged to a group of young men and women who had discovered that our civilization was a fraud, based on the exploitation of man by man; that constituted justice, morality, and religion were prostituted forms of the most sacred principles of human equity and liberty, and mere adjuncts of exploitation.

We called ourselves Anarchists and endeavored to spread our knowledge broadcast by papers, pamphlets, and open-air meetings. Before long "the powers that be" decided that freedom of speech only applied to those questions upon which all were agreed, and to discuss any other was obstructing the thorofare. Needless to say we in our enthusiasm did not see the nice distinction quite so quickly, and in order to explain more clearly the subtleties of the constitution, I along with numerous others received a warm invitation from the late most gracious majesty (heaven rest her soul) to partake of her hospitality in one of her establishments in a large city.

The invitation was so pressingly given that, tho we would fain refuse we could not, and at some personal inconvenience we experienced a novel Christmas and New Year time. Two months in jail.

Many writers have described the discipline, the systematic starvation of the body and the general routine of prison life; but I defy anyone who has not experienced it to feel even in a slight measure the starvation of the soul, the craving for human love and sympathy, and the terrible intensity of the desire for social intercourse. Those who have had experience of the denial of the satisfaction of these cravings, can understand the most anti-social and bestial acts and only wonder that humanity so degraded does not become much worse.

I had been in prison five weeks, during which time I had heard nothing from the outside world, and did not know how the fight was going with my comrades, when, on returning from chapel to my cell on Christmas Eve, I noticed my friend, P—K—, enter a cell on the opposite side of the corridor or "wing" as it is called. His back was turned to me and as we were forbidden to look round, I knew he had not seen me; but I was so overjoyed at this evidence that the struggle was being continued that I determined to risk a breach of discipline and communicate with him that evening.

I waited till supper had been served, most of the warders had left for the night, and the prison had quieted down for a short time previous to the final visitation of prisoners, and extinguishing of lights, and then I got close to the corner of the cell door and as loudly as I could, whistled the opening bars of the "Marseillaise." To my delight K— instantly took up the air and we vigorously finished the chorus together. I then commenced "La Carmagnole," and paused to listen if he had heard that also. He had, and whilst I listened to his whistling I heard the stealthy footsteps of a warder evidently making for my cell; but he was on the landing above me, and as I was silent he was puzzled as to where the sound came from. My comrade had no such intimation of danger, and as I could not warn him he proceeded to whistle other tunes and dance

to them. I could only wait and listen. Suddenly the music was interrupted. "All right, my lad; I'll run you before the 'governor' for that in the morning. We'll see if you will dance there," shouted the warder. He was as good as his word, and my merry comrade was put on a bread and water diet.

My one delight was to get out to exercise in the prison yard. Here, as in the prison proper, absolute silence was the rule, and to enforce this we marched in a circle several yards apart. A pathetic sight was the cripples' corner, where those who were unable to march with the nimbler prisoners made a circle of their own. Old men with tottering footsteps, men deformed, and others maimed, short of a leg, etc. In a well-ordered social system these men's infirmities would protect them, under Christian capitalism their infirmities condemn them to jail. A sadder sight perhaps were the juveniles. Quite little boys condemned maybe for "loitering" round a railway station pestering their betters with, "Carry your luggage, sir," their young faces already taking on the expression of the habitual criminal, from which intelligence is banished and replaced by low cunning.

One extremely unpleasant incident of my confinement was a terrible screaming and shouting three mornings in succession, more like a pig than a human being. This came from a young man condemned to death for the particularly atrocious murder of an old woman for a few pence. I surmised that he was well-nigh demented, had lost all count of time, and every morning when he was taken to chapel he thought he was being led out to execution and fought desperately.

Three days before Christmas an inspector of prisons visited the pail. An inspector—or the visiting justices—has the power to order any prisoner condemned to hard labor to be flogged for "repeated acts of insubordination." All was excitement and bustle, scrubbing and washing down stairs, landings, etc. In the early winter afternoon there is a quiet interval in prison when all the warders seem to be away—at the treadmill I used to think—between the time when it gets too dark to work and the lighting up of the cells. At this time can be heard the dull thud of many feet as the prisoners pace up and down their cells like a lot of caged beasts. On this particular day I was tramping in the darkness as usual when suddenly I heard a peculiar hiss which startled the whole prison to silence. It was immediately followed by the most appalling cry I have ever heard, the cry of a strong man riven with agony. It was an involuntary cry of intense pain to the full power of the lungs, and it gradually died away in a deep sigh. For the first lash or two I was spellbound, then a feeling of desperation came over me. I wanted to call out and batter at the iron door with my fists. Then as I realized my helplessness, I nearly fainted, and sank on my stool to await the end of the fearful ordeal. Twelve times we heard that cruel hiss, twelve times that heart-breaking response, twelve times that long-drawn sigh. For weeks after my release, I used to start from sleeps at night, perspiring at every pore with that terrible cry ringing in my ears. God grant that I may never hear it again.

And now, after eight years, when I hear the cant of peace on earth and goodwill toward men, when some of my optimistic Socialist friends point out to me the great advance in social conditions as evidenced by municipalization, I close my eyes for a brief space and see again the children and cripples in a prison yard, I hear again the wail of the tortured and I realize that the root of the evil is still untouched; that I have lived a rebel, that I shall die a rebel.—Treb, in *Liberty*, New York.

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London Letter.

Since the annual budget has been announced the subject of the South African war is occupying all minds. Many thousands of soldiers have been mustered out as unfit, crippled for life or health wrecked so they are useless in the struggle for existence. Over 13,000 children have given up their little lives in fever-stricken concentration camps as a penalty for their parent's love of liberty. Between thirty and forty thousand Boers are eating their hearts out in enforced exile at Ceylon, Bermuda, and St. Helena, and yet the struggle still goes on.

These are things that we can figure somewhere near the total, but there remain the burned homesteads, ruined farms with the cattle stolen or driven off, dams destroyed and farm implements broken up. There are families rent asunder, some in the field, some dead or prisoners in foreign lands or death-dealing concentration camps. Mutual hatred engendered by some turning traitors. (Piet De Wet, brother of the famous general, we are informed in a paper, has been authorized by Kitchener to raise a Burgher corps to fight his own countrymen.) When we think of all this we grow heart-sick and weary; but this by no means represents the sum total of human misery this war has caused.

Sad and bitter as all this is, it is questionable whether the intellectual retrogression, moral degradation of the people of this country is not more to be deplored than even the seas of blood and tears that have been shed in South Africa. This at any rate is most important.

When the last shot has been fired in that unhappy country, win or lose, the Boers will emerge from the struggle brighter and better men, while every Britisher must feel humiliated and degraded for years to come.

It is impossible to describe the moral degradation to which the average Englishmen has sunk in these three terrible years. Men whom I have known and met, who in their private lives are good, kind, open-hearted men, who would no doubt scorn to tell a lie or hurt a child, yet talk as glibly about exterminating a race of people who worship the same God, profess the same religion as they do, as if they were spiders.

Oh, England, when will you be invaded and forced to pay that terrible debt?

Here we have one of the strangest traits in mankind. Men and women of a kindly disposition and desire to harm no one, turned into cold-blooded monsters thru this lust for territory and a desire to rule the world. That this greed for territory and desire to rule remains but a shadow in millions of their lives goes without saying, and yet the



consequences are just as terrible and the misery as complete as tho each of those millions were a Cecil Rhodes.

And yet other comrades see cause for rejoicing. They say it is wonderful to see four daily pro-Boer newspapers in London. It is true there are a multitude against them and most of them advocating extermination, and that all of the four so-called pro-Boer papers have no word to say as to independence, but talk about "larger measures of liberty on Canadian lines," etc., yet they say with a war such as this and the passion war always engenders, it is more than hopeful to see four daily papers go as far as they do. To me it appears that we have degenerated so far that we are thankful for mercies ever so small. Nevertheless it must be admitted that such papers as the four referred to (*Daily News*, *Morning Leader*, *Star* and *Echo*) together with the *Manchester Guardian*, *Truth*, *Review of Reviews*, *Reynold's*, and the *New Age* are doing good work. The last three in particular are out and out for independence, and are doing splendid work. And yet with all these things there is a rift in the clouds: the heroic resistance of the Boers, the genius of such men as De Wet, De la Rey, and Botha. This extraordinary humanity (not one case of reprisal has been heard of yet for the countless murders committed by the British—De la Rey's action in releasing Lord Methuen has actually shamed them into acquitting Kritzing of murder); the enormous powers of resistance, the cowardice, stupidity, incompetency of the British army from general to private; the scandals connected with the Chamberlain family, who supply the government with a large part of the arms and ammunition; the more recent scandals of the remount department and Cold Storage Company, to say nothing of minor affairs, are all having their effect upon the patriotic Briton. It's true, the war trumpet still blows, but its blasts are growing more feeble each day. It may be cynical, yet I say it with all due reverence to the subject—the people are getting tired of the war. After fighting for two years and seven months with an army that has aggregated 400,000 British and colonial troops, to say nothing of some 50,000 natives, and an expenditure of more than \$1,000,000,000, De la Rey swoops down and captures Lord Methuen, some seven or eight hundred men and five guns, and this when the Boers who attacked were, if anything, inferior in numbers to the British and hand *no guns* (cannons). In future when the patriotic Briton tells us about the gallant six hundred, the charge of the Light Brigade, etc., we will gallant five hundred and fifty at Tweebosh who "were chased for miles (this is the official expression) by an equal number of Boers." Is it any wonder people grow tired of the war?

While opinion is changing and the peace party is growing, if peace comes, and rumours are flying thick and fast the last few days, it will not be because the nation has repented of its crime, but because the Boers tired them out. While there is a certain amount of artificial prosperity in certain cities where war materials are being supplied, business generally is bad with the certainty that it will be worse.

What the after effects of the war will be it

is hard to tell. If peace comes soon and on terms more or less favorable to the Boers, a large part of the army will return home. This will mean a large addition to the army of unemployed, for not only will the soldiers be out of work, but those who are now engaged in supplying the army. This will mean some seven or eight hundred thousand men. Perhaps when these people feel the pangs of hunger a revolutionary spirit may sweep over the country. This, however, is but a pious hope on my part, for a people who can be so cruel and brutalized as the people of this country have shown themselves to be during these two and a half years, are not the people to have much hope of. And yet with all his arrogance and brutality—and he has plenty of both—the British workingmen is a curious creature. Here at the very moment when he is pouring out his blood and treasure to crush and subdue two tiny republics, he grows enthusiastic over the Barcelona strike. The London Trades Council unanimously endorsed the appeal of our Spanish comrades at their last meeting and are circularizing the trades unions of the country for financial assistance, and it is confidently expected that twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars will be raised if the strike lasts a few months longer.

Say what you like, the Englishman is a puzzle. He loves his chains; he is a rebel! He is a brute, he is kind-hearted! Make him out if you can.

As to the movement there is little to be said. *Freedom* is down to four pages, and it is a struggle to get it out once a month. That it appears at all is due to the devotion of a handful of comrades rather than any support from the country at large. In London, the faithful few meet once a fortnight and try to cheer each other up by discussing what happens on the continent. In the provinces things are equally as bad. A few Russians are struggling manfully to educate the large number of their countryman in the East End with weekly lectures and their free library. The Jewish comrades have by dint of hard labor secured a hall with their own furniture, and lectures in Jewish and German are given weekly. They also assist the Russians with their lectures, which are held in their hall. This same group of Jewish comrades have started a paper called *Liberty*, but what its chances are I cannot tell. The address is No. 9 Pelham St., Brick Lane, Spitalfields, London, E. R. Rocker is now publishing the Jewish paper *Germinal* at Leeds instead of London as formerly. The German, French, Italian, and Spanish comrades are all doing a certain amount of propaganda in their own languages; and shame be it said they are doing more than we are. Kropotkin and Louise Michel have both been in ill health for some time past, but it is pleasant to say they are rather better at present.

For the first time in many years no public meeting was arranged by the English comrades to commemorate the Commune. A small private meeting was held, and we spent an interesting if not an exciting evening. On March 23 we held a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square to protest against the atrocities committed by the Spanish government on the Barcelona strikers recently.

The meeting was hastily arranged; yet we had close on three thousand present. Over \$35 was collected at the meeting, and a considerable impetus given to the movement among the trades unions. Are the American trades unions doing anything? It is a deserving cause and comrades should exert themselves.

H. M. KELLY.

London, Eng.

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A man or a set of men, who will legislate against the greatest educational center on the face of the earth, which is our Anarchism, are either imbeciles or knaves. The future generation of children (theirs as well) on whose head such abominable weak-mindedness falls, will look back at these barbarians (in name) with scorn.—It will not at all affect our teachings. The flag still floats; last they forget, we say it ever!—The firebrand for ever!

FRED WISSMANN.

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#### Literature.

WHITMAN'S IDEAL DEMOCRACY AND OTHER WRITINGS. By Helena Born. Memorial edition. Helen M. Tufts, 36 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. Price \$.

Lovers of Whitman, Carpenter, and Thoreau will find this an interesting and attractive book. Her essays on these writers show the most enlightened appreciation. The essays on economics and the sex question indicate a true insight to freedom. "The Last Stand against Democracy in Sex," is a protest against making a creature of show of woman. This must cease before woman can be emancipated. Still, there are one or two phrases that I do not understand. Speaking of Whitman, she says, "His liberty was never license." I do not believe that Whitman justified any such extraordinary assertion. His liberty is essentially "license," for he does not make so absurd a distinction, so far as I am aware. Helen Tufts has a biographical sketch of the author, and her friend Mariam Daniell.

The *Truth Seeker*, New York, now has an excellent cartoonist, which adds much interest and spice to the paper. JR.

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#### LETTER-BOX.

F., City.—The address of *The Comrade* is 11 Cooper Square, New York City. It is certainly the best Socialist publication in this country. The price is 10 cents a copy or \$1 a year.

L. G., Dorchester, Mass.—You can easily see how your subscription stands, by comparing the number on the wrapper by the current number of *FREE SOCIETY*. Greetings.

F. C., San Francisco, Cal.—Of course "non-resistance or passive resistance is often more effective than a hostile attitude"; but people who claim to be non-resistant cannot consistently appeal to the courts for protection.

W. S., Panama, Mo.—All right, comrade. Pay when you are able. The cards were sent in order to find out whether you and others desire to read the paper or not. Greeting.

V. A. V., Boston, Mass.—Your aphorisms "How to be Successful" are excellent for John D. Rockefeller's Sunday school. The intelligent readers of *FREE SOCIETY* will hardly find them interesting or instructive.

M. V. W., Houston, Tex.—The book "Age of Reason" you can obtain from the *Truth Seeker*, 28 Lafayette Pl., New York, N. Y., for a very reasonable price if bought in larger quantities.