



In Defense of Emma Goldman.*

The light is pleasant, is it not, my friends? It is good to look into each other's faces, to see the hands that clasp our own, to read the eyes that search our thoughts, to know what manner of lips give utterance to our pleasant greetings. It is good to be able to wink defiance at the Night, the cold, unseeing Night. How weird, how gruesome, how chilly it would be if I stood here in blackness, a shadow addressing shadows, in a house of blindness! Yet each would know that he was not alone; yet might we stretch hands and touch each other, and feel the warmth of human presence near. Yet might a sympathetic voice ring through the darkness, quickening the dragging moments. The lonely prisoners in the cells of Blackwell's Island have neither light nor sound! The short day hurries across the sky, the short day still more shortened in the gloomy walls. The long chill night creeps up so early, weaving its sombre curtain before the imprisoned eyes. And through the curtain comes no sympathizing voice, beyond the curtain lies the prison silence, beyond that the cheerless, uncommunicating land, and still beyond the icy, fretting river, black and menacing, ready to drown. A wall of night, a wall of stone, a wall of water! Thus has the great State of New York answered Emma Goldman; thus have the classes replied to the masses; thus do the rich respond to the poor; thus does the Institution of Property give its ultimatum to Hunger!

"Give us work," said Emma Goldman; "if you do not give us work, then give us bread; if you do not give us either work or bread, then we shall take bread." It wasn't a very wise remark to make to the State of New York, that is, Wealth and its watch-dog, the police. But I fear me much that the apostles of liberty, the fore-runners of revolt, have never been very wise. There is a record of a seditious person, who once upon a time went about with a few despised followers in Palestine, taking corn out of other people's corn-fields; (on the Sabbath day, too). That same person, when he wished to ride into Jerusalem, told his disciples to go forward to where they would find a young colt tied, to unloose it and bring it to him, and if any one interfered or said anything to them, were to say: "My master hath need of it." That same person said: "Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that taketh away thy goods ask them not back again." That same person once stood before the hungry multitudes of Galilee and taught them, saying: "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; therefore whatever they bid you observe, that observe and do. But do not ye after their works, for they say, and do not. For they bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers. But all their works they do to be seen

of men; they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments; and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, 'Rabbi, Rabbi.'" And turning to the Scribes and the Pharisees, he continued: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: therefore shall ye receive the greater damnation. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and mercy, and faith; these ought ye to have done and not left the other undone. Ye blind guides, that strain at a gnat and swallow a camel! Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness. Even so ye outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Because ye build the tombs of the prophets and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous; and say, 'if ye had been in the days of our fathers we would have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.' Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers! Ye serpents! Ye generations of vipers! How can ye escape the damnation of hell!"

Yes; these are the words of the outlaw who is alleged to form the foundation stone of modern civilization, to the authorities of his day. Hypocrites, extortionists, doers of iniquity, robbers of the poor, blood-partakers, serpents, vipers, fit for hell!

It wasn't a very wise speech, from beginning to end. Perhaps he knew it when he stood before Pilate to receive his sentence, when he bore his heavy crucifix up Calvary, when nailed upon it, stretched in agony, he cried: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!"

No, it wasn't wise—but it was very grand.

This grand, foolish person, this beggar-tramp, this thief who justified the action of hunger, this man who set the Right of Property beneath his foot, this Individual who defied the State, do you know why he was so feared and hated, and punished? Because, as it is said in the record, "the common people heard him gladly"; and the accusation before Pontius Pilate was, "we found this fellow perverting the whole nation. He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry."

Ah, the dreaded "common people!"

When Cardinal Manning wrote, "Necessity knows no law, and a starving man has a natural right to his neighbor's bread," who thought of arresting Cardinal Manning? His was a carefully written article in the *Fortnightly Review*.

Who read it? Not the people who needed bread. Without food in their stomachs, they had no fifty cents to spend for a magazine. It was not the voice of the people themselves asserting their rights. No one for one instant imagined that Cardinal Manning would put himself at the head of ten thousand hungry men to loot the bakeries of London. It was a piece of ethical hair-splitting to be discussed in after-dinner speeches by the wine-muddled gentlemen who think themselves most competent to consider such subjects when their dress-coats are spoiled by the vomit of gluttony and drunkenness. But when Emma Goldman stood in Union Square and said, "if they do not give you work or bread, then take bread," the common people heard her gladly; and as of old the wandering carpenter of Nazareth addressed his own class, teaching throughout all Jewry, stirring up the people against the authorities, so the dressmaker of New York addressing the unemployed working people of New York was the menace of the depths of society, crying in its own tongue. The authorities heard and were afraid: therefore the triple wall.

It is the old, old story. When Thomas Paine, one hundred years ago, published the first part of "The Rights of Man," the part in which he discusses principles only, the edition was a high-priced one, reaching comparatively few readers. It created only a literary furore. When the second part appeared, the part in which he treats of the application of principles, in which he declares that "men should not petition for rights but take them," it came out in a cheap form, so that one hundred thousand copies were sold in a few weeks. That brought down the prosecution of the government. It had reached the people that might act, and prosecution followed prosecution till Botany Bay was full of the best men of England. Thus were the limitations of speech and press declared, and thus will they ever be declared so long as there are antagonistic interests in human society.

Understand me clearly. I believe that the term "constitutional right of free speech" is a meaningless phrase, for this reason: the constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence, and particularly the latter, were, in their day, progressive expressions of progressive ideals. But they are, throughout, characterized by the metaphysical philosophy which dominated the thought of the last century. They speak of "inherent rights," "inalienable rights," "natural rights," etc. They declare that men are equal because of a supposed, metaphysical something-or-other, called equality, existing in some mysterious way apart from material conditions, just as the philosophers of the eighteenth century accounted for water being wet by alleging a metaphysical wetness, existing somehow apart from matter. I do not say this to disparage those grand men who dared to put themselves against the authorities of the monarchy, and to conceive a better ideal of society, one which they certainly thought would secure equal rights to men; be-

*This lecture was delivered by Voltairine de Cleyre in New York, December 16, 1894, after Emma Goldman had been sent to prison.

cause I realize fully that no one can live very far in advance of the time-spirit, and I am positive in my own mind that, unless some cataclysm destroys the human race before the end of the twentieth century the experience of the next hundred years will explode many of our own theories. But the experience of this age has proven that metaphysical quantities do not exist apart from materials, and hence humanity cannot be made equal by declarations on paper. Unless the material conditions for equality exist, it is worse than mockery to pronounce men equal. And unless there is equality (and by equality I mean equal chances for every one to make the most of himself), unless, I say, these equal chances exist, freedom, either of thought, speech or action, is equally a mockery.

I once read that one million angels could dance at the same time on the point of a needle; possibly one million angels might be able to get a decent night's lodging by virtue of their constitutional rights; one single tramp couldn't. And whenever the tongues of the non-possessing class threaten the possessors, whenever the disinherited menace the privileged, that moment you will find that the constitution isn't made for you. Therefore I think Anarchists make a mistake when they contend for their constitutional rights. As a prominent lawyer, Mr. Thomas Earle White, of Philadelphia, himself an Anarchist, said to me not long since: "What are you going to do about it? Go into the courts and fight for your legal rights? Anarchists haven't got any." "Well," says the governmentalist, "you can't consistently claim any. You don't believe in constitutions and laws." Exactly so; and if any one will right my constitutional wrongs I will willingly make him a present of my constitutional rights. At the same time I am perfectly sure no one will ever make this exchange; nor will any help ever come to the wronged class from the outside. Salvation on the vicarious plan isn't worth despising. Redress of wrongs will not come by petitioning the powers that be. "He has rights who dare maintain them." "The Lord helps them who help themselves." (And when one is able to help himself, I don't think he is apt to trouble the Lord much for his assistance.) As long as the working people fold hands and pray the gods in Washington to give them work, so long they will not get it. So long as they tramp the streets, whose stones they lay, whose filth they clean, whose sewers they dig, yet upon which they must not stand too long lest the policeman bid them "move on"; as long as they go from factory to factory, begging for the opportunity to be a slave, receiving the insults of bosses and foremen, getting the old "no," the old shake of the head, in these factories they built, whose machines they wrought; so long as they consent to herd like cattle in the cities, driven year after year, more and more, off the mortgaged land, the land they cleared, fertilized, cultivated, rendered of value; so long as they stand shivering, gazing through plate glass windows at overcoats, which they made, but cannot buy, starving in the midst of food they produced but cannot have; so long as they continue to do these things, vaguely relying upon some power outside themselves, be it god, or priest, or politician, or employer, or charitable society, to remedy matters, so long deliverance will be delayed. When they conceive the possibility of a complete international federation of labor, whose constituent groups shall take possession of land, mines, factories, all the instruments of production, and, in short, conduct their own industry without regulative interference from lawmakers or employers, then we may hope for the only help which counts for aught—Self-Help; the only condition which can guarantee free speech, (and no paper guarantee needed.)

But meanwhile, while we are waiting, for there is yet much grist of the middle class to

be ground between the upper and nether mill-wheels of economic evolution; while we await the formation of the international labor trust; while we watch for the day when there are enough of people with nothing in their stomachs and desperation in their heads, to go about the work of expropriation; what shall those do who are starving now?

That is the question which Emma Goldman had to face; and she answered it by saying: "Ask, and if you do not receive, take—that bread."

I do not give you that advice. Not because I do not think the bread belongs to you; not because I do not think you would be morally right in taking it; not that I am not more shocked and horrified and embittered by the report of one human being starving in the heart of plenty, than by all the Pittsburgs and Chicagos, and Homesteads, and Tennessees, and Coeur d'Alenes, and Buffaloes, and Barcelonas, and Parises; not that I do not think one little bit of sensitive human flesh is worth all the property rights in New York City; not that I think the world will ever be saved by the sheep's virtue of going patiently to the shambles; not that I do not believe the expropriation of the possessing classes is inevitable, and that that expropriation will begin by just such acts as Emma Goldman advised, viz: the taking possession of wealth already produced; not that I think you owe any consideration to the conspirators of Wall Street, or those who profit by their operations, as such, nor ever will till they are reduced to the level of human beings having equal chances with you to earn their share of social wealth, and no more; not that I would have you forget the consideration they have shown to you; that they have advised lead for strikers, strychnine for tramps, bread and water as good enough for working people; not that I cannot hear yet in my ears the words of one who said to me of the Studebaker Wagon Works' strikers, "if I had my way I'd mow them down with Gatling guns"; not that I would have you forget the electric wire of Ft. Frick, nor the Pinkertons, nor the militia, nor the prosecutions for murder and treason; not that I would have you forget the 4th of May, when your constitutional right of free speech was vindicated, nor the 11th of November, when it was assassinated; not that I would have you forget the single dinner at Delmonico's which Ward McAllister tells us cost ten thousand dollars! Would I have you forget that the wine in the glasses was your children's blood? It must be a rare drink—children's blood! I have read of the wonderful sparkle on costly champagne—I have never seen it. If I did I think it would look to me like mothers' tears over the little, white, wasted forms of dead babies—dead—because—there was no milk in their breasts! Yes, I want you to remember that these rich are blood-drinkers, tearers of human flesh, gnawers of human bones! Yes, if I had the power I would burn your wrongs upon your hearts in characters that should glow like live coals in the night!

I have not a tongue of fire as Emma Goldman has; I cannot "stir the people"; I must speak in my own cold, calculated way. (Perhaps that is the reason I am let to speak at all.) But if I had the power my will is good enough. You know how Shakespeare's Marc Antony address the populace of Rome:

I am no orator, as Brutus is,
But as you know me all, a plain blunt man
That love my friend. And that they know full well
That gave me public leave to speak of him.
For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech
To stir men's blood. I only speak right on.
I tell you that which you yourselves do know,
Show you sweet Caesar's wounds, poor, poor dumb
mouths,
And bid them speak for me. But were I Brutus
And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony

Would ruffle up your spirits, and put a tongue
In every wound of Caesar's, that should move
The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny.

If, therefore, I do not give you the advice which Emma Goldman gave, let not the authorities suppose it is because I have any more respect for their constitution and their law than she has, or that I regard them as having any rights in the matter.

No. My reasons for not giving that advice are two. First, if I were giving advice at all, I would say: "My friends, that bread belongs to you. It is you who toiled and sweat in the sun to sow and reap the wheat; it is you who stood by the threshers, and breathed the chaff-filled atmosphere in the mills, while it was ground to flour; it is you who went into the eternal night of the mine and risked drowning, fire-damp, explosion, and cave-in, to get the fuel for the fire that baked it; it is you who stood in the hell-like heat, and struck the blows that forged the iron for the ovens wherein it is baked; it is you who stand all night in the terrible cellar shops, and tend the machines that knead the flour into dough; it is you, you, you, farmer, miner, mechanic, who make the bread; but you haven't the power to take it. At every transformation wrought by toil some one who didn't toil has taken part from you; and now he has it all, and you haven't the power to take it back! You are told you have the power because you have the numbers. Never make so silly a blunder as to suppose that power resides in numbers. One good, level-headed policeman with a club, is worth ten excited, unarmed men; one detachment of well-drilled militia has a power equal to that of the greatest mob that could be raised in New York City. Do you know I admire compact, concentrated power. Let me give you an illustration. Out in a little town in Illinois there is a certain capitalist, and if ever a human creature sweat and ground the grist of gold from the muscle of man, it is he. Well, once upon a time, his workmen (not his slaves, his workmen), were on strike; and fifteen hundred muscular Polacks armed with stones, brickbats, red hot pokers, and other such crude weapons as a mob generally collects, went up to his house for the purpose of smashing the windows, and so forth; possibly to do as those people in Italy did the other day with the sheriff who attempted to collect the milk tax. He alone, one man, met them on the steps of his porch, and for two mortal hours, by threats, promises, cajoleries, held those fifteen hundred Poles at bay. And finally they went away without smashing a pane of glass or harming a hair of his head. Now, that was power! And you can't help but admire it, no matter if it was your enemy who displayed it; and you must admit that so long as numbers can be overcome by such relative quantity, power does not reside in numbers. Therefore, if I were giving advice, I would not say, "take bread," but take counsel with yourselves how to get the power to take bread.

There is no doubt but that power is latently in you; there is no doubt it can be developed; there is no doubt the authorities know this, and fear it, and are ready to exert as much force as is necessary to repress any signs of its development. And this is the explanation of Emma Goldman's imprisonment. The authorities do not fear you as you are; they only fear what you may become. The dangerous thing was "the voice crying in the wilderness" foretelling the power which was to come after it. You should have seen how they feared it in Philadelphia. They get out a whole platoon of police and detectives, and execute military maneuver to catch the little woman who had been running around under their noses for three days. And when she walked up to them, why then, they surrounded and captured her, and guarded the city hall, where they kept her over night, and put a detective in the next cell to make notes. Why so much fear? Did they

shrink from the stab of the dressmaker's needle? Or did they dread some stronger weapon?

Ah!—the accusation before the New York Pontius Pilate was: "she stirreth up the people." And Pilate sentenced her to the full limit of the law, because, he said, "you are more than ordinarily intelligent." Why is intelligence dealt thus hardly with? Because it is the beginning of power. Strive, then, for power.

My second reason for not repeating Emma Goldman's words is, that I, as an Anarchist, have no right to advise another to do anything involving a risk to himself; nor would I give a fillip for an action done by the advice of some one else, unless it is accompanied by a well-argued, well-settled conviction on the part of the person acting, that it really is the best thing to do. Anarchism, to me, means not only the denial of authority, not only a new economy, but a revision of the principles of morality. It means the development of the individual as well as the assertion of the individual. It means self-responsibility, and not leader worship. I say it is your business to decide whether you will starve and freeze in the sight of food and clothing, outside of jail, or commit some overt act against the institution of property and take your place beside Timmerman and Goldman. And in saying this I mean to cast no reflection whatever upon Miss Goldman for doing otherwise. She and I hold many differing views on both Economy and Morals; and that she is honest in hers she has proven better than I have proven mine. Miss Goldman is a communist; I am an individualist. She wishes to destroy the right of property; I wish to assert it. I make my war upon privilege and authority, whereby the right of property, the true right in that which is proper to the individual, is annihilated. She believes that co-operation would entirely supplant competition; I hold that competition in one form or another will always exist, and that it is highly desirable it should. But whether she or I be right, or both of us be wrong, one thing I am sure; the spirit which animates Emma Goldman is the only one which will emancipate the slave from his slavery, the tyrant from his tyranny—the spirit which is willing to dare and suffer.

That which dwells in the frail body in the prison-room to-night is not the New York dressmaker alone. Transport yourselves there in thought a moment; look steadily into those fair, blue eyes, upon the sun-brown hair, the sea-shell face, the restless hands, the woman's figure, look steadily till these fade from sight, as things will fade when gazed long upon, look steadily till in place of the person, the individual of time and place, you see that which transcends time and place, and flits from house to house of Life, mocking at Death. Swinburn in his magnificent "Before a Crucifix," says:

With iron for thy linen bands,
And unclean cloths for winding sheet,
They bind the people's nail-pierced hands,
They hide the people's nail-pierced feet:
And what man, or what angel know
Shall roll back the sepulchral stone?

Perhaps in the presence of this untrammelled spirit we shall feel that something has rolled back the sepulchral stone; and up from the cold wind of the grave is borne the breath that animated Anaxagoras, Socrates, Christ, Hypatia, John Huss, Bruno, Robert Emmet, John Brown, Sophia Perovskaya, Parson, Fischer, Engel, Spies, Lingg, Berkman, Pallas; and all those, known and unknown, who have died by tree, and axe, and faggot, or dragged out forgotten lives in dungeons, derided, hated, tortured by men. Perhaps we shall know ourselves face to face with that which leaps from the throat of the strangled when the rope chokes, which smokes up from the blood of the mur-

dered when the axe falls; that which has been forever hunted, fettered, imprisoned, exiled, executed, and never conquered. Lo, from its many incarnations it comes forth again, the immortal Race-Christ of the Ages! The gloomy walls are glorified thereby, the prisoner is transfigured: And we say, reverently we say:

O sacred Head, O desecrate,
O labor-wounded feet and hands,
O blood poured forth in pledge to fate
Of nameless lives-in divers lands!
O slain, and spent, and sacrificed
People! The grey-grown, speechless Christ.

Victims of the New Inquisition.

Several accounts have been printed in recent issues of FREE SOCIETY of the tortures inflicted on working men in Alcala del Valle, Spain, because they had taken part in a strike. From *L'Espagne Inquisitoriale*, a paper published in the French language in Paris to arouse universal indignation against the new inquisition, the following translation is made of part of a memorial from the imprisoned workmen:

"Two hundred workers, men and women, have been bloodily beaten, and the complete story of their maltreatment would be interminable. We can give only some special instances of the refinements of cruelty and unspeakable cannibalism.

"Jose Perez Jimenez, 60 years old, was led between two rows of twelve gendarmes, each one having a heavy stick in his hand with which they beat him on the back. Then they took off his shoes and switched his bare feet until they were covered with blood. They beat him about the head until one of his ears was cut in pieces and fell down on his cheek. It was then proposed to compress his genitals, but as he was nearly dead he escaped that torture, and his punishment ended with two severe fist strokes given by the order of Lieutenant de Olvera.

"Jose Perez Romero, son of the preceding, was forced to undergo the same kind of torture as his father, and each heard the groans and cries of the other. The son in addition was struck in the stomach with a stone so severely that blood gushed from his mouth.

"Diego Alvarez Pulido, 75 years old, was severely beaten about the head by two young civil guards. His suffering inspired the pity of the wives of the gendarmes and they dragged him away from their husbands. This old man neither belonged to the movement nor to the union, but he had had a quarrel with the gendarmes because one of them tried to violate his son's wife. The civil guards took this method of exercising their cruel and infamous personal revenge.

"Diego Munoz Caballero had one of his shoulder blades dislocated while at work, yet he received two hundred lashes, which made his entire body black; then he was shut up in the privy and beaten again until his body was covered with blood.

"Juan Villalon Jimenez was arrested while at work, and was terribly beaten by the gendarmes while on the way to the prison. When he arrived there the captain asked the gendarmes what was the cause of the extreme weakness of the prisoner. They replied that he was sick, but Jimenez protested, and said his condition was caused by the beating he had received.

"Antonio Vilchez Alvarez was arrested in his home by Lieutenant Calan Blina, who struck him three times with his sword. When the wife of Vilchez protested against the brutality the lieutenant drew his sword on her. At the prison Vilchez was taken to the torture chamber, where twelve rods were broken in beating him.

"Francesco Romero Dakado was beaten about the head and badly bruised, and was also struck in the abdomen with a large stone.

"Juan Vasquez Torres was arrested while in bed suffering from a bullet wound in the right arm which he received from the gun of a guard when the workers were fired on on August 1. He was beaten by two guards until he fell unconscious. When he recovered his senses a corporal struck him three terrific blows in the abdomen with a large stone, and he lost consciousness again. It was necessary to pour cold water over his head to revive him. A cord was then put around his neck and a threat was made to hang him. Not being able in this way to force him to 'confess,' the guards removed the cord and tore pieces of flesh from the shoulder which was not wounded. After that he was laid on the floor and tied, and the guards beat his legs and feet until they were covered with blood. Then he was turned with his face to the wall, and two guards beat him with rods, after which his hands and fingers were seared with red-hot irons. Then he was led between two rows of sixteen gendarmes, who beat him with clubs; another application of the red-hot irons completed the mutilation of his hands, and the torture concluded with more beating on the soles of his bare feet. A few days later he was again severely beaten about the head with a broom handle.

"Antonio Davorido Alvarez, who also had been wounded by a bullet, was dragged from his bed and taken to the barracks, where he was forced to submit to all sorts of tortures for thirteen hours without interruption.

"But the fiends did not even spare the women. On the contrary, women and old men were the chosen victims of these bloody assassins. The husband of Luisa Alcala Gonzalez, fearing torture, fled from Alcala and voluntarily presented himself at the prison a Ronda. The gendarmes, furious because their intended victim had escaped, avenged themselves in his house by beating his wife Luisa and tearing off one of her ears. They took no notice of the three-months-old child which was nursing at her breast, and their cruel blows fell on the baby also. After that they threw all the furniture into the street and closed the house, leaving the woman and her child homeless and threatening the neighbors with violence if they gave the poor woman any comfort or shelter.

"Maria Dorado Jimenez was put in prison in a room which contained sixty persons, men and women, altho it was not large enough to hold more than twenty. She begged for attention, as she was enceinte, but it was refused, and she was abused so terribly that she had a miscarriage. A guard, who had paid court to her before her marriage and was rejected, took the foetus and threw it into a privy. Maria came near dying. She, as well as several other women, fell in swoons, and have not yet recovered from the effects of their ill treatment."

A typographical error in last week's FREE SOCIETY gave the name of the paper from which this translation is made as "C'Espagne Inquisitoriale." The name should have been *L'Espagne Inquisitoriale*. And funds for the support of the paper should be sent not to Charles Coizel, but to Charles Loizel, 42 Rue de la Roquette, XXIIe., Paris, France.

Politicians are a set of men who have interests aside from the interests of the people, and who, to say the most of them, are, taken as a mass, at least one long step removed from honest men. I say this with the greater freedom because, being a politician myself, none can regard it as personal.—Abraham Lincoln.

* * *

Nothing is more odious than the majority; for it consists of a few powerful leaders, a certain number of accommodating scoundrels and subservient weaklings, and a mass of men who trudge after them without knowing their own minds.—Goethe.

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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.—Century Dictionary.

NOTICE.

Remember, comrades; that May 2, 8 p. m. you can enjoy Gorki's "Citizens", performed at the Thalia Theater, and at the same time help the propaganda.

From the Watch Tower.

At least hope is free.

* * *

Duty is the last of tyrants.

* * *

Man's liberty is woman's liberty.

* * *

Obedience is the measure of patriotism.

* * *

Conservatism calls progress "disorder."

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Where peace is forced look for a struggle.

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Its wars strip the State of all of its disguises.

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If might be right, let the weak become mighty.

* * *

Standard Oil makes things run smoothly for Rockefeller.

* * *

The desire for liberty is like the desire for springtime.

* * *

The organization of men is the disorganization of manhood.

* * *

The penalty of having leaders is that you soon find seceders.

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The one impossibility is that anything should really be impossible.

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All great thoughts have in them somehow a thrill of self-dependence.

* * *

The State will weaken man if man does not ever strive to weaken the State.

* * *

The government of Spain tortures human beings, and then affects to be astonished at reprisals.

FREE SOCIETY

If liberty be an illusion, then let it be an illusion fondly cherished by me till death closes my eyes.

* * *

Anarchists who champion either Russia or Japan in the Eastern war mistake their prejudices for their principles.

* * *

One thing which makes the world regard Anarchism as being impracticable is the impracticability of the world's principles.

* * *

The coal trust will tell the government officials to make a fire to warm themselves out of the legal papers drawn up in the case.

* * *

Some Socialists are justifying Russian aggression in Manchuria by declaring that Russia must have a Pacific seaport. Why must?

* * *

Either liberty will make an end of authority, or authority will make an end of liberty. The one, as well as the other, tends to grow until all else is crowded out.

* * *

Now that the car barn murderers have been murdered, the Chicago *American* and the *Examiner* will have more room in their pages for the flattering of Hearst.

* * *

"Japan is so small!" some radicals say; and they sympathize with the little islands in the Pacific. Are you big? You are wrong. Are you small? You are right.

* * *

Sully, the cotton speculator, was not alone in his attempt to run a corner, but those who stood behind him and pulled the strings, capitalists, are not to suffer as he will.

* * *

As a man is superintended he loses initiative, and as he loses initiative he loses character. A race of spineless but obedient slaves would fulfil the ideal of those who worship the State.

* * *

The Senate has recently passed a pension bill adding \$137,000,000 to the amount already swallowed up in pensions. How willing the State is to reward with a little money the asses who wobble their ears and bray for war!

* * *

A German syndicate has succeeded in purchasing a lot of coal mines, and is now discharging the miners who work them, so that the price of coal may not fall. Food for the miners? Why, let them work in other ways, or—or—eat coal dust!

* * *

Man cannot free woman; no more can woman free man. Each striving for liberty in general will contribute to the means of emancipation for the other. But while love believes in tyranny, or while it acts the tyrant, neither man nor woman will be free.

* * *

The British chancellor of the exchequer, Austen Chamberlain, finds that the governmental expenditures of the State have exceeded by over \$19,000,000 the amount appropriated, and wants to add something to the taxes on tea and tobacco. He has a positive genius for robbery.

* * *

Those who are tired of lives of toil and poverty should look into Anarchism. Of course, to the average worshiper of power the thing would seem strange at first, or even impossible; but who but an uncommon fool can always laugh at social common sense?

Haywood, the secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, wished to shake hands with Charles Moyer, the president; as a result he was beaten and bayoneted by the soldiers under General Bell. Moral: remember that the military know no argument but might, and are the true State.

* * *

The beef trust was formally enjoined not long since—a year ago, perhaps; does any one notice that the injunction has had any restraining effect? Let us be reasonable; can it be believed that an organization so vast and having such large interests can afford to obey a mere injunction. Preposterous!

* * *

When we use the words "enough for all," what smiles of incredulity creep over the lips of those who believe that poverty is an essential, and is needed to keep man humble in the presence of his betters, including God. But still that phrase is cherished by a few who look at the smiling and plenteous earth, and dream.

* * *

The articles of Ida M. Tarbell, which appear in *McClure's Magazine*, have driven Rockefeller to assume the defensive; and a book has been written by one of his sycophants, explaining the oil magnate's tricky life. Each of 150,000 clergymen will receive free copies. Rockefeller may convince the clergy. If he don't it will go hard with them.

* * *

"The Car Barn Bandits" have been done to death by those who do not believe in killing; and now the harvest may be awaited. For months the papers have teemed with minute accounts of everything concerning their crimes, and garnished by their utterances. One paper, school of crime has tried to hide its responsibility by hiring a clergyman to edit its murder page. Hundreds of embryo bandits have been made; and this is "law and order."

* * *

Crime is not prevented by punishment, either private or public; nor is virtue inculcated by "representative business men," who bid the young be "honest, and you will prosper." This society in which we live, is, thanks to degenerate custom and human folly, just a school of villany; and all that can be done to prevent the development of crime will prove abortive until general exploitation ends.

* * *

That which gives us hope, that is, those of us who still have hearts and are neither slaves by nature nor mere thinking money grabbers, is the fact that man is never quite satisfied with life as it is, but is always imagining for himself another life in a world where all are well in body and soul, and where plenty exists as a normal state. There is something suffocating in living in the company of people who gasp over with suffocation. Comfort is mutual, really.

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

"We do not want your charity—work given! We will get along without you! But how will you manage to live without us?" the Russian workers ask their employers, and the government officials in a pamphlet which is distributed broadcast. When will the American workers learn that it is the capitalist who is dependent upon the worker and not the worker upon the capitalist? Dispel this superstitious belief and the power of capitalism is doomed to perdition.

* * *

A combination of modern robber-knights, called "captains of industry" by some Philistines, have formed an organization to fight organized labor and its "unreasonable demands."

It is a pity, forsooth, that employers must point out to their employes the unreasonableness of their modest demands; and it is to be hoped that the workers will soon learn that the most reasonable thing is to demand the full product of their labor, and inform the "captains" to put on overalls and make themselves useful. And that is the only rational solution of the "labor troubles."

The simpletons who believe in the possibility of a "good government" are again sadly disappointed in this city. They expected that their "servant," Mayor McClellan, would for once listen to his employers and veto the "gas grab bill," which was jammed thru the legislature for a bribe of \$500,000; but public hirelings are not in the habit of obeying their employers, and Mr. Mayor indorsed the bill in spite of public clamor. The bosses of the mayor are now going to appeal to another servant—the governor—for protection. "What fools these mortals be."

The fact that the solution of the economic question will not solve all other social problems has been aptly demonstrated recently. A Brooklyn millionaire is supposed to have murdered a girl of rich parents. The latter drove her out of the house because she had violated the code of prevailing morality. The murder was committed to cover up "illegitimate" pregnancy. In Philadelphia a "murder syndicate," a so-called baby farm, has been discovered, where the babies of rich girls were destroyed in vats of quicklime. And what was the cause of these horrible and shocking brutalities? Economic conditions? Not at all. All are rich people. Poor girls cannot afford to have their children burned in quicklime. Prejudices, perverted morality, and the fear of public opinion are responsible for such almost incredible atrocities.

According to a *Daily News* (Chicago) correspondent, the Russian people cannot be so easily cajoled into fits of jingoism and patriotism as the "sovereign" Americans. "I found unrest and grumbling everywhere," he says, "plenty of love for Russia, but practically none for the government. . . . On every hand I heard the opinion that the war might have been avoided." This grumbling he attributes to the depressed industrial situation and the miserable condition the workers are in, while the government spends hundreds of millions to carry on a war of conquest. But the question might be asked, Why does the starving American endure degradation and starvation without even grumbling? There are thousands of men sleeping on the sidewalks in this city, after they have been fed with a piece of bread on the streets like dogs, as everybody can witness at 12 o'clock at night near Fleischmann's bakery. And all this they endure without a murmur, while millions are squandered in the Philippines and for instruments of murder at home.

INTERLOPER.

Splinters.

Altho it may appear impossible to intelligent people, it seems probable, nevertheless, that W. R. Hearst will get the Democratic nomination for president. A yellow candidate fits a yellow nation.

The price of oil has now reached a point where the people will not have to fear a Rockefeller contribution to the Standard Oil University at Chicago, as more cannot be added to "all the traffic will bear."

It has been rumored several times recently that President Roosevelt intends to rid the miners' organization of John Mitchell by ap-

pointing him to a fat job. If this is the case, the miners will have cause to thank Roosevelt for once.

It used to be an axiom in the labor movement that when a labor leader began to be generally praised by the capitalist papers, it was time to keep a close watch on him. According to this standard, Gompers is perilously close to the danger line and John Mitchell has no case at all.

Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr., treasurer of the Free Speech League, presumably with the consent and in the name of that body, is sending out an appeal for money, "for the special purpose of maintaining a good man at Washington during the present session of Congress, to work in every legitimate way for more liberal immigration laws." Or, in other words, to send a lobbyist to Washington to buttonhole congressmen and beg them for the right of free speech for alien immigrants. Now, whatever may be the opinion of the comrades as to the expediency of the Turner case, this logical step of the Free Speech League ought to convince them what a dubious business it is for Anarchists to meddle with government affairs, and withhold further contributions and energy intended for that purpose. I say "logical step," for as between appealing to the Supreme Court for "rights" and begging Congress for them, there is not much difference. While it may be a perfectly legitimate procedure for a governmental, it is humiliating, to say the least, for an Anarchist. "I have no idea of petitioning for rights," says Thomas Paine. "Whatever the rights of the people are, they have a right to them, and none have a right to either withhold or grant them."

JR.

From Far and Near.

John Mitchell, president of the Mine Workers, will attend the Miners' Congress, which opens at Paris, France, on May 23. While abroad Mitchell intends to study the mining and industrial questions in Europe,—a knowledge in which John Mitchell is greatly lacking, as can be seen from his late book.

HUNGARY.—Sixty thousand railway workers went on a strike, and on all the State railroads traffic was completely at a standstill. On the first day about a thousand men were imprisoned, but when the station masters and telegraph operators joined the strikers the government immediately changed front. The men arrested were released, and the prohibition issued against the holding of meetings by the strikers was also rescinded. "Hungary backs down, owing to the general strike," says a dispatch. Thus the efficiency of a general strike has again been demonstrated.

RUSSIA.—While in Asia the government is engaged in wholesale butchery for the benefit of profit-mongers, and in decorating and praising those who distinguish themselves in the slaughter of human beings, it strangles the most noble souls among the people for advocating freedom and brotherhood. The latest victims of tyranny are M. Melnikoff and G. Gershun, both of whom have been sentenced to death for "plotting and abetting assassination." Gershun is well known in literary circles as a powerful poetical prose writer, as can be judged from "The Demolished Pier," which appeared last year in *FREE SOCIETY* as one of Maxim Gorki's essays, owing to a mistake made by German publishers.

The government may be victorious in the war with Japan, but czarism and absolutism is doomed nevertheless. Since the Kishineff massacre of the Jews, deliberately planned and encouraged by the government, the intelligent classes of all shades of opinion are utterly dis-

gusted with the brazen atrocities perpetrated by the officials; and no government can continue to offend the sentiment of its intelligent classes with impunity, as was demonstrated at the "Third Congress of Promoters of Technical Education," held recently in St. Petersburg, which was attended by 3,000 members from all over Russia. "The congress divided into several sections," says *Free Russia*, "and the government, to prevent the members from making political speeches, appointed the highest officials of the State as chairmen in the sections. But the temper of the congress was such that no precautions proved of any avail."

The policy of the government was fearlessly criticised, and a change in the political order was advocated by numerous orators. Political freedom, abolition of autocracy, was indicated as the only way by which education and the welfare of the nation could be seriously promoted. The official chairman vainly tried to stop the orators. The whole assembly raised an indignant protest against the servile interference of the chair, and invited the speakers to go on. The government, becoming alarmed, began to look for a pretext to stop the proceedings of the congress. Such a pretext was found in the expulsion of one Stepanoff and of the millionaire Pronin from the congress by its members.

"Stepanoff and Pronin are the two ill-famed 'intellectuals' who incited the murderous mob in Kishineff (a third 'intellectual'—the notary Pissarjzheffsky—committed suicide soon after the massacre). These two individuals had the impertinence to take part in the sittings of the congress. When the assembly discovered their presence the greatest indignation seized its members."

"It is not my fault. . . . The government itself organized the massacre," mumbled Stepanoff, whose heart failed him. But the congress, by silent consent, resolved to expel ignominiously the two individuals. The secretary of the organizing committee of the congress approached Stepanoff and requested him to leave the hall. Stepanoff rose, as asked, and passed between the two rows of the members toward the door, while the hall was filled with shouts: "Out, villain!" "Out, murderer!"

"Stepanoff drove straight to Mr. von Plehve. Next morning the congress was forbidden, and six of its most prominent members were arrested—among them three well known writers and two barristers. One of the arrested is already on his way to the remote part of Siberia."

"The Medical Congress was also prohibited."

From Philadelphia.

Realizing that "vigilance is the price of liberty," some liberty-loving people of Philadelphia had decided that Emma Goldman should deliver her lecture, "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," in spite of the decree of the police to the contrary. And they have been victorious in their determination to defy the despotism of the bluecoats. "Having accomplished the only purpose they appear to have had in view," says the *Philadelphia Record*, "the advertising of Emma Goldman's lecture, . . . the police made no further attempt to interfere, and the woman forcibly prevented from having a meeting two weeks ago last night did her stunt before an audience that crowded the auditorium of Odd Fellows' Temple. Local Anarchists who promoted the meeting were amazed at the meekness shown by Director Smyth's subordinates last night in contrast to their ferocity of two weeks ago."

More than 1,500 men and women crowded into the auditorium, and fully as many could not gain entrance. The police appeared in full force, but no chance was given them to display their brutality. In calling the meeting to order, Comrade Brown, who presided, said: "We are not in a boastful mind, nor do we want to

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be considered defiant, but we are glad that the police suppressed the former meeting, and that they concluded to let it proceed to-night. The Social Science Club's mission is to teach, among other things, that free speech is a constitutional right. When a mistake is made the best thing that can be done is to rectify it, and the fact that the administration and the police have concluded to let the meeting proceed is a sign of improvement in the right direction, and shows that our mission is bearing good fruit."

Comrade Emma Goldman prefaced her speech by saying: "The representatives of law and order in their action two weeks ago must at last realize that they are ignorant of the very elementary rules of affairs. In stopping that meeting they made many people eager to come who would not otherwise have been here. . . . The representatives of law and order in this city are very ignorant. They do not know even the very A, B, C of the philosophy of life. I hope this meeting to-night will be a lesson to them, and that they will realize that no matter what force they employ, the voice of freedom and reason will drown that of stupid ignorance."

She then proceeded with her lecture, which will appear in *FREE SOCIETY* shortly.

In Defense of Free Speech.*

During the summer of 1893 a great industrial depression prevailed throughout the United States, resulting in intense hardship and poverty among the poor. In New York the allied trade unions, in connection with other radical movements, decided to make an appeal to Congress for relief. Some of those who realized the futility of such action called several meetings to protest against such an appeal. Two meetings were held in Golden Rule Hall, and one in Union Square on August 21, 1893, which was attended by an immense throng and addressed by eight speakers.

Emma Goldman spoke at each of these meetings. After the Union Square meeting, a warrant for her arrest was sworn out by the police. As she was announced to speak in Philadelphia, detectives arrested her there as she was about to enter the hall; and after a detention of ten days she was extradited to New York. Three indictments for "unlawful assemblage" were found. The trial commenced on October 5, and lasted several days. A. Oakley Hall, ex-mayor and former district attorney, with two associates, appeared for the defence.

At the Union Square meeting, Emma Goldman quoted Cardinal Manning's famous sentence, "Necessity knows no law," and stated that as hardship and poverty were so acute, people would soon have to go out and help themselves in order to live. Several detectives swore that the speaker had said "people should go out and help themselves." A conviction was the result. The judge sentenced the defendant to one year in the penitentiary, with the remark that he regretted his inability to make it more.

In his defence Mr. Hall said in part: "This meeting at Union Square was a peaceable meeting, solely and simply a meeting of protest. In the thirteen years that I occupied the office which is now so ably filled by my learned friend I never even heard of the offense which is called by him 'unlawful assemblage.' The offense dates from the time of Wat Tyler, the early radical. Even the notorious Judge Jeffries never dared to execute any one for exercising the privilege of free speech."

Just before the case closed the attorney withdrew from the defense, because the defendant refused to take an appeal. When called upon to state why sentence should not be passed, she said that she had prepared a statement, but owing to the fact that the police were trying to provoke her friends, so as to be able to make

more arrests, she would not deliver it. This statement appeared in the *New York World* of October 14, 1893. It is given below:

"I speak not to defend myself, but to defend my right of free speech, trampled upon by those who have caused the curtailing of my liberty."

"I know that the right of free speech was once guaranteed to every man and woman of this land."

"What do those, who have brought me here understand by the right of free speech? Does it give a right to all to say what appears to the individual good or bad, or has it been granted to permit the expression of only that which to a certain class of citizens appears right?"

"Is free speech solely for the purpose and use of the government and its officers? Are individuals prohibited from saying that which is true, even though hardly to the taste of a certain class or portion of the public? Can I say only that in which I do not concur, and must I say it?"

"I am positive that the men who shed their blood for the independence of this land, and who offered up their lives to secure the liberty and rights of the American people, must have had a very different understanding of the right of free speech than those who to-day represent the government, and who so interpret the right as to permit the expression only of that which is conducive to their benefit."

"According to such an interpretation of the right of free speech, I must call them despots, and as such without the right to commemorate in celebrations the memory of those who fell in the fight for independence; for the former deliberately trample under foot the principles of those heroes, and when decorating their graves commit blasphemy."

"Why don't the representative of the State drop the so-called mantle of free speech, discard the mass of falsehood, and admit that absolutism reigns here?"

"Under such a condition of things the American citizen has no shadow of right in pointing the finger of contempt at European institutions, and speaking of the downtrodden hungry of the Old World."

"The sorrowful condition of the workingmen of the Old as well as the New World increases from day to day, and it reached a high point in its horizon this very year."

"Devoid of all means of sustenance, the workingmen assemble to consult, to devise means to remedy their need. Those who throughout the year utilize the people and gather riches at their cost perhaps feel that it would not go well with them should the workingmen become half conscious of their exigencies; and in their terror the latter seek the aid of government. Innumerable policemen and spies are sent into the meetings of the unemployed, to control all their deliberations, to control the speakers."

"I belong to that class of speakers who endeavored to show the workingmen the real reason of their misfortune."

"The speeches made by me must have contained much that was unpleasant for the rich of the city of New York, because they set in motion whole bands of spies to cause my apprehension and confinement, for the reason, as the indictment reads, that I have offended against the law and exhorted those present at my speeches to acts of violence."

"If what I said at Golden Rule Hall and at Union Square was a violation of the laws, then all those who were present at these meetings, and who by protracted and loud applause evinced their approval of what I said, were equally guilty with me. Why, then, did the city authorities proceed against me alone? Why? Because the authorities know that no danger lies in the workingman's ignorance of the true cause of his privations."

"From the moment that I, as an Anarchist, showed them that the workingman could never expect relief from his despoilers, from that moment I made the ruling classes uncomfortable, and had to be put out of the way."

"I do not acknowledge laws made to protect the rich and oppress the poor. Who are the lawmakers? Senators, the great of the land; Capitalists—capitalists who torture thousands to slow death in their factories. They are people who live in affluence, robbing the workingman of his strength, and depriving him of the results of his labor; they are men whose fortunes have been built upon a foundation formed by pyramids of children's corpses."

"The wealth, the luxury, the pomp and glory of power are bought at the price of murdered and disfigured mankind."

"Ever rises the voice of the disinherited people, a voice growing in volume, and to which the overbearing classes will not listen, and to still which they devise new laws intended to silence the masses. Bands of priests are sent out to teach subjection, to propagate superstition and keep people in ignorance."

"The demands of the workingmen are met with Winchester rifle and the Gatling gun; and I must confess that my brethren and myself will ever oppose such a state of 'order'—an 'order' in which we do not believe, and whose representatives will never be compelled to meet in the struggle for advancement."

"I can fully understand that such people hate the Anarchists, for it is our endeavor to abolish private property, State and Church. In due word, we aim to free men from tyrants and government."

"The striving for freedom is not the creature of my brain, nor that of any other being; it lies rooted in the people, and the contentions of the past, the struggles between the people and their oppressors, show but too plainly that the people are desirous of being freed from their burdens."

"The burning at the stake and the gallows have been the reward of numberless men of advanced thought, and even to-day thousands feel the icy blasts of Siberia and the torrid breath of New Caledonia, while others yield up their lives in the cause, hidden by the grim walls of dungeons deep. And yet the desire for freedom grew, and grows."

"The world is gliding ever nearer the fact that in Anarchy can be found the happiness and content of man."

"You will not be able to stifle Anarchy by the erection of gallows and jails."

"You endeavor to make us appear to the public eye as veritable murderers, wholly depraved, but when we show the people our true objects they find that we only desire the benefit of mankind."

"We seek the establishment of Anarchy, or, in other words, a freedom from government of any kind; a community of interests based upon common production of equal and necessary character; we seek a perfect liberty for each individual to enjoy the grand and glorious products of nature; we seek for each an equal liberty to cultivate the talents and abilities as well as the attainments of the highest knowledge."

"All wrongs now perpetrated, such as theft, murder, lying and prostitution, are an outcome of the injustice at present obtaining in the social state, and will disappear with its downfall."

"I tell you, the day of reckoning is not far—a time when no concessions will be granted to the tyrants and despots."

"Such is my belief, spread by me among the workingmen, and this belief will cease only with my life."

"You have convicted me; you may pass sentence of imprisonment upon me; but I tell you that I hate your laws, that I hate your 'order,' for I know but one 'order'—it is the highest potency of order—Anarchy."

*Reprinted by request for propaganda purposes.

Philadelphia and Free Speech.

On April 10, 1904, in the city of Philadelphia, a city that boasts of possessing a hundred Revolutionary landmarks on one of its avenues, Emma Goldman was prevented from delivering a sociological lecture in one of its most prominent buildings. This meeting was well advertised, and all arrangements had been made to give the public an enjoyable evening. However, this was not to be, for when the people presented themselves at the doors of the building they found a wedge of uniformed policemen blocking the entrance, and who would not allow any one to attend the lecture. Three of the ten best men of Philadelphia were arrested. Mr. Stephens and Mr. Milliken tried to gain admission, and were rudely rebuffed. An attempt at explanation led to their arrest. Mr. Schilling was also arrested. Each one was fined. The fines were paid, but under protest. It is stated that Mr. Stephens and Mr. Milliken intend to begin civil suit against those who were responsible for this attempted intimidation thru force. It is apparent that if there is any recurrence of this infringement of a natural right, all the active and intelligent forces of Philadelphia will rally to the cause of free speech.

It might be well to consider some of the effects of this abortive display of force on society in general. Of course, it led to immediate protests from all sides, and on April 17 a protest meeting was held in the same building, at which meeting Hugh O. Pentecost gave a lengthy talk full of counsel and wisdom. He is a New York lawyer, who still retains a conscience and right sentiment.

The stopping of the meeting of April 10, at which Emma Goldman was to speak, was insidiously directed at free speech thru a long continued persecution of Miss Goldman. The authorities stated that she should not speak in Philadelphia. Authorities when they wished to strike at a general principle have always used a common ruse such as this. An individual believed to be without support and sympathy is made the object of action. The person is haled before the authorities, who, protected by the obscurity or general dislike borne to the person, snatch from him his right. The public stand aside and applaud, little thinking that a precedent has been established which will develop into a general principle of action, and that their own right has been hedged and hedged until it disappears. One of the keenest sentiments uttered by Hugh O. Pentecost at the protest meeting was "that he who does not respect the liberty of a thief is in a fair way to lose his own." For in the administration of cold blooded legality a thing once done which did not meet with opposition can be done again.

Let me illustrate to you this condition in actual life: The St. Louis Fair opens; it attracts people from all over the world. All those who have served any reasonable time in prison can be at once arrested and either be detained or be obliged to leave the city. No one of those arrested need have committed any offense, except that of being present. Again that magnificent public stands in gaping awe at the beneficence of their protectors. But would they do so if they knew what had happened? All over the United States the principle has been established that a person can be arrested without having committed a misdemeanor or a felony. The public is told that this applies only to those having a bad record. But then the public is ignorant and easily misled. In less quiet times the principle can be invoked, and men who merely bear the ill will of the authorities can be arrested and imprisoned for a time without a hearing. The little personal mischief that any collection of so-called thieves could do in a crowd is a mere trifle compared to the almost irretrievable loss of a general right that these arrests strike at. For, after all,

the acts of the so-called thieves would be personal and non-extensive, whereas the arrests without cause is an extensive action, and fraught with multitudinous dangers; especially when you consider that character is not by any means a strong point with governmental administrators. By character, of course, I mean that impregnable belief in and carrying out of equity, even against all fossilized and ancient forms.

It is singular, but true, that men are ever deceived by names. In Rome, near the close of the transition period from a republic to an empire, the people of Italy still had their consul, their tribune, and their senate; but they were merely names. When Caesar Augustus issued his decrees, it was supposed that the senate had formulated and sanctioned them. Not at all. Degree by degree the inhabitants of Rome had lost the thing of liberty, and only retained the symbols.

How wonderfully similar to the inhabitants of Rome are the inhabitants of the United States. Listen to the native born American prate of his republic, liberty, land of the free, home of the brave. Yet when the reflective person compares the actually existing rights with these phrases, he is led to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the United States are as much children in political matters as were those living in Italy in the first century of the Christian era.

I recently heard a conversation between some native born Americans, and they all were of the opinion that these United States ought not to be an asylum for political refugees. Shades of Parnassus! What have we come to, when people who are almost all descended from political refugees, deny to other political refugees an asylum! Yet, fortunately, we have one American, Lester F. Ward, who, in his "Pure Sociology," says that such persons as political criminals are the progressive element in the human species. Societies no more than living organisms can stand still. It must be movement one way or other, growth or decay. A society or living organism that stood still very long would soon see deterioration set in and a consequent reversion to an inferior type.

Those who contribute in any way to the suppression of freedom in speech are the arch-contributors to the decadence of their own structure. Therefore, inasmuch as there is not a great quantity of actual liberty in the world at the present time, even those people who believe that they have attained the ideal laid down by an ancient people cannot afford to rest on their laurels. While any coercive human authority remains, there also remains the ever-present desire of those in power to assume more and more power. This is a shortcoming observable in all human beings dressed in brief authority. Can you think of any great number of those having power wishing to decrease that power?

Hence it will be seen that an attack on the liberty of one is an attack on the liberty of all. We should also understand by this time that there is no palladium of liberty. Symbols of freedom we have always had in plenty, but contemporaneous therewith we have always witnessed in the crowd an apparent inability to know the real thing when they saw it. Now this crowd must be leavened. The authorities will not do the leavening. Therefore, others than the authorities must do it. Who have always done it in the past? Individual teachers. Emma Goldman is one of them. Are we such infants that we cannot with calmness give a hearing to a little woman? To think of it, opposition to giving her a hearing comes from men. From men? Aye, from jackanapes.

WM. J. BARDSEY.

April 23, 1903.

The Rod and the Child.

"Corporal Punishment in Schools" was the interesting subject at the Manhattan Liberal Club on Friday, April 8. The discussion was to take place between Mrs. Silas R. Leveridge, who is in favor of the rod, and Elizabeth Burns Ferm, who favors neither the whip nor any other chastisement of the child. Unfortunately Mrs. Leveridge was ill, so her paper was read from the platform in her absence. She started out with the disastrous quarrel between Cain and Abel, which she thought would not have occurred if Eve had given Cain a sound thrashing at intervals; for the rod was the most efficient means of "moral suasion," according to this antiquated modern educator. Even civil war and rebellions could be eliminated from society if the whip was properly applied, so as to extinguish all will-power and self-reliance in the child. All crimes and transgressions come from the lack of obedience, which should be exacted from all children in order to raise law-abiding citizens. Fear and obedience, she thought, were the necessary virtues to preserve law and order. Brute force was sometimes necessary to push the young mind in the right direction. She went even so far as to recommend the club as a means of refinement and culture; for, she said, if men had been properly punished in their childhood, they would not trample upon women, as it recently happened in a street car fire in this city. She regretted that corporal punishment had been abolished in the schools, and it would prove of inestimable value if it could be reestablished for the sake of morality—the morality which springs from fear and obedience. In short, Mrs. Leveridge proved to be a firm specimen of governmental education, which always relies on brute force; and the fact that her sentiments were not applauded by the audience is sufficient proof that the spirit of authority is on the decline even in this law-ridden country.

Elizabeth Ferm's plea for freedom and kindness for the defenseless child came as a relief to the worried audience. She denied the contention that teachers were trained to subject the child. Their province is to teach children, not to punish, as the abolishment of the rod in public schools testifies. No adult could maintain his own integrity by applying the rod on others, much less on defenseless children. If they wished to change the rebellious spirit of the child they should endeavor to remove the cause of its rebellion. In her experience as a teacher she had never met a child with an unresponsive mind. The rod was only proof of the utter inability and incapacity of adults to teach and raise children. Fear and obedience could make slaves and hypocrites, but not independent men and women. It was due to the rod that we were a race of indolent slaves. Having been tyrannized and subjugated by the rod, the children were anxiously clamoring for the time when they would be able to take revenge—to apply the rod on the weaker ones. She also objected vigorously to forcing children into schoolrooms; playhouses and playgrounds were the proper schools. Children were forced into rooms, forced to learn things they did not and could not appreciate, hence they often looked upon the teacher as their enemy. Bad children were the result of their parents, and those who teach them.

It may be said here that Elizabeth Ferm, together with Alexis Ferm, are conducting a playhouse, in which the children are absolutely free to occupy themselves as they see fit, and they have had a marvelous success in developing the children's capacity and self-reliance.

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

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ATTENTION.

For the Benefit of *Freiheit* "The Weavers" will be performed at the Amsterdam Opera House, 332 West 44th St., Saturday, May 7, at 8 p. m. All seats, excluding the balcony, 25 cents.

FOR NEW YORK.

The Manhattan Liberal Club meets every Friday, 8 p. m., in the German Masonic Temple, 220 E. 15th St.

Subjects:
May 13—"The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation." Emma Goldman.

The Slavic Group meets on the first and third Tuesday of the month, 8 p. m., at 543 East Sixth St. Free discussions. All are invited.

The Radical Club, devoted to free discussion of political and social questions. Meetings open to the public every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, ETRIS HALL, 168 West 23rd St., cor. 7th Ave.
May 4—Jonathan Mayo Crane will read "Where There is Nothing." A drama by Wm. Yeats (The first Anarchist drama).

May 11—John Z. White "The Single Tax."

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.

May 2, 8 p. m. Gorki's interesting play, "The Citizens", will be performed at the Thalia Theater for the benefit of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. All comrades who have the propaganda at heart are cordially requested to aid the comrades in the sale of tickets in order to make the undertaking a success.

FREE SOCIETY Group meets every Tuesday evening at the Radical Reading Room, 37 Attorney St. All comrades interested in the English propaganda are cordially invited.

FOR CLEVELAND.

Free Society Group meets every Sunday, 3:30 p. m., at 223 Columbus St. Lectures and free discussion.

FOR CHICAGO.

Liberty Group meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., at Stangel's Hall, 235 Western Ave., near Van Buren St., for propaganda purposes and discussion. The club rooms at 427 Park Ave. are open as usual.

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".....		
.....Voltaire de Cleire		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
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"Socialism and Politics".....		05
"Government Analyzed".....	Kelso	50
"The Economics of Anarchy".....		
.....Dyer D. Lum		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".....		05
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"A Cityless and Countryless World: An Outline of Practical Co-operative Individualism." Cloth \$1.....		
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"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
"The Slavery of Our Times." Cloth.....	Leo Tolstoy	75
"Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses".....	E. C. Walker	15
"Vice: Its Friends and Foes".....		15
"What the Young Need to Know".....		10
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