



Freethought.

Great word, that fill'st my mind with calm delight,
I love to feel, but cannot hope to tell,
How, like the noonday sun, thou dost dispel
The mists of error that impede our sight!
What noble dreams, what yearning hopes excite!
What memories too awake at sound of thee,
Like myriad ripples on a wind-swept sea!
How full and irresistible thy might!
Thou causest to grow pale the tyrant's cheek;
Thou art the knell that loud proclaims the fall
Of despots and of priests, and those who seek
To crush the human mind beneath their thrall:
Thou dost avenge all wrong, make strong the weak
—Nobility and heritage of all!

—Edward H. Guillaume.

What Anarchism Means.

I fear that trying to tell Americans what Anarchism means is like attempting to give an account of "foreign devils" to the Chinese. At least that appears to be the attitude of the country, as reflected by the legislation under which I am held a prisoner. Whether this is correct remains to be seen. Certainly many persons have the most obscure and weird conceptions of Anarchism.

Still, of all civilized nations, the United States is probably the most anarchistic. It was born in rebellion and nurtured in Anarchy. Perhaps that is why Anarchist ideas are so distorted here. While pretending to praise its parentage, it desires to disown its early training. Its passion for power is now far greater than its love for liberty—the worship of money more intense than its respect for character. An excited interest appears when one of its daughters form an alliance with a European title—and there is almost an entire absence of concern about fundamental political principles.

In the Right Hon. Sir George Trevelyan's history of the American revolution, dealing with the period from 1776 to 1787, he shows that the collection of individuals calling themselves a Congress had no legal standing—less inherent authority than a parish vestry—and only the political power their personalities could exert. No central authority existed in America. The local governments were responsible for the ordinary course of administration, though even they were not duly constituted at all. Congress then, and for many years after, was described by John Adams as "not a legislative assembly, nor a representative assembly, but only a diplomatic assembly." It could issue recommendations to those of its countrymen who were ready to accept advice, but it was powerless to enforce them.

The management of the "United States" was at that time an Anarchy, politically speaking. Emerson refers to it as such, in one of his essays, with approbation. In fact, if one is to believe the Fourth of July orators, it was the heroic period of American history, of

which, in the past, they have pretended to be most proud. I take it that in future any one praising this series of years, will be under strong suspicion; and should he have been in the country less than three years, be in danger of depredation and deportation. Historically, at least, the American nation is indebted to Anarchy, though it is very dangerous to say so.

I will try to explain the political meaning of the word "Anarchy." As Kropotkin says, "We are often reproached for using such a name as Anarchists." We are told: "Your ideas might do, but how will you become a powerful party while keeping that name, which implies disorder, destruction, and chaos?"

But it is well to remember the word "Republic" implied much the same to monarchical Europe only a century since. There was the same dread of it that there is of Anarchy today. In fact, it still implies all this to monarchical institutions. However, there it ends. The privileged of autocracies, constitutional monarchies or republics are now leagued together for a common exploitation. Republicanism, which once stood for individual liberty, is now differentiated from other political tyrannies only by the absence of any personal power apart from the electorate.

And it was Ibsen, who, in the "Enemy of the People," said of majorities: "That majority!—that compact majority! That damned majority! which never accepts a truth until it has already become a lie."

Anarchy is the antithesis of monarchy. Its derivation an without—Anarchy, from archon—the priest and lawmaker of the Greeks—chief, or ruler. "Anarchy"—without kings of any kind. The opposite, "monarchy," means one ruler or king. A Republic, I need not say, is a country governed by representatives elected by the citizens, though those incapable of governing themselves can choose others competent to govern every one, remains a mystery. An Anarchy is a society of social and political equals, with the absence of government and statute laws. Anarchism believes that in the absence of privileges, a society of rational beings is held together by an instinctive morality, and is capable of managing all its affairs. Nay, it is sure that human society could not have been perpetuated, were this not so. This is seen among all gregarious animals, and if evolution teaches anything, it is that morality has its origin in social life of all kinds, apart from governors and rulers.

Having given its derivation, let me give its definition. The encyclopedias and dictionaries are making this clearer with every edition—a sign that the theory is being better understood. The Century Dictionary gives "Anarchy—a social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty." Benjamin R. Tucker, the well-known American writer, in "Instead of a Book" says: "I define Anarchism as the belief in the greatest amount of liberty compatible

with equality of liberty; or, in other words, as the belief in every liberty, except the liberty to invade."

The late distinguished scientist, Prof. Thomas H. Huxley, also gives a definition in his essays, which it would be well for Americans to study. "Anarchy, as a term of political philosophy, must be taken only in its proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or crime; but denotes a state of society, in which the rule of each individual by himself, is the only government; the legitimacy of which is recognized. Anarchy, as thus defined, is the logical outcome of that form of political theory, which for the last half century and more, has been known under the name of Individualism."

But if a declaration of militant principles is desired, I cannot do better than quote from the 1883 "Manifesto" of the Lyons Anarchists. It is in France perhaps, more than anywhere else, that the Anarchist sentiment is best understood.

"We wish liberty, and we believe its existence incompatible with the existence of any power, whatever its origin or form, whether it be selected or imposed, republican or monarchical, whether inspired by divine right or by popular right, by anointment, or by universal suffrage.

"In other terms, the evil in the eyes of the Anarchists does not reside in one form of government more than in another; it is in the idea of the government itself, in the principle of authority. The Anarchists propose to teach the people how to get along without government.

"They will learn in time likewise how to get along without property-holders. No liberty without equality."

Ernst Haeckel, in "The Riddle of the Universe," reviewing the condition of civilization and of thought at the close of the nineteenth century, indorses the words of Alfred R. Wallace: "Compared with our astounding progress in the physical science and its practical application, our system of government of administrative justice, and of national education; and our entire social and moral organization, remains in a state of barbarism."—And certainly Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace, the evolutionist, is worth listening to on sociological questions. This is another striking quotation from him:

"The events of the past few years must have convinced all advanced thinkers that it is hopeless to expect any real improvement from the existing governments of the great civilized nations, supported and controlled, as they are, by the ever-increasing power of vast military and official organizations.

"These organizations are a permanent menace to liberty, to national morality, and to all real progress toward a rational social evolution. It is these which have given us during first years of this new century, examples of national hypocrisy and crimes against liberty

and humanity—to say nothing of Christianity—almost unequalled in the whole course of modern history.

Recently requested to contribute to the *Berliner-Lokal Anzeiger*, he sent an article entitled, "Anticipations and Hopes for the Immediate Future." But the authorities in the home of scientific Social Democracy, as set forth in the gospel according to Karl Marx; the land of Liebknecht, Bebel and Singer suppressed it! Like democratic America, Germany fears the truth! Conscience makes cowards of them all!—But here is some of it—remember, from a scientific thinker. Speaking of modern militarism and imperialism, he says:

"Scarcely was the ink dry of the signatures of their (the 'civilized' governments') representatives at The Hague Conference, where they had expressed the most humane and elevated ideas as to the necessity for reduction of armaments, 'for the amelioration of the horrors of war,' and for the principle of arbitration in the settlement of national difficulties, than we find all the chief signatories engaged in destroying the liberties of weaker people, without any rational cause, and often in opposition to the principles of their own constitutions, or to solemn promises by their representatives or in actual treaties.

"England carried fire and sword into South Africa, and has robbed two Republics of the independence guaranteed to them after a former unjust annexation—a crime aggravated by hypocrisy in the pretense that British subjects were treated as 'helots,' whereas their own Committee of Inquiry into the War has now demonstrated that it was a pure war of conquest, in order to secure territory and gold mines, determined on years before, and only waiting a favorable opportunity to carry into effect.

"The United States, against their own Declaration of Independence, and the fundamental principles of the Constitution, have taken away the liberties of two communities—the one, Porto Rico, by mere overwhelming power; the other, the Philippines, after a bloody war against a people fighting for their independence, the only excuse being that they had been purchased, land and people, from their former conquerors and oppressors!

"Russia itself, the originator of the Peace Conference, forthwith persecutes Jews and Doukhobors on account of their religion, and takes away the solemnly guaranteed liberties from the Finns—a people really more civilized than their persecutors.

"All three of these governments, as well as Germany and France, invaded China, and committed barbarities of slaughter, with reckless devastation and plunder which will degrade them for all time in the pages of history.

"Such are the doings of the official and military rulers of nations which claim to be in the first rank of civilization and religion. And there is really no sign of any improvement."

However, while despairing of governments, he is hopeful of the workpeople.

Dr. Wallace "Hopes for the Future" are these:—

"But for the first time in the history of the world, the workers—the real sources of all wealth and of all civilization—are becoming educated, are organizing themselves, and are obtaining a voice in municipal and national governments. So soon as they realize their power, and can agree upon their aims, the dawn of the new era will have begun.

"The first thing for them to do is to strengthen themselves by unity of action, and then to weaken, and ultimately abolish, militarism.

"The greatest of all, will be to organize labor, to abolish inheritance, and thus give equality of opportunity to every one alike.

"This alone will establish, first, true Individualism (which cannot exist under present social conditions), and, this being obtained, will inevitably lead to voluntary association for all the purposes of life, and bring about a social state adapted to the stage of development of each nation, and of each successive age.

"This, in my opinion, is the ideal which the workers (manual and intellectual workers alike) of every civilized country should keep in view. For the first time in human history, these workers are throwing aside international jealousies and hatreds; the peoples of all nations are becoming brothers, and are appreciating the good qualities inherent in each and all of them. They will, therefore, be guilty of folly, as well as crime, if they much longer permit their rulers to drill them into armies, and force them to invade, and rob, and kill each other.

"The people are always better than their rulers. But the rulers have power, wealth, tradition, and the insatiable love of conquest, and of governing others against their will. It is, then, in the people alone that I have any hope for the future of humanity."

Now, while this is not anarchism, pure and simple, it is suggestive of where thinkers and scientists are being driven by the logic of facts and events. This is not the place, or it would prove a very interesting study to examine in detail the reason for this!

But it would be easy to show, that wherever work-people have relied upon governmental means to seriously improve their position, they have, sooner or later, had to learn that only when they were strong themselves, was the law of any service to labor! And then they could do without it. Often enacted ostensibly in their interests the very laws so passed are as frequently turned against them in the long run. A little reflection will show that this is almost sure to happen.

For after all, what is government? Not any particular form, but the thing itself. Is it not in every case the person, or persons, who control the executive forces of the country to enforce the law? Those forces are all the violence the resources of civilization can command. And what is the statute law which it enforces? Is it the law of nature, everywhere the same, unalterable and unerring?—Not at all! Statute law, ever since first written, varies with every stage of human development, having only one thing in common, that it is always the written expression of the desires and wishes of the predominant section in society at any given period. It is, therefore, invariably in favor of privilege, since self-interest impels those in power to try to entrench themselves. If any innovation is made it must be to fulfil the aims of the powerful, and then become conservative. The theory of government is that it protects the weak against the strong—the practice is and must be, that socially it carries out the objects of the strong—those in the ascendancy. It always ignores and neglects the weak! It could not continue to exist as a government unless it did. Thus the Anarchist sees that both for the individual, and for society, the constitution of government is a perpetual hindrance to progress.

The very possibility of government is always based on the belief in authority and law, its tendency is always toward centralization!

No wonder governments fear those who do not believe in them! They know well enough if such disbelief became general, their occupation would be gone!

America has produced some of the best writers who have criticised government. It was Thoreau who wrote, "That government is best which governs not at all, and men are prepared for it, that is the kind of government they will have." His "Duty of Civil Dis-

obedience" is an Anarchist essay. Emerson and Walt Whitman would have to be expurgated if America wants to suppress Anarchy in its literature. The political anathema would have to extend to Thomas Paine, with his "Rights of Man" and "Common Sense," while the writings of Thomas Jefferson would have to go in the fire with the rest. And the late Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics," "Principles of Sociology" and "Principles of Ethics," in fact his whole philosophy, must be barred out of America, if Anarchist ideas are to be hindered, even tho he is generally admitted to be the most universally suggestive and educative thinker of modern times. Not but that Anarchists look upon him as conservative in his social outlook. For they see clearly that present conditions are unnatural. As Thomas Watson puts it: "Nature is not so unjust. Every beast of the field had its chance to graze, every bird of the air its chance to fly and feed; every fish of the sea its chance to swim and live. The strongest, the fittest—survived the competition, but the chance was always there."

It is not so in existing civilization, for the chance is often denied. The continued monopoly, assisted by law, in the hands of a minority, of the means of life, puts those who are born into society with nothing but their labor to dispose of, in the position of being driven by necessity to accept what they feel is unjust. And this takes away all chance of freedom in the transaction. Without economic independence, there is no such thing as "free" competition. So, tho the principles of Spencer are right, a society of equals must be presupposed before they can be applied. At present, property becomes the means by which the proprietors are enabled to exact eternal tribute from the workers. The property-holders, protected by law, prey on the property-less.

And that big figure in European letters, Leo Tolstoy, the sage to whom so many are turning—what opinion of government has he? Here it is: "Government is, in its essence, always a force acting in violation of justice. Christianity destroys all government." His essay on "Patriotism and Government" is one of the most scathing criticisms of both ever penned. Patriotism in days gone by, it has been well said, meant love of one's country; now it stands for love of other people's countries. He shows how these imagined virtues act in the most vicious manner, keeping the people of the earth in antagonism where there might be amity.

As to the progress of conscious Anarchism, it is very difficult to speak. In the first place, so fierce is the hostility to it that thousands who feel it is sound and right in principle fear to avow it openly. They prefer to work for it under cover of other movements; among the Liberals, the Socialists, or, in this country, among the Jeffersonian Democrats. Still, in the States there are several papers in English devoted to the propaganda.

The oldest, *Liberty*, of New York; a lively weekly in Chicago, *FREE SOCIETY*, and another weekly, *The Demonstrator*, of Lakebay, Wash., are probably the best known. In France, Italy, and Spain, Anarchism is a force reckoned with. The labor movement in the latter country is at present under its influences, much as in England half a century ago it was thus influenced by the political radicals. In France its influence is felt in every phase of life, social, political, intellectual, artistic, and literary. For Anarchism is not confined to one form of manifestation; it is a philosophy of life.

And, I may say that I saw recently an English criticism of American women. Among some stupid things it, quite correctly, charged them with being anarchistic. This has been

FREE SOCIETY

resented by some of them, probably because it was true, tho they did not know it. Where in the world are women as independent as in America? And where, as the late Max O'Rell said, are they half as charming and entertaining? It is their anarchistic proclivities that have given them their personality and other delightful qualities.

One of the first questions asked me by Commissioner Williams when before him was: "Have you been to Paterson since you came to America?" I could not see any relevancy in the question at the time, but it appears from what I have learned since, that on account of some local labor troubles there the authorities have got it into their heads that it is a sort of "head centre" of Anarchy in America, whatever that could possibly be.

Apparently, their only conception of Anarchism is some vast conspiracy. But it is sure that if ever people conspire they are not Anarchists; for Anarchists understand that conspiracies end in dictators. The idea of making Paterson, or any other town, an anarchistic centre in America is, I should imagine, on a par with other moonshine bogies of the Secret Service, who, without them, might find their occupation gone.

When will America cease to be frightened by such childish nonsense? How long before it understands that Anarchism is not a party, as generally understood, but a world-wide movement which has already permeated everywhere—the fearless application of evolutionary ideas, ethics and teachings, not only in the realm of mind, but in every sphere of action, if I may so put it. It is just this which makes it so profoundly revolutionary. To stop it would necessitate the destruction of all modern thought and literature. And that is impossible, even for America.

It is, however, in the ranks of the workers where one may expect the forces that will hasten social change to gather. But one of the most saddening things in the labor movement is the lack of imagination and personal initiative. And for myself, with over twenty years experience of commercial life, some of it in responsible positions, I know how well this faculty of forming conceptions, and the quick decision to carry them thru, has been the mainspring of business success.

My practical knowledge as organizer of the union among commercial employes in England during the last five years, and thru that being in touch with other trade unions, has taught me how slow the work people are to move. They are the most conservative in ideas, without having any reason for it. So to labor, Anarchism will be an inspiration, it will give it new ideas and courage.

Anarchism will teach labor how to help itself, by association, instead of asking for fresh laws. It will urge the workers to do their own thinking, in place of accepting the prejudices of their social surroundings. When one thinks of it, there is something ironical in the fact that it is by the government department of commerce and labor (?) that I am held. And it is the workers, who instead of concentrating the struggle to try and control their own lives, have been clamoring for protection against new comers. While the government, as an instrument of the powerful of this, as of every country will take good care to do little or nothing really to protect labor, it will use this cry for legislation to hinder, as far as possible, international understanding among the workers. As a message of life and hope to the exploited and oppressed, Anarchism shows how to get rid of the spoliation of labor without new forms of tyranny. And since the Anarchists have nothing to gain by their work in the ranks of labor, but the realization of an idea, their efforts are the most disinterested. They do not want to capture the workers for

political purposes, but only to arouse their initiative and activity.

Those who have no knowledge of Anarchism are most anxious to know "how do you reconcile the outrages charged to Anarchy with what you say are its doctrines?" In the first place, all new ideas have resulted in resistance to, and often attacks upon the old, just as the old always fights the new; that is inevitable. And second, even Anarchism does not expect to turn human beings into angels—at least not all at once—or to get rid entirely of force or violence. It does hope to remove them as a permanent organized basis of society such as we have them to day.

In this respect one may ask, where are the Anarchist armories or arsenals? Is it really the force and violence that is objected to, or only its application outside of legal forms? The fact is, Anarchism is the only political theory of society which teaches the possibility of getting along without socially organized violence. And if some believers in Anarchism have personally used force, it has been the use of the logic and teaching of society to-day. But personal violence is occurring every day and attracts very little attention.

It is only when some one with ideas that lay bare the present injustice of society takes it upon himself to attack it that one hears so much about outrage. Is it not really the ideas that are feared? Individual violence will persist so long as people believe in governing others; that is, in using force, individually or socially, to compel others to conform to their opinions.

It is said the Anarchist has no substitute for government and statute law. That is quite true. Tolstoy it was, I think, who said the rich would do anything for the people but get off their backs. Well, we want the government to get off our backs, and we don't want any one else as a substitute. But if justice between people is thought of I would just remind you of the words of John Libburne—the Leveller—who championed the cause of the workers in England during the Commonwealth when that puritanical dictator, Oliver Cromwell, was building the fortunes of the wealthy middle classes. When asked how he would obtain justice in the absence of courts of law, he replied: "I would take the carpenter from his bench and the shoemaker from his seat, and let these honest men arbitrate between us, confident that they would render a verdict according to their conscience, and greater justice be done than thru courts of law."

And there is little doubt but he was right. Modern law, with its origin in Roman slavery, and guided by precedents, is nothing but lingering barbarism. With opportunities in life for all, what little anti-social conduct there might be, could be dealt with on its merits, as each case arose. Respecting the production and distribution of wealth, which is supposed to rely on the government for its necessary security, I think I have shown it has been the security to plunder.

But labor itself is now rapidly organizing. Already it has overstepped frontiers, and has learnt how to make terms with the employers. Besides in many unions they afford mutual help when sick or out of work, and in old age. If they can do this, why cannot they operate and control, thru their completed organizations, the very industries they are engaged in. And, instead of these being based on the material idea of territory, like the modern State, they would be on the fraternal foundation of personal occupation—the free individual.

This form of organization would become world-wide, as the condition of other countries came into line for freedom. Instead of conventions of labor concerning means to resist robbery, and combines of capital laying their plans to plunder at large, under the guns

of a government, the conventions would then be for the purpose of promoting the welfare of all, and the only domination desired would be to wring from nature all she could give for the benefit of humanity. Like our fraternal societies, our trade unions, and in England the cooperative societies of the work-people, now doing a business of nearly \$500,000,000 a year, like the athletic and sports clubs, every manifestation of social and industrial life will be upon a free cooperative basis, in a world where national boundaries will only be old-time geographical expressions! It may be true that

"The days of the Nation bear no trace
Of all the sunshine so far foretold;
The cannon speaks in the Teacher's place—
The Age is weary with work and gold.
And high hopes wither and memories wane,
On hearths and altars the fires lie dead;
But that brave Faith hath not lived in vain—
And this is all that our Watcher said."

As my friend, J. Morrison Davidson, to whom I am indebted for a lot of the quotations given—as, I repeat, that grand old journalist of liberty and labor says:

"The penetrating eye of our watchman is able to descry assuring signs of dawn—the dawn of a better day for dragooned and despoiled humanity. Slowly but surely the clans of labor are mustering for the final momentous struggle of right with might, of the masses with the classes, for the world-revolution whose issue shall be 'the first last and the last first.' That day of triumph, it is true, neither Dr. Wallace, nor I, nor any other member of the old democratic guard, will live to celebrate; but to have had even a glimpse of the promised land of labor from the summit of the mount Pisgah of Anticipations and Hopes for the Future is itself no mean reward, to say nothing of the consolation of these solacing lines of Sir Lewis Morris:

Others I doubt not, if we,
The issue of our toil shall see;
Young children gather as their own
The harvests that the dead have sown,
The dead forgotten and unknown.

And, as Sir Oliver Lodge says of science, so says the Anarchist of society:

"All our efforts are towards the future; our instinct will not allow us to rest on our oars and enjoy the present. Vegetation and degeneration await any man, or any nation that ceases to energize; we are working always for a future, for the next improvement or advance that we see to be possible, for a state of things not yet realized, but attainable; and when it is attained we shall be working for something still further ahead; and so always. Activity is the rule thru the whole world of life."

Anarchism strives for the greatest possible development of individuality; to secure united action, not thru discipline and political power, but thru the unity of aims and growth of an ideal. To attain this ideal it feels it is not necessary to create another party organization, a fresh struggling section in society, but to propagate its principles and spread its ideas everywhere. That is why it cannot be suppressed. It can laugh behind bars and locks because it knows this.

JOHN TURNER.

Ellis Island, N. Y.

The State must go. That will be a revolution which will find me on its side. Undermine the idea of the State, set up in its place spontaneous action, and the idea that spiritual relationship is the only thing that makes for unity, and you will start the elements of a liberty that will be something worth possessing.—Ibsen.

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From the Lips of Liberty.

Manhood implies freedom.

* * *

Wisdom is not a policeman.

* * *

Work is good; work is life.

* * *

Authority creates inferiority.

* * *

The Church is a prison of souls.

* * *

Slaves find a glory in submission.

* * *

Rule, tool and fool rhyme together.

* * *

"The trusts must go!" But not far.

* * *

Torture does not turn a truth into a lie.

* * *

The blind cannot see even that it is dark.

* * *

Aspirations are the measure of human
strength.

* * *

War determines who is strongest, not who
is right.

* * *

Roosevelt, the servant of the people, is to
have a palatial yacht.

* * *

Liberty does not despair of getting you; do
not despair of getting liberty, then.

* * *

The State does not really educate; knowl-
edge would make submission uncertain.

* * *

A brave man wants to know the truth; a
coward finds his opinions in the morning
paper.

* * *

When the kaiser visited Gibraltar, the rock
looked at him and said, "You have a heart of
stone, too."

* * *

Wealth does not make happiness; but happi-
ness is a kind of wealth, whose source is
liberty.

A Chicago alderman, who is imprisoned in
the Bridewell, is visited by the mayor. Most
sacred friendship!

* * *

The United States postoffice has taken the
rejected *Truth Seeker* for Canadian delivery
again. A point gained for liberty!

* * *

A fitting epitaph for many and many a
brave man: "He loved liberty, but loving his
family better, died a slave."

* * *

The various minor ways in which man ex-
periences liberty to-day makes him hungry for
more. A giant, still young, he struggles
against his bonds.

* * *

The price of bread is likely to be going up,
while the price of men is going down. This
process will be reversed as men cease to hold
themselves cheaply.

* * *

Education is a result of untrammelled action
on the part of a living being which has enough
intelligence to observe the relation of effects to
causes.

* * *

The Anarchist is not a pessimist, for he be-
lieves that progress is natural; nor is he an op-
timist, for he sees much in life that he would
overcome and eliminate.

* * *

President Hill, of the illegal Northern Se-
curities Company, says that Cleveland is his
choice for president. Is this an instance of the
proverbial "honor among thieves?"

* * *

A negro clergyman of Brooklyn advises his
fellow negroes to take to the torch and bullet,
and fight for the liberty which American
tyranny denies them. What an insult to the
ballot!

* * *

Argentina has just elected its first Socialist
deputy. Now Socialists of that country will
issue floods of literature picturing the Socialist
regime in glowing terms. The mayor of She-
boygan will not be mentioned.

* * *

Monopoly is the result of unchecked exploita-
tion, which will remain unchecked as long as
the money-eating State exists. The State's
credit depends upon the monopolists' will.

* * *

Saint Patrick is supposed to have driven the
snakes and frogs out of Ireland; but when it
is remembered that priests and politicians have
always been there, the story sounds strange.

* * *

Every great man has been a rebel; consid-
ering the great from Christ to Kropotkin, for
example. When all men become great how
will States deal with the "rabble of revolu-
tion? Even soldiers may become great men;
and then?

* * *

The government is in a ridiculous situation
in the Turner case. Wanting John to go
home, it must still have him here when the
Supreme Court's decision is rendered or he
will not have been deported, if the decision is
against him. He cannot go willingly, he must
be forced.

* * *

Justice Holmes, of the Supreme Court, says
that an indictment should logically follow the
condemnation of the Northern Securities Com-
pany. But the comic opera company of which
Knox is the representative, will not take the
matter so seriously.

* * *

If it is shown that the punishment of chil-
dren only serves to make lying slaves and

tricksters of them; if it can be proved, then
one of the strongest of arguments against the
government and punishment of men has a in-
ductive basis given it. And this can be shown.

* * *

Those Anarchists who object to liberty in
love and are very anxious for liberty in other
respects, might, to their own advantage, ask
themselves why they are so feverishly ex-
cited in the matter. If they dare not trust
liberty they may be sure that liberty will wait
until they dare.

* * *

In the "red light district" of Chicago, an ex-
perimental detective investigation of police
methods was recently made by detectives from
New York. Barely five per cent. of the patrol-
men were doing their "sworn duty," and five
hundred specific cases in which officers had
recently failed to do as instructed, were re-
ported. Of what use are police?

* * *

A majority having voted against it, the coal
miners have decided not to go on strike; tho
the miners of Illinois and Iowa were over-
whelmingly in favor of fighting. In accepting
a five per cent. reduction of wages the miners
are congratulated by the hypocritical press;
which pats them on the back, now that they
yielded.

* * *

One of the great errors of Socialism, as es-
tablished by those who accept it, is that of ar-
guing that men can be wise and just in politi-
cal action, and thru this in administering
affairs, while they cannot be wise and just
without using this machinery. If the matter
is merely one of wisdom why must men use a
force instrument, the State, to accomplish
order?

* * *

A hundred and twenty-eight years ago the
British folded their tents, and taking their
cannon abroad, sailed out of Boston harbor.
The high hopes which filled American hearts
on that day have not been fulfilled; because,
while the system of government, which the
colonies had was changed, government, which
is essentially unchangeable, was retained. The
State is a whip with which progress is driven
back.

* * *

We are informed by party journals that now
the merger case has been settled (on paper),
the administration will rest on its laurels,
gathered for political effect, and will not push
the prosecution of other trusts, such as the
coal trust, for example. Indeed, Roosevelt, the
infinitely little, has caused to be published a
reassuring document intimating as much.
How authority stinks of corruption!

* * *

The advocates of Anarchism meet the in-
credulous pessimists of sociology with the
statement that the last century has been pro-
ductive of a higher degree of intelligence than
many past centuries taken together; and de-
clare their belief in the possibility of an ap-
parently sudden transformation of society.
The almost universal distrust of the State, and
the doubt of the ballot farce are some of the
evidences on which they rest.

* * *

Milwaukee officials, to the number of nine,
have been indicted as "grafters," and now we
are to witness the farce of a new prosecution
carried on at a great expense to the people, to
result in nothing more than a waste of time.
Politics breeds corruption as cesspools breed
typhoid; and while these nine are being tried,
nine others are taking up their nefarious work
where they left off. There is one thing good
in it all: there must be a limit to repetition.

'AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

The leading Socialist organ of Germany reports that the bakers' general strike in Paris, France, resulted in a "miserable failure," and the correspondent rejoices that the general strike idea will now be abandoned forever among the French workers, who again will resort to the infallible ballot-box. This is a vain hope, however, for the intelligent workers have long ago discovered the fact that all their achievements are the result of direct action, while, political action—the ballot—has only retarded the progressive movements, and achieved absolutely nothing in the way of improving the condition of the workers.

* * *

The pernicious immigration act continues to arouse discussion in the country press. Referring to the release of Comrade Turner by the United States Supreme Court, the *Free Press*, of Detroit, Ind., says of the law under which he has been held:

"Not since the alien and sedition laws of the first Adams administration has there been such an arbitrary measure as this known in the United States. The assumption of the right to deport an alien simply because his views fail to coincide with what others may consider the best form of government is an exercise of power hardly in harmony with the spirit of American institutions."

* * *

The disregard for "law and order" of the striking messenger boys in Chicago puzzles both the police and the press, for the boys simply swear at the injunction issued against them. "What's to be done with these law-breakers?" the *Inter-Ocean* asks sarcastically. "Shall we call out the federal troops?" Forsooth, what's to be done with these boys who would not respect the law, altho they are "the product of our public school system?" It is erroneous to think," continues the paper, "that labor troubles can be averted by injunctions and other repressive measures," tho the editor suggests no remedy, as that would disturb the equanimity of those living upon the sweat of the toilers. For it is idle to expect that knowledge and culture can be increased among the workers without increasing their demands accordingly; and the obstinacy and arrogance with which the exploiters meet the modest demands of the producers only hastens the inevitable clash between the working-bees and the drones.

* * *

John Mitchell, the misleader of the coal miners, has again succeeded in persuading his credulous flock to accept the cut of wages proposed by the poor mine owners rather than go on strike. A strike would injure business and hamper the growth of the coal barons' bank account. Never mind the misery and injury of the toilers. Their increased poverty does neither decrease his fat salary nor lessen his chances for a still fatter government appointment. Already he has gained the esteem and praise of pulpit and press—the prop of tyrants and exploiters. And thus Mitchell's ideal—harmony between capital and labor—approaches its realization more and more, for servility and contentment are its only essential elements. There is always harmony between the self-conscious tyrant and the obtuse and submissive slave. It is thus in family life and society in general. There is harmony between the domineering husband and the submissive wife, the commanding father, the tractable child. But no sooner does one or the other attempt to assert her or its individuality, and inharmony creeps in and disturbs the "happy" relations. Yet, our indignation and protest against rulers and labor leaders will remain a voice in a desert so long as the toilers are willing to be ruled and blindly follow their leaders.

It is for us to awaken them, to enlighten them, and once they become conscious of this degradation and servitude, the reactionary leaders will be shoved aside.

* * *

That even the daily press is willing to do justice to Comrade John Most, who has always been portrayed by these scribes as the personification of violence and vituperation, is rather surprising. Under the heading "John Most's Idea of an Ideal Society," the *Boston Herald* says: "John Most, editor of the *Freiheit*, was in Boston last night. He spoke on 'Coöperation' to a large audience in Paine Memorial Hall, under the auspices of the Boston Workingmen's Coöperative Association. He traced coöperation from its beginnings in the earliest forms of life, and urged that it was a universal tendency in human society. But he denounced various modern types of it, and also attacked the State as the supporter of the present capitalistic system.

Having identified the spirit of freedom with the coöperative spirit, he argued that all the progress thus far made has been achieved neither thru the State nor the Church, but thru coöperative effort. He contrasted the several forms of coöperation, and said he looked forward to an ideal society in which there would be neither rich nor poor, and where all the arrangements would be coöperative and voluntary in character."

INTERLOPER.

In Explanation.

In reply to the article in your paper of February 14, written by Mr. Kinghorn-Jones, I desire to give the readers the actual facts.

For one month previous to the meeting a number of us had been hard at work raising money and doing considerable work necessary to be done in order to make the meeting a success. A program had been arranged after considerable discussion, and which the committee had adopted. At the eleventh hour, or the day before the meeting, Kinghorn-Jones called at my office with some resolutions, and I told him it was too late, that appropriate resolutions had been adopted by the committee, which would be read at the meeting. Mr. Kinghorn-Jones was in my office some number of days before the meeting, and I then informed him we were trying to arrange things for the meeting, and also trying to get the friends of the cause to contribute money so as to avoid a collection.

At that time he neither offered to help in money nor in labor. The program was too long as it was, and we could not add anything more to it. To illustrate, I will state I was down to give a piano solo, but as it was late I said, "Cut it out and give Dr. York a chance." No encores were to be allowed, and the one encore should not have been. Discussion by the audience was decidedly out of place in such a meeting. Now, the resolutions that were read were just what was needed at that meeting. The object was to raise money to help Turner.

Had Kinghorn-Jones' resolution been read I do not believe we would have gotten \$6. As it was, we got \$17. Had the program not been so long, so the meeting could have been over by 10 p. m., in place of 11 p. m., we would have gotten \$25 or \$30. Fully one-half of the audience left before the call for money. If there was so much time as Kinghorn-Jones seems to think, why did he leave before the close? Was it because he wanted to avoid going down in his pocket for a dime?

San Francisco, Cal.

S. H. TARR.

LETTER-BOX.

M. T., PORTERVILLE, CALIF.—Names and addresses of liberal-minded people are always welcome, for that is the only means available to introduce our literature in little country towns, that is, by supplying them with sample copies of *FREE SOCIETY*.

O. H., EDWARDSVILLE, ILL.—Thanks for clipping, altho it is scarcely available for *FREE SOCIETY*. The author boldly condemns the arrest of John Turner because he "is a non-combatant of the Quaker type," as he has been informed. But if he was of the combatant type of a Thomas Jefferson, who recognized the necessity of revolution under government, the author would not protest against the arrest and deportation of Anarchists.

D. R., COLUMBUS, O.—Your poem is "not available," as you expected. But why not write prose? I was exceedingly glad to hear that you appreciate C. L. James' articles in *FREE SOCIETY*, as there are so few who are capable of realizing their real significance. According to my humble opinion, Comrade James is one of the clearest thinkers on the subject of Anarchism, and his treatises have done a great deal to clear away the metaphysical rubbish regarding "invasion," "infringement," "equal liberty," etc.

O. T., ECHO, ORE.—Anarchism aims toward absolute individual freedom, i. e., to do as you please, restricted only by the natural forces prevailing in society. Communism, which is not to be confounded with communistic, or rather state-socialistic experiments of the past, implies a condition compatible with Anarchism—a condition in which the natural resources and other necessities of life shall be obtainable free of charge. This is a brief definition of the terms Anarchist Communism, which we shall shortly explain more elaborately in a separate article.

H. H., ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—For radical poetry read, "Wind-Harp Songs," by J. Wm. Lloyd; "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," by Ernest Crosby; "The Worm Turns," by Voltairine de Cleyre; "Songs From the Ghetto," by Morris Rosenfeld; "Songs of Freedom," selected by H. S. Salt; also Francis Adams, Shelley, Burns, Byron, and others. The list of desirable fiction is so great that choice is difficult, but the following may do as suggestions: "Tess" and "Jude the Obscure," by Thomas Hardy; "Stories for Ninon," "Germinal," "Paris," "Labor," by Emile Zola; "The Woman Who Did," by Grant Allen. Read also "Memoirs of a Revolutionist," by Peter Kropotkin; and the dramatic works of George Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde and Henrik Ibsen.

FOR NEW YORK.

Entertainment and Dance given by the Radical Club, at which John Turner will be the guest, takes place Friday, April 1, 8 p. m., at the Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. Fourth Street. Admission, including refreshments, 30 cents. Tickets for sale: Lesezimmer, 400 E. 76th St.; A. Horr, 816 Broadway; Blotto, 27 Sixth Ave.; *Freie Arbeiter-Stimme*, 24 Rutgers Street; Barondess, 6 Rutgers St.; Maisel's book store, 194 East Broadway, and *FREE SOCIETY*, 230 E. Fourth St.

FOR PHILADELPHIA.

A public welcome will be extended to John Turner on Sunday, March 27, 7:30 p. m., at the Auditorium of Odd Fellow's Temple, Broad & Cherry Sts. Comrade Turner will lecture on "Signs of the Times." Speeches will also be made by Geo. Brown, Wm. Ross, Jas. Williams, Thos. Kavanaugh, and Frank Stephens. Music by L. Sobelman, Chas. Westel, and others. Silver collection at the doors, which will be open at 7 p. m. sharp. Everybody invited.

An Examination at Ellis Island.

The Supreme Court of the United States has always proved itself worthy of the confidence placed in it. The judges know what is demanded of them: To do the hangman's work, that is, to deny the rights of man as proclaimed by our forefathers. The Supreme Court, in short, is a praiseworthy institution of law, existing for the benefit of the dominating kleptocracy.

If any one looks into this institution with a lofty confidence, and expects that the love of justice, with which it is apparently clothed, will avail in the Turner case to give the government at Washington a well-deserved rebuke for its arrogance and presumption, he is destined to be bitterly disappointed.

The prospects for new immigrants are brilliant indeed, for the examination made at Ellis Island in the future will doubtless be something like the following:

Official—"How much money have you brought along?"

Immigrant—"Fifty dollars."

Official—"Rather little. Immigrants ought to inform themselves before leaving the old country that the lofty science of finance has its sublime seat in America. The money of the lower and the lowest people is badly needed in this country to give the watered stocks—which our financiers issue wholesale, owing to their privileges as legalized counterfeiters—a solid cash basis. You should have been more saving, my good fellow."

The immigrant obviously feels his moral inferiority.

Official—"Now, as you have so little money, do you intend to work for your living?"

Immigrant (Encouraged and feeling relieved)—"Yes, sir! Under humane conditions I shall endeavor to perform my work faithfully and conscientiously."

Official—"What, humane conditions! Did you say that? I hope you did not come here with such foreign anarchistic ideas. Humane conditions—why, such terms are dangerous to a free country. They are prohibited in this country. Those who disbelieve in organized government use this phrase in their speeches: it can also be found in the constitutions of plotting trades unions. We'll have none of it. Soon our courts will incriminate all members of trades unions as conspirators of law and order, and brand all strikes and boycotts as high treason. Court martial for such a gang!"

Immigrant (down-hearted and timidly)—"I thought all were equal before the law here, and freedom of opinion—"

Official—"Pray, spare me such language. But let's proceed. Are you a polygamist—in favor of having many wives?"

Immigrant—"Heaven forbid! One wife and conjugal fidelity is my ideal."

Official—"Again such a damnable foreign word. What, ideal! Talk common sense. Ideal—nonsense, impracticable. Only destructionists, discontented people, those who are not blessed with check-books, have ideals. Law-abiding citizens don't need, and have no ideals."

Immigrant—"I—I meant to speak only of fidelity in matrimony."

Official—"Let me tell you something. Such fidelity is not exactly beneficial to a well-organized government. We have lots of trouble in collecting the taxes from our wealthy tax dodgers. Thus we look for other resources. The immoral houses, or sporting places, as we call them here, belong to them. We look rather favorably upon citizens who, in consideration of the welfare of this country, keep these establishments in luxuriant prosperity. The police and municipalities profit by it, which raises the morality of the thing beyond all doubt. But marriage, of

course, remains the moral foundation of good government."

The sublimity of such morality is gradually dawning upon the perplexed immigrant.

Official—"You recognize, of course, as the law demands, the necessity for an excellent government? Answer without any hidden reservation or proviso."

Immigrant—"To be a fellow-citizen of people enjoying equal rights, is my ardent desire."

Official—"Bosh, what a shuffling excuse! That's not what I want to know. Why dodge the point of my question? I'll put an end to such anarchistic evasions. I'll tell you straight: you are a suspicious character. You question the most valuable possessions of mankind—organized government. Let's come to an end. Answer me the last and decisive question: Did you come here to assassinate the president of our republic or any member of the United States government? If you have still the courage to deny such intentions, well, then kiss the Bible lying before you, and take an oath of allegiance and unconditional and mute obedience. But beware of perjury. According to law you will be punished and deported if it comes out in the course of time that you concealed some of your views or added something you did not believe."

Immigrant (pale and stuttering)—"Sir—Gr—r—Grand Inquisitor—this comes unexpectedly. Being suspected of perjury and murder! Are these the shores of a free country, or am I mocked by an infernal delusion! Please give me time to collect my thoughts."

Official (with satisfaction, to himself)—"I thought so. Wanted to slip thru in order to infect this country with his anarchistic ideas. (Loud.) Guard, take this depraved fellow to a cell. He'll be deported. The money in his possession must be attached in behalf of the State."

MAX BAGINSKY.

Anarchism and Constitution.

In an article in a recent *FREE SOCIETY* Comrade Baginski represents humor as laughing himself into a fit at the idea of an "Anarchist Constitution," and in this he does not seem to stand alone, as the tendency of most comrades whose humorous ideas are stronger than their logic, seems to be to ridicule the bare possibility of such a thing as an "Anarchist Constitution." Tolstoy says, in "What To Do," that we study inhabitants, that better sociological laws may be deduced and that these sociological laws are the "constitution" of society. (1.)

I maintain that an "Anarchist Constitution" is not necessarily a contradiction. I maintain that crime is an act which the law says must be punished and upon this I base what I deem a perfect syllogism, viz., when you abolish crime, you establish liberty, in-so far as possible to do so. The "Anarchist Constitution," (if adopted) would abolish ALL crime. Therefore, the "Anarchist Constitution" would give us the greatest possible liberty. (2.)

True, it would not of itself, absolutely secure us in the enjoyment of our liberty. This cannot be done, either with or without law, government and authority. Even without these, or any "State," a number of men (twelve for instance), could punish one man for any act if they wanted to, by virtue of their greater strength and superior numbers, tho I cannot imagine why they should want to, except from ignorance and traditional prejudice. (3.)

In the "Anarchist Constitution" all authority to define any crime or fix any penalty by any legislative or governing body whatsoever, is distinctly disavowed, leaving only a general outline for such organization as might exist in a state of Anarchism, and that for the purpose

of carrying on large industries, rail-roads and others transportation, practically by means of what Kropotkin terms "common understanding." (4.)

Can Comrade Baginski show us the evil in the "Anarchist Constitution" beyond what might exist under Anarchism, by logic, instead of by humor, in which the principal force consists in, assuming everything not in evidence and then relying upon the assumption being allowed?

D. I. STURBER.

COMMENT.

1. The sardonic laughter in which humor indulges whenever an "Anarchist Constitution" is mentioned, results from the incongruous pairing of constitutions and liberty; for of all the butts of wit, the partnership of law and liberty has ever excited laughter the most. When an avowed Anarchist discovers that what is wrong is not authority, but the wrong kind of authority; that a condition of good law is equivalent to a condition of no law, an Anarchist laugh echoes around the world in response; a laugh which is made the louder and more hearty as the author of an "Anarchist Constitution" retorts testily, "What are you laughing at?" The lame defense that Tolstoy believes in a constitution, does but excite redoubled laughter, for Tolstoy is referring avowedly to the "natural laws" (so called) of human society, which, independently and in spite of all legislation, constitutions and penalties, would determine, if allowed to, what we are. If Disturber wishes to get away from the humor of this situation, or perchance indulge in a slight laugh at his own expense, let him read Tolstoy's "The Slavery of Our Times," then he will know what Tolstoy thinks of constitutions and other kindred subjects for laughter.

2. Disturber's "perfect syllogism" is another matter for side-splitting guffaws; for, while its major premise may be allowed to stand, its minor one is not contained in the major one at all; nor does it follow from it. That minor premise, "The 'Anarchist Constitution,' if adopted, would abolish all crime," is not only inconclusive, (because in Anarchist judgment constitutions themselves are crimes perpetrated upon the community by those strong enough to rule), but is given a flat denial by what we know of all constitutions that the past has experienced; knowledge to alternately laugh and weep over. Constitutions are ever the safeguards of crime.

3. Nothing would "absolutely secure us in the enjoyment of our liberty"; but while a "Constitution" would define our liberties and limit them at a thousand points (or be of no avail whatever, and therefore ridiculous), unrestricted liberty under conditions calculated to make fraternity and solidarity more profitable to the people than conditions of grab and scramble could, would tend to eliminate the "crimes" which so exercise the soul of Comrade D. I. Sturber; and thus emerges the advantage of a liberty which cannot be laughed at because it is the real thing, over constitutional liberty, which is but another name for slavery.

4. I have been at some pains to read "The Anarchist Constitution"; and it would make the gods laugh, if there were any, to read its page after page of proposed regulations and restrictions—regulations and restrictions covering even such minor matters as the right to practise medicine, and an age of consent for girls,—and afterward heard our comrade innocently declaring that his constitution is anarchistic because "all authority . . . is disavowed" in it. A constitution which is at once the national law, and yet of no avail (ha, ha!), would be the most ridiculous thing that ever "lagged superfluous upon the stage"; unless it won our laughing tolerance in the

shape of a Gilbert and Sullivan opera. A series of laws to be followed by those who believe in no law; to be followed by them because they believe in no law—the humor of it is too delicious!

In the temporary absence of Comrade Baginski from the chair of humor in FREE SOCIETY'S Sanctum, I have taken the liberty (unconstitutionally, I hope) to reply to the injured utterances of Disturber. I grew fat writing a review of the "Anarchist Constitution;" what new good will come to me, I wonder, from my present laughter.

W. F. BARNARD.

The "Story" and the Fact.

"The terrible Anarchist Bauman has been safely lodged in jail," ran thru the French press on Dec. 2.

The facts of the case were that Bauman voluntarily gave himself up to the police, and calmly stated: "My name is August Bauman; I was born Aug. 7, 1853, in Strassburg. I had no father, that is to say, nothing was ever known as to who my father was. My mother's name was Magdalene. My trade is that of cabinet maker. I am the one who fired two shots at a passer-by on the street who turned out to be a clergyman, Lebel by name. True, I did not even know him; but I hate the society of to day, that slavishly entertains royalty in Paris, while it shoots down its poor toilers who are on strike for a mere pittance. I could not stand by and witness the horrors of life without protesting in some way. So here I am. Take me to prison; I will at least have a place where I can eat and rest."

And the police, who never had suspected Bauman of the crime, held him in order to make inquiries about it. At the lodging house where he had lived, the proprietor stated:

"I really could not say anything against Bauman. During the two years I have known him I found him to be a quiet, inoffensive, industrious and sober man. After leaving my place, some time ago, I happened to meet him again on the street. He had changed in appearance, and for one thing had let his beard grow; but, as was usual with him, he looked clean and tidy. He asked me if I had a room vacant for him; and I let him have one as soon as there was a vacancy.

"He took his lunch regularly with me, for which he never spent more than one franc. He appeared dejected.

" 'I am looking for work,' he said, 'but cannot find any.' He told me then he had made a journey to England, which had proved disastrous to him. He had heard thru the newspapers that there was a demand for labor in the newly conquered Transvaal, but he found that it was only another news-monger's deception, and not being able to find work in London either, his savings, amounting to five hundred francs, were soon exhausted, and he was barely able, after many privations, to return to Paris. I let him occupy a room on credit, for I was thoroughly convinced of the man's industriousness and honesty. His ideas tending towards Anarchy, had prejudiced him as regards his friends, embittering also his character; but for all that he was as peaceful and good a man as one could meet."

Another acquaintance of Bauman's stated, in an interview on the subject, to a reporter of *Le Matin*:

"Bauman was a worker, sober, economic in his personal habits, but at the same time generous to a fault, if it was a question of helping a friend in misfortune. I have known him to go hungry in order to succor others, and he scrupulously settled any indebtedness on his part, always paying his way as he went. Not long ago

I met him while looking for work and he told of being discouraged and weary. 'I am aging,' he said sadly 'and nobody seems to want to employ me for that reason. This is my reward for a life of labor, privation, and energy,—but I am not going to beg for bread.'

Indeed, the police could find only a good record of the man wherever they went and inquired.

"Why did you assault the clergyman?" the chief of police asked of him.

"Don't know just why I attacked him," Bauman replied. "I own, I didn't even know him. But I do know that it is unjust, infamous and iniquitous, that a man who has worked hard all his life and just because he is getting old is shown the door when he wants to work, and, in fact, finds himself an outcast of society in general on that very account, by friend and stranger."

Bauman simply desired to avenge the helplessly down-trodden under a headless and cruel commercial system, and he fired the shots in sheer desperation and madness of the moment that robbed him of the control over himself and his actions. The result was doubly deplorable; for, by a rare exception this protestant clergyman proved to be a friend of the very class that his assailant belonged to, the abject poor. In the pockets of the injured reverend were found some dry crusts of bread—part of his daily subsistence—because he denied himself all which he could spare in aiding the poor.

And this well-meaning man no sooner became healed of the wounds inflicted by Bauman's pistol, became the prisoner's daily visitor and comforter—the "terrible" Anarchist and the Christian minister calling each other brother!

Such are the vicissitudes of life.

LOUIS BONAFAX.

Another Proposition.

I see there is a movement on foot to hold an Anarchist congress at the St. Louis Exposition. I believe if we should have such a congress, there would be lots of persecution and very little good accomplished. I would like to suggest that it be called a cosmopolitan congress, and that we call on all liberal and advanced thinkers and idealists to cooperate with us in this meeting. The object of this meeting to be, to arrange for united action of all the different reformers in educating the masses in higher ideals. Show them how to elevate themselves from their degradation, superstition, and hypocrisy. We shall appoint a committee, or call for volunteers. They shall try to get a place either inside the grounds, or outside, and try to rent a tent as large as possible, also rent lumber to erect seats, and the necessary stand. This place to be known as "The Temple of Reason."

The committee to invite able men of the different schools of thought, to discuss their theories. After each lecture the audience to have a chance for free discussion. If this plan is followed we should be able to defray the expense by means of collections taken at the meetings. At different times the program to be varied by music, recitations, and other things likely to interest the people. The speakers not to have more than their expenses for their services. I have quite a few prominent men who will take an interest in it and help us out. To start this we shall call on all the liberal papers and they shall solicit voluntary contributions and appoint a treasurer to receive the funds until they are needed. If this plan should succeed I believe we could do a great deal of good in arousing the masses from their slumber.

J. SHATZ.

Falcon, Colo.

A Query.

There is one phase of the John Turner case that I as an attorney would like to be enlightened on thru the columns of FREE SOCIETY, or otherwise. I understand he is held because he "disbelieves in all organized government." The rule of law is that penal statutes be strictly construed. The only thing prohibited is to "disbelieve in all organized government." How can John Turner or any other sane man, be he an Anarchist or governmentalist, disbelieve in government, when he sees the evidence of it every day?

If I am asked do I believe in God, I say no, because I have never seen any evidence of his existence. If I am asked do I believe in salt water oceans or fresh water rivers, I say yes, because I have bathed in them and have tasted their waters and know by the evidence I have seen of them that they exist. If I am asked do I believe in organized government, I say yes, because I have seen ample evidence of its existence and, as I am suffering because of it, I know it does exist. If I am asked do I disbelieve it to be the best thing for humanity, I object because that is not prohibited by the statute

H. A. KROUSE.

COMMENT.

I think in making a distinction between the abstractions of God and Government, Comrade Krouse, the jurist, is mistaken. If suffering, bloodshed, tyranny, etc., on account of the belief in a thing is "ample evidence of its existence," then God does surely exist, as can be seen on the bloody pages of Church history. Even today, God is very much in evidence if the churches and the hosts of sky-pilots signify anything at all. In short, God and Government are Siamese Twins, both stand and fall together.

A. I.

Report.

For the benefit of comrades and sympathizers of the propaganda in the English language, I submit the following items of the theatre performances of Feb. 2:

Tickets sold	\$478.95
Expenses	324.60
Remains profit	\$154.35
Collected from the audience	28.12
Total,	\$182.47

Out of this amount there are still over fifty dollars to be collected, and therefore the comrades are kindly requested to deliver the money as soon as possible, as those having charge of the English propaganda are very much in need of it.

In expressing my thanks to the young and enthusiastic comrades, who worked so energetically to make the theatre enterprise a success, I would like to urge all sincere workers to continue propagating our ideas among the English speaking working men. Let us find ways and means which will enable us to spread our literature all over the country. It seems to me that New York is a good field for Anarchist propaganda, and since we have FREE SOCIETY with us, there is a splendid opportunity to do good and pleasant work. Let us see to it that the paper be sold at the news-stands and thus spread all over the city. In short, let us make a good start, and I am convinced that our efforts will soon bear fruit.

H. COMAROW.

NOTICE.

For the benefit of the *Freiheit*, "The Weavers," by Gerhard Hauptman, will be performed by the New York *Freie Bühne*, April 2, 8 p. m., at Bronx Casino, 2994 Third avenue, 156 street station. After the performance there will be a ball. Admission, 25 cents.

SUBSCRIPTIONS for FREE SOCIETY can be paid at the following addresses:

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PHILADELPHIA.—Natasha Notkin, 1332 S. Sixth St.

FOR NEW YORK.

All comrades interested in the English propaganda are invited to meet Monday evening, March 28, at 83-85 Forsyth Street, New York.

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The Slavic Group meets, on the first and third Sunday of the month, 2 p. m., at 334 East Sixth St. Free discussions. All are invited.

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The Freeland League meets during April, every Monday; after April every Thursday, 8 p. m., sharp, at Etris Hall, 168 W. 23d St.—Lectures and free discussions.

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The Italian Group, Studi Sociale Circolo, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at 20 Hancock St.

FOR CHICAGO.

A concert and ball will be given by the Liberty Group, Saturday, April 2, 8 p. m., at Stangel's Hall, 235 Western Ave., near Van Buren St. W. F. Barnard will also deliver a short address.

The prize-contest for FREE SOCIETY, will also take place on this evening. All comrades and friends should be present. Admission free.

FOR CLEVELAND.

Free Society Group meets every Sunday, 3.30 p. m., at 223 Columbus St. Lectures and free discussion.

FOR BOSTON.

Comrade John Turner will lecture in Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton St., Tuesday, March 29, 8 p. m., on "The Labor Problem."

Thursday, March 31, in Well's Memorial Hall, 987 Washington St., on "The English Cooperative Movement."

On Wednesday, March 30, Comrade Turner speaks in Lynn, Mass. Place and hour will be announced in the local papers.

* * *

The Boston Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 3 p. m., in room 9, 724 Washington St. The first series of lectures will be on Anarchism—its relation to other forms of Socialism: "What Anarchism Is," "Its Scientific Basis," "Its Social Application," and "Its Political Economy." Free discussion follows each lecture. Admission free.

Book-List.

"Essays on the Social Problem".....	H. Addis	05
"The New Hedonism".....	Grant Allen	05
"God and the State".....	Bakunin	05
The Same. London edition.....		10
"Whitman's Ideal Democracy and Other Writings".....	Helena Born	1.00
"Prodigal Daughter; or, The Price of Virtue".....	Rachel Campbell	25
"Love's Coming of Age".....	Edward Carpenter	1.00
"Evolution of the Family".....	Jonathan Mayo Crane	05
"Conduct and Profession".....	Clarence S. Darrow	10
"Crime and Criminals".....		10
"Realism in Literature and Art".....		05
"Resist Not Evil." Cloth.....		75
"Tolstoy".....		10
"Crime and Punishment".....		10
"Voltaire de Cleyre".....		10
"The Worm Turns".....		10
"The Emancipation of Society from Government".....	Dallan Doyle	05
"Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarchism".....	Jay Fox	03
"Moribund Society and Anarchy." Cloth, 60c.....	Jean Grave	25
"Origin of Anarchism".....	C. L. James	05
"Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal".....	Peter Kropotkin	05
"Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles".....		05
"An Appeal to the Young".....		05
"Anarchist Morality".....		05
"Expropriation".....		05
"Field, Factory and Workshop".....		45
"Law and Authority".....		05
"Memoirs of a Revolutionist".....		2.00
"Mutual Aid, a Factor of Evolution".....		2.00
"Organized Vengeance".....		03
"Paris Commune".....		05
"The State: Its Historic Role".....		10
"The Wage System. Revolutionary Government".....		05
"Socialism and Politics".....		05
"Government Analyzed".....	Kelso	50
"The Economics of Anarchy".....		25
"Anarchy." (Is It All a Dream? Jas. F. Morton, Jr.).....	Malatesta	10
"A Talk About Anarchist Communism Between Two Workers".....		05
"A Chambermaid's Diary".....	Octave Mirbeau	50
"Do You Want Free Speech?".....	James F. Morton, Jr.	10
"The Deistic Pestilence".....	John Most	05
"God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition".....	W. Nevill	05
"The Pyramid of Tyranny".....	F. Domela Nieuwenhuis	05
"A Cityless and Countryless World: An Outline of Practical Co-operative Individualism." Cloth \$1.....	Henry Olerich	50
"Mating or Marrying, Which?".....	W. H. Van Ornum	05
"Sine Qua Non; or, The Core of Religion".....	Dr. Geo. Pyburn	10
"Evolution and Revolution".....	Reclus	05
"Pure Economy".....	J. H. Rowell	10
"Pages of Socialist History".....	W. Tcherkesoff	30
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"Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses".....	E. C. Walker	15
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