



To the Liberty Bell.*

SONNET.

Thou brazen mouth, they tell that thou wert first,
When freedom crushed the shackles of this land,
To shout the tidings forth on every hand
Which dared the foreign tyrant to his worst.
They say that 'thou, set free from work accurst,
Rang'st out as thou had'st power to understand
The deafening clangor of thy message grand,
And in the joy of loud acclaiming, burst.
'Tis but a fancy. Still let fancy play.
And seeing how far is freedom from us, I
Would rather think that when to earth and sky
Thy tongue was bid "We're free, we're free!" to say,
Thou did'st refuse, as honest men still may;
Cracking, before thou would'st proclaim a lie.

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

*The bell is cracked.

By the Wayside.

* The Southern cotton goods manufacturers are on the lookout for new game. The demands of American-born laborers "ruin the industry," and "the Negroes will not work, or will only half work,"—hence the manufacturers must be allowed to import either Chinamen or Italians, both of whom are "peace-loving and thrifty," which in plain English means that they are more servile and more easily satisfied than even the Negroes.

In some districts of Germany the Social Democrats suffered great losses during the last election, but the *Volkszeitung* cautions its readers not to take the defeat too seriously. "In the end," says the editor, "the struggle before us is not a parliamentary one. The battle will not be fought out in parliament. The power of Social Democracy lies outside the House of Representatives." This admission has aroused considerable comment in the Socialist press. It is not denied that there is a great deal of truth in what the editor says, but it is the frankness of his confession that aggravates the Socialist leaders. Why tell tales out of school!

In speaking of government ownership of industries, the *Vorwärts* (Socialist daily in Berlin, Germany) now admits, tho reluctantly, that the workers employed by private concerns are better off morally and materially than the workers employed in industries owned by the government. In a recent trial of a government employe, "the fact leaked out that a worker employed in a capitalist mine or factory is a sovereign in comparison with the one employed by the government." The latter is not permitted to join an organization, nor does he dare to express his political views if they are not favorable to the policy

of the government; and once he is discharged he is blacklisted by the government all over the country. The government has increased its profits year by year, however, without paying any attention to the miserable conditions of its employes. In 1891 the profit from each of its employes amounted to 295 marks, in 1900 to 647 marks, yet the government pays less wages than the privately-owned mines. Such facts, published in the Socialist press, are not apt to arouse much enthusiasm for government ownership among the workers.

The dailies of this country scrupulously record the coughing of a European king or the sneezing of a princess, but have not found it worth while to report the slaughter of peaceable working men, inaugurated by the Argentine Republic on the first of May. Forty thousand members of the Anarchist Federation, "Obera," marched thru the streets of Buenos Ayres toward the Plaza Mazzine, where speeches were to be delivered in protest against the torturing of working men in Spain. Without any provocation the workers were fired upon by three hundred soldiers, one being killed and about one hundred being wounded. The workers resisted this wanton attack, and two soldiers were killed and a number of them wounded. Hundreds of workers have subsequently been arrested and charged with murder, and many others are to be deported in order to uproot Anarchism completely. But this scheme of "extermination" was tried only about a year ago, and it was thought that all Anarchists had been driven from the country, the result being that there are now five Anarchist journals published, the *Protesta Humana* appearing daily. Such are the results of persecution. But governments are not supposed to learn lessons from history.

In a statement relative to the late occurrences in Colorado, the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners expresses the opinion that the dynamite outrage was planned and perpetrated by the Citizens' Alliance in order to incite public opinion against the strikers. The strikers have offered \$5,000 for the arrest and conviction of the perpetrator, yet none of the detectives in the district seem to be ambitious to "earn" the money. General Bell has "lots of evidence" that the miners committed the deed, yet he fails to bring specific charges against the supposed miscreants. The strikers point out that the station, when the explosion took place, was guarded day and night by detectives, and thus

it was practically impossible for the strikers to place and explode so elaborate a contrivance as the infernal machine. "It is by no means at all improbable, then," says the *Public*, "that the suppressed story of this explosion from Cripple Creek is true—the story that when bloodhounds were put upon the case they ran to the houses of the company watchmen, and that thereupon the attempt to run down the criminals with bloodhounds was abandoned."

* * *

Even the "God-fearing" Pope of Rome has his troubles in controlling his subordinates. Some of them take Christ's teachings literally and protest against the order of things, which the pope, of course, cannot tolerate. A priest, Anton Vogrinec, wrote a book entitled "Nostra Maxima Culpa" ("We Are Mainly to Blame"), which the pope has put under the ban, and no good Catholic will henceforth dare to read it. "If it be true that man shall earn his bread by the sweat of his brow," says the priest among other things, "then the one who does not work eats, the bread earned by others, and he is certainly a parasite. The parasite is allowed to enjoy life at the expense of others. That this is violating the principle of 'love thy neighbor as thyself' is obvious. I abhor going to the cities and summer resorts, where one hears so much laughter coming from the enervated drones that perform no work, but consume what others have created. Can priests and teachers of religion remain indifferent in face of such iniquities? Can we say that such is the order of things ordained by God?" Father Vogrinec bitterly denounces his co-workers for their indifference to the misery of the poor and oppressed. "Donned like dolls," he says, "they can walk thru districts where misery, poverty and filth look from every window, as gaily as tho they were in a dancing hall." For such and similar utterances of truth, the book has been suppressed by the "follower of Christ."

* * *

In relating some of the brutal and wanton assaults perpetrated by the police upon innocent individuals, who can find no redress, as the police will even kill the witness—so it is believed—who might incriminate "the guardians of law and order," the editor of the *Truth Seeker* comes to the following conclusion: "The bosses of the race, from czar to constable, are still hopelessly brutal, tyrannical, and savage. Our officials are above the law, the magistrates below it, and between them the people are crushed and ground to nothingness." But these exalted personages,

between whom "the people are crushed to nothingness," are indispensable in well-regulated society, according to the same editor. He continues to believe faithfully in "good government"—as faithfully as his Christian friends in a "good and omniscient God." Both the Freethinker and the Christian make the wickedness of the people responsible for the shortcomings of a beloved institution, and both agree that it is better to be "crushed and ground to nothingness" than to dispense with institutions which enable priests and rulers to crush people physically and mentally. One as well as the other shivers at the thought of ridding himself of the grindstones. Each advances the same argument. Without an idol people will murder each other. Let us reform the idol worshippers. And when both are at their wits' end, they compliment each other. The Christian blames the infidel for the increase of crime and wickedness, while the Freethinker retorts: "You're another; it is the ignorance and superstition of the Christians which is responsible for all the mischief in the world." Meanwhile the rulers of heaven and earth, in company with Mephistopheles, laugh in their sleeves, and order another bottle of champagne.

* * *

Again the "glorious national birthday" will be celebrated by knaves and fools. Again the politicians and pettyfoggers will indulge in Fourth of July rhetoric to benumb the brains of the drudging toilers, and to palliate the pestiferous existence of the drones in society. Brass bands and the thunder of cannon will rival in the effort to drown the cries of the little ones whose lives are fading away in the factories for the benefit of Mammon. The "great American eagle"—the symbol of rapaciousness and robbery—will be pointed to as the symbol of strength and heroism,—the strength of greed and the heroism of the bandit. The love and enthusiasm for liberty, which inspired our forefathers to throw off the yoke of English parasitism, is dead among the bulk of the American people. Hence the ostentatious and noisy celebration of the "glorious" Fourth. When a real thing has vanished, symbols and rhetoric take its place. The American workers of today have a thousand times more cause to revolt against tyranny and exploitation than their ancestors had over a hundred years ago. The taxes exacted from them by the money lords puts the modesty of the British rulers of a hundred years ago to shame. The voting cattle have no more voice in the affairs of government than they had under King George. Greed and power rule. The voters lament. The Revolution changed the form of government, but the thing itself remained unaltered. The names of gods have frequently been changed, but their demand for submissiveness and sacrifice has ever remained the same. "The thing—the thing itself is the abuse," says Burke, when speaking of the abuses of government, and so long as people continue to worship this idol, just so long will they suffer under its lashes. Robbers arbitrarily originated government, and age and custom have made the trade of robbery respectable. But its respectability is on the decline and its days are counted. Let us spread the light, and we will hasten its downfall.

The situation in Colorado is growing more desperate day by day, and the fact that Mitchell and Gompers have shown such callousness and indifference toward the valiant strikers in Colorado will some day recoil upon the organization they represent. The destitution in the homes of the deported miners is pitiful, and yet the scoundrel in uniform, "General" Bell, has ordered that no aid shall be given the starving families unless he finds them worthy of the help. One of the deported miners committed suicide when he heard of this shameless and outrageous order.

The deported miners are threatened that they will be "treated to a rope," if they venture to return to their families. "Families are divided," says a dispatch, "brothers are arrayed against one another, wives beseech their husbands to change their ideas, tears and words of despair prevail in hundreds of homes. It takes a strong heart to withstand the pitiful scenes that are constantly being enacted. One of the most pitiful of these took place in military headquarters recently, when Mrs. Jonas Rocks, wife of one of the men in the bull-pen appeared with a six-months-old infant in her arms. "Mr. Bell," she said, tearfully, "can my husband get out if he gives up his card?" She said she had eight children at home.

General Bell looked up the man's record and agreed to release Rocks on condition that he leave the union. The woman thanked him profusely and was admitted to the bull-pen, where she fell into the arms of her husband. It was the first meeting in several days. The scene was heartrending. Rocks refused to give up the union and after fifteen minutes implored his wife to leave him. Other men in the bull-pen turned away with tears staining their cheeks. Mrs. Rocks came out of the bull-pen crying as if her heart would break. Add to this the torturing of miners to exact "confessions" from them, the demolishing of the miners' printing plants, the destruction of the miners' stores, and the assaulting of women by the "guardians of law and order," and you will wonder why the miners have not resorted to violence and blown the instigators of such tyranny and vandalism into atoms.

INTERLOPER.

Reflections.

I am drunken not with the blood of the saints, but I have imbibed too freely of the overwhelming patriotism of the Demo-Republico enthusiasm. My brain is a reed with the intoxicating eloquence and wonderful promise of this great combine; yea, my heart painfully throbs against my yielding diaphragm because of the many sacrifices that they—the servants of the "dear good people"—are going to suffer for us. What a thrilling spectacle it is to see the coming man descending from his high and mighty pedestal just for the sake of a love greeting with some humble toiler of the soil! How my heart bleeds in sympathy for such humility. Surely, our votes can never recompense them for such loss of dignity. What if they do go and straightway forget us? Are they not busy dividing political pie? But now our thoughts by day, and our dreams by night, are imbued with the rosy glow of utopian bliss which is to be no longer deferred than next November. Undoubtedly we must present a verdant front, else these fairy stories would soon cease. Must an unthinking mind always accompany a guileless mien? So accustomed

are we to the genial smile and affable manner of ye office aspirant that a mild form of hallucination takes possession of us, and it is not unusual for us to mistake "Bossys" benign countenance for the office peregrinator, as she gazes in the distance, for her steps coming in our direction with her white face resplendent against her black-coated body for all the world looks like the Moses who only dresses in rich attire that he may not disgrace the loved constituency. How can we as a nation, which has been redeemed by both parties at several different times, fail to appreciate the wonderful services rendered? Just think of that supreme political ruler "Grover" hovering over Buzzard Bay in all the transcendental glory of a white elephant at Forepaughs Show. How our admiration grows.

Just keep your eyes on Teddy the terrible. Just observe his stupendous strides, combined with a magnificent indifference, as he caters to popism which crushes maternalism that paternalism may wave aloft the banner of tyranny, whose motto is "might over right." "The strong to rule the weak." In revelations the woman and her child is the main object of persecution, and all the dragons cast floods of water after them, seeking to either destroy them or drive them into the wilderness, yet we have today that wonderful paradox before us—a people who are pretending to be our saviors, but in reality trying to destroy every vestige of woman's individuality. Just remember his props to paternalism, but in the name of heaven do not forget his (Teddy's) latest stunts in trying to crush maternalism. But I forget, we must never question vested power; for do not many think that all the principles and brains swarm and settle in a few heads and hearts of the world crowned type? Yet Christ differs with them for he says the rich "always" oppress the poor, and that God is no respecter of persons. Those who pretend to follow him are most noted for their lack of love and charity. Indeed, the righteousness of the publicans and sinners far exceed these, but we are all aware of their lack of consistency. With them the governor is superior to the governed. With ignorance might is right.

Where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise. It is hard for us to live among such. They are the sleepers in the camp calling for a little more sleep, a little more slumber, a little more folding of the hands. The enemy feeds them political soothing syrup, and they think they are well. It is easier to follow the old than the new. Teddy advises large families,—that is old; it is the crowning philosophy of the dark ages. Teddy would reduce all women to nothing short of perpetual incubation. There is no need for any woman to figure long to know the reason for his views. Whoever looks at his martial face and understands the mark of the forehead has the key to the inner workings of him. Who rules the political destinies of a nation founded by a people who loved liberty more than life—who declared they were persecuted beyond endurance and came here to found a new nation of tolerance and freedom? Must woman now have to fight against intolerance and threatened subjugation—must she sacrifice quality to quantity, or must she multiply that the furnace fires of war be kept at a white heat by her sons? Heaven forbid that another child be born for such a sacrilegious purpose!

Must woman ever be the legitimate prey of man's lust and rapacity? If so, she had better hang a mill stone around her neck and jump into the sea and be heard of no more. Does Teddy and his followers breed their fine stock in the manner they advise breeding the human family? If so, then his stables would soon be filled with an overplus of draught horses.

Let all such go to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field, and learn a lesson in nature as advised in the book of Job. Might

they not learn that coercion is the root of all evil? What is conceived in coercion must live in coercion. No stream can rise higher than its source. Women everywhere are to-day rebelling against coercive force, and are insistently demanding "love or nothing." One poor woman came to me for advice a few days ago and declared that if things kept on as they had that she either would kill herself or leave him (her husband). There is a case for the divine Teddy, and would he advocate submission of the man or woman, or would he advocate freedom? We all know, for he is a man of the old conservative type. It is well enough for wealth to bring up large families if they so choose, but for poor weak woman to add to her misery of child bearing the office of cook, housekeeper, laundress, milkmaid, gardener, and maid of all work—well, it's just a little more than flesh and blood can stand. The scribes and pharisees would cinch things by proscribing divorce, which always brings to my mind the words of Christ, used to people of that class in his time about them laying burdens on the people, and doing not so much as lifting them by their little finger. Indeed in all ages it seems to be their mission to load honesty so heavily that it can neither move nor remove its useless load. He who is free can foresee what this stringency will lead to. The people are building underground tunnels right under the noses of these Pharisee wisecracks, and they go where they will and come when they please. Alas, for that dignity exalts only itself and forgets the least of these. L. J. LANGSTON.

Panion, Colo.

Blessings of Civilization.*

The "blessings of civilization," in their application to what are termed "nature peoples," form a concise, and, in almost every case, a similar history. The "blessings"—in inverted commas, which should not be confused with the real blessings or benefits attendant upon those within the centers of civilization—are the lees of a purer distillation; they are found only in foreign countries, and are bestowed upon those who have no means of comparing the spurious with the real. Their history begins with the discoverer, continues with the missionary and the trader, and ends in the extinction or the subjugation of the nature peoples and the forcible seizure of their territory. A curious bend of religion and rum, of beads and beatitudes, of grace and greed—the decalogue written with the heart's blood of dark men; a picture of mercy seared upon quivering flesh; a proclamation of love that reaches the heart through an opening made with the sword—these are the "blessings of civilization." A curious blend and a tragic inconsistency; they tell of the glories of heaven—and lay hands upon the treasures of earth; they teach the beauty of chastity—and spread unmentionable diseases; they preach the wisdom of temperance—and open saloons at the corner of every street; they proclaim to the "children of nature" that peace is a jewel from heaven—while Krupp and Maxim ride at anchor in the bay! And when the circle of their destruction is complete, the missionary—still unconscious of the wrong he has unwittingly done—seeks for a new sphere of activity; the trader smiles at the planter and speculates upon future increases of profit; while the politician at home, in a burst of post-prandial eloquence, extols the beneficence and profitableness of "manifest destiny!"

Deny it? No one denies it, but those who have commercial or political interests to serve endeavor to place the responsibility upon some irresponsible agency: "It is fate"—"it

*Portions of an article written by Sixto Lopez and Thomas T. Patterson for the *Springfield Republican*, and published in the *Weekly Republican* of May 6, 1904.

is destiny"—"it is Providence!" As if every ill, which we try to overcome or eradicate, were not equally attributable to these agencies. But, then, the self-interested apologist is always ready to humbly submit to Providence—when it pays! . . .

The decay and subjugation of the Hawaiian race have been attributed to several causes; but the explanation which is generally accepted, and which serves to still the conscience of all good men who feel an undefined responsibility for the wrong that has been done, is that it is the inevitable result of an inferior race coming in contact, and in racial competition with a superior—an outcome of the law of the survival of the fittest; and that there is therefore no cure, and only a philosophical regret for such a condition in the supposed natural order of things.

This popular misapprehension and misapplication of Darwin's admirable theory is only another evidence of the truth that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. No one will deny that there is a difference between the Anglo-Saxon and the Hawaiian. The one belongs to an advanced, the other to a primitive race. Each has its place in nature, and the two are no more comparable than a musician is comparable with a mechanic. Now please observe, the contest of the survival of the fittest is not between two different races or species, any more than between musician and mechanic; it occurs between individuals of the same species, or between musician and musician. It is because of this that the highest and the lowest forms of life co-exist at the present time, with innumerable intermediate gradation. For the same reason the Indian prince co-exists with the pariah; the competition is not between the two, but between prince and prince, pariah and pariah.

Nevertheless, Darwin's theory is applicable to the Hawaiian situation, but not in the form of a contest between a superior and an inferior race, and not in a manner that will ease the Anglo-Saxon's conscience or prove creditable to his pretensions. Thus, the contest of the survival of the fittest is not only for food and area, but in the avoidance of enemies and beasts of prey. And here we reach the real solution of the Hawaiian problem. It is the beast of prey that has caused the downfall of the Hawaiian. It was not due to the contest of an inferior with a superior race, but to the contact of a primitive race with the poisonous dregs of an advanced race. It was the whaler and the early trader, steeped in rum and lust, that brought disease and devastation to the Hawaiians; and it was the trader and the planter, possessing some of the intellect of the advanced race, but lacking its moral qualities, that continued the work and consummated the final overthrow of this once vigorous people. A superior race indeed! If the Hawaiians had come in contact with such their history would have been very different. A superior race would have healed, not spread disease; it would have protected, not rebuffed its newly-found fellow man; it would have confirmed him in his territorial possessions and given him of its religion, its wisdom, its morality and its law, protecting him from the vampires of its own race. A superior race would have lived its religion, not merely preached it; its morality would have been of everyday practice, not something merely to point to in a book containing ten commandments. But instead of all this there was the missionary, who, tho self-denying and devoted, was usually narrow-minded, without knowledge of the world and its larger problems, and quite unconscious of the mischief he was working. By his "zeal without knowledge," he gained for the white man the confidence of the native population; he unwittingly became the "confidence-man" of the vampire who followed him. The vampire was in turn succeeded by the wolf in sheep's clothing—the "respectable" trader and planter—who scorned to indulge in petty fraud, and so took the whole country, in order

that there should be no more defrauding of the natives!

These are the processes which have gone on in Hawaii for the last century, and which are now going on in the eastern and southern seas. In order to succeed in such a contest, the Hawaiians might have had to evolve, not, mark you, a higher or a more moral type, but a new type of vampire—a vampire capable of withstanding rum and the diseases of licentiousness, and an equal or a superior in every form of devilry condemned between Genesis and Revelation! Besides, there is this important point: the contest is never a fair one, for if the vampire be overthrown by the rough-and-ready methods of the primitive race, the advanced race sends a warship to his rescue. The contest might be simplified if the primitive race were allowed to treat the vampire according to his deserts. But altho the advanced race will not protect the primitive race from the vampire, it protects the vampire from the primitive race. It is, therefore, not the survival of the fittest, but the survival of the worst, owing to the protection of the strongest.

But in any case, responsibility cannot thus be avoided by an appeal to natural law. Leprosy and smallpox are natural products; do we bow resignedly to Nature in these cases? Do we allow leprosy to wither, and smallpox to run riot, and then wait for the survival of the fittest? Nature might, indeed, evolve a type of being which would be immune to these diseases; it would be the fittest, but would it be the best? We know that it would not necessarily be a high or a moral type, but the set of conditions which evolve an immune are not the same as those which evolve a moral or an intellectual being. The philosopher and the divine are just as likely to fall a victim to these diseases as are the farm laborer or the burglar. Accordingly, we apply our best energies to isolate, to prevent, to cure and to eradicate disease. But we do not isolate our moral leper; on the contrary, we turn him loose and protect him while he works destruction upon those whose confidence has been gained by missionary enterprise, and by the preaching of a religion, which, if lived, would not result in the extermination of a race or the seizure of its territory. . . .

It is still a far cry to a realization of the great wrong that is being done to primitive peoples; and until the wrong has been realized, and especially by those in high places, there is little hope of salvation from the curse of "the blessings of civilization."

A Pleasant Rebuke.

EAST AURORA, N. Y., June 16, 1904.

Dear Mr. Isaak—I see you are making use of my article, entitled "An Inquiry Into Respectability." This is entirely proper and right, but I would like to explain that I expect to use this same matter in a book that I am compiling, and in order to keep my copyright complete, I wish you would insert in your next issue to the effect that the article is written by myself, and copyrighted 1904.

I read your paper, every issue with pleasure and profit, and must congratulate you on the good stuff you are presenting to the people. If you are ever in our vicinity, will be much pleased to have you come and make us a visit.

So here are all kind wishes, for I am ever

Your sincere,

ELBERT HUBBARD.

[The above explains why we discontinue to publish Mr. Hubbard's interesting series of articles on "Respectability."—A. L.]

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.
Issued Weekly by FREE SOCIETY PUBL. ASSOCIATION
A. ISAAK.....Editor.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 230 E. Fourth Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter March 3, 1904, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

The publishers as such are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.



SUNDAY, JULY 3, 1904.

472.

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

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.

ATTENTION.

All delinquent subscribers are earnestly requested to renew their subscriptions if they wish to receive the paper.

In New York City Mrs. ANNIE EDELSTADT will visit the negligent subscribers, and we hope she will not spend carfare in vain.

* * *

For the benefit of FREE SOCIETY a pleasant afternoon and evening outing will take place Sunday, July 3, 1904, at Smith's Wald Hotel, near Glendale Schuetzenpark. Section 13. Transfers from all Brooklyn cars to Richmond Hill cars.

* * *

FOR PHILADELPHIA.

The First Annual Moonlight Excursion of the SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUB, arranged for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY, takes place on Saturday, July 30, 2 p.m. sharp. The boat "Henry A. Haber" leaves from Dock Street Wharf. The steamer takes only 175 adults, and so tickets should be procured in advance. Tickets for adults 75 cts.

* * *

For the benefit of the FREIE ARBEITER-STIMME an excursion will take place on Saturday, July 16. The steamer "Richmond" and two fine barges will leave Market st. Pier at 2:30 p.m. sharp. Come and be merry. Ticket 50 cents.

* * *

A Summer-Night Picnic for the benefit of THE FREIHEIT, given under the auspices of the singing society "Freiheit," of New York, will take place on July, 10, at Old Homestead Park, Third Ave., near 91st st. Admission 10 Cents.

From Far and Near.

SOUTH AMERICA.—A general strike on a gigantic scale has commenced in Buenos Ayres. The last took place a year ago, when the authorities expected to have killed the germ by a rabid expulsion of foreign workers. The city was placed in a state of siege; and the population handed over to the police and troops, who, acting on orders, broke up hundreds of homes by expelling the breadwin-

ners from the Republic at a moment's notice. The present strike is to show sympathy with the cabinet makers, a capitalist employer having thought fit to bully his restive factory hands by a demand for soldiers to awe them into submission. They at once proclaimed a strike, and other trades came out in sympathy. Fifty-six thousand men have already quit work. Remembering the recent expulsions, they have issued a circular declaring that if the like is attempted on the present occasion every vessel leaving for foreign ports will be dynamited.

SPAIN.—Arrests still continue in relation to the Alcala del Valle affair of last August. The trial of some of the workers by a military tribunal has just been concluded. Two of the accused are sentenced to imprisonment for life in chains, five to twenty years' penal servitude, seven to ten years, five to one year. Teresa Claramunt, the fearless speaker, is sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

According to report, all the prisoners prior to condemnation were ill-treated Montjuich fashion in order to extort incriminating evidence against themselves and comrades. Soler, secretary of one of the workers' federations, has been condemned to eight years' penal servitude for having inserted a translation of a French report on the general strike and anti-militarism in the federation's bulletin. The Spanish and French groups are combining to bring this fresh indication of Spanish military ferocity and legal injustice before the public.—*Freedom*.

Our Spanish comrades always carry educational work side by side with their propaganda work. They publish already an excellent periodical, the *Modern School*, and they have published an excellent short universal history for youths (quite good enough for full-grown people as well) by Dr. Clemencio Jacquinet. The same comrades have started just now a very nice *Review of Pedagogy, Physiological and Experimental*, and they intend, moreover, to start a series of lectures on sociological geography, for which they would like to have some photographs. "We should like," they write, "to show by the side of the sumptuous buildings of the great cities, also the slums reserved for the working men," and Dr. Jacquinet asks us if we know some amateur photographer who could help them by sending them such photographs.

We support that appeal most cordially. If any one of the comrades can send such photographs of any of the great Scotch, Irish and English cities—of the working men quarters, or scenes of factory life, and so on—let him send them to Sophie Kropotkin, Bromley, Kent. They will be received with great gratitude, and will be forwarded to our Spanish comrades. — Peter Kropotkin in *Freedom*.

When men fall under despotism, they are bound to make efforts to shake it off; and those efforts are, at that period, the only property the unfortunate people have left. The height of misery is, not to be able to free ourselves from it, and to suffer without daring to complain. Where is the man barbarous and stupid enough to give the name of peace to the silence and forced tranquility of slavery? It is, indeed, peace, but it is the peace of the tomb.—*Helvetius*.

Echoes.

If it be true that bloodhounds when put on the trail of the miscreant who caused the dynamite explosion in Cripple Creek, Colo., by which a dozen non-union miners lost their lives, followed the trail to the houses of watchmen for the mine-owners, then W. J. Ghent ought to change the title of his independent article from: "The Next Step: A Benevolent Feudalism," to: "The Present Step: A Benevolent Assimilation, a la Filipino," and alter the text accordingly.

* * *

True words were those of a New Jersey vice-chancellor in a speech at the State Bar Association at Atlantic City on the 17th. "The world is living," he said, "in a state of international lynch law, where might makes right and where the biggest army and the biggest guns rule." International law has gone out of fashion and national hold-ups have taken its place. Chancellor Stevenson honors the thing too much when he calls it lynch law; for lynch law is a crude method of doing justice, whereas this thing is undisguised free-booting.

* * *

But this lynch-law state, as Chancellor Stevenson stigmatizes it, is not international alone. It is rapidly becoming domestic. When our plutocracy threw democratic principles to the winds in order to play at empire in the Philippines, they opened the way to playing at empire in Colorado, and the game there is going merrily on. The owners of the Colorado mines own the State (p. 163), and free speech, free press, private property and personal liberty are no longer secure without a certificate from the mine-owners' union. Even Denver papers have had warnings. Under the influence and coercion of the mine-owners' organization, Senator Patterson's papers, the *Times* and the *News*, are facing an advertisers' boycott for having opposed gubernatorial and military lynch law. Fortunately, Patterson is not disposed to yield the freedom of the press, and a fight is being waged by him in his papers which may prove to be a tocsin of revolt against government by and for monopoly corporations.—*The Public*.

* * *

What will they do in New York about the killing of hundreds?

Nothing, probably.

There will be a solemn investigation, and perhaps some small individual—of the fifteen-dollar-a-week type—may get into trouble. They may go through the form of locking him up.

But do you think that the men whose pockets hold the money that ought to have bought the lifeboats and the life preservers, will be punished?

Don't think that, for a moment. They represent money and respectability.

They will regret the deaths—they will, perhaps, send flowers to some of the hundreds of funerals—unless their lawyers advise them that that might be an admission of guilt. They will soon forget the incident that interrupted a business career.—*New York Evening Journal*.

* * *

"For some weeks a reign of terror existed at Garrett, a little mining town in Somerset county, this State," writes Edward Putnam from Pennsylvania to the *Public*. "Outrages upon human rights were being perpetrated, and the laws were temporarily prostrate. The idea of the authorities appears to have been to let the parties to the conflict fight it out between themselves, subject to consequent responsibility for their acts. There was an armed force guarding the mines, and an armed mob on the outside threatening attack. The army of invasion was reported to be in possession of the town, and men armed with rifles and shotguns were patrolling the streets. In the mining regions of this State this condition of

affairs has become chronic. The only special feature of the Garrett insurrection, which for the hour attracted general attention, was the firing of a striking miner's little home, and the death in the flames of the miner's wife, three of her children and two grandchildren. The crime is charged to some of the imported workmen who have taken the strikers' places. "At Garrett was enacted the same tragedy witnessed almost yearly in this State."

* * *

The radical membership of the Parry organization has a weakness for using the word "un-American," when denouncing organized labor for its opposition to the "open shop," but these orators inflamed with venom towards unionism very guardedly refrain from giving us a definition of what the word un-American means. We presume that the opposition of organized labor to the sweat-shop is "un-American," and that every advanced step taken by the organized army of the men who toil in lifting human beings from the servile bondage of wage slavery is un-American," and then invasion upon the sacred domain of property rights. These profit-mongers who reap their dividends from the suffering of laboring humanity—from the tender fingers of children driven into the mines, mills and factories of the nation, have no more right to prate about what constitutes Americanism than fiends in the infernal regions have to preach about the virtues contained in the doctrines of Christianity. They are men without a heart, and without a soul, and their god is the almighty dollar. Citizenship under our present industrial system, without the dollar brand upon it, has ceased to be American in the eyes of the rapacious wolves who glory in minting profit from the misery of human flesh. The words American or un-American, under the reign of capitalism, have little significance, for the man with an empty stomach. The man in rags, a vagrant upon the street, the clothed in the vaunted nobility of American citizenship, will feel no thrill of pride in remembering that his cradle was rocked beneath the canopy of Young Columbia's sky, or that he wears the title of American citizen. It is just as painful to die from starvation under the stars and stripes as it is to die from the pangs or hunger under the banner of the czar of Russia. In order that our conceptions may be made clearer, we would respectfully ask some patriot to define the word un-American.—*Miners' Magazine*.

Government a Necessary Evil.

If I ask an Anarchist if government of some kind is not a necessity, he will return a negative answer. Now, what is Anarchy, and what do its leaders propose to do? When do they expect to accomplish their ends, and by what means? The first question, which is inseparable from the others, hardly calls for an answer. It is, as I understand it, a free society, *i. e.*, each man free to do as he wills; no government to intervene. This presupposes a state of things which have never existed, except with man in a wild state, or possibly with a few individuals; but even they have had rules of conduct, which are the germs of government.

No one who has read any of the editorials, or the leading contributions to FREE SOCIETY, will deny the ability at the head of that journal. But as far as I have read, I fail to discover other than general statements, which, of course, will not do for those who demand analytical facts and clear expression. The general and oft repeated statements, that everyone should be left absolutely free to think and do as he pleases, unrestrained by conventional rules, is beautiful in theory; it is an illusory dream well calculated to charm the unwary, a soliloquy—a rambling talk. Such a state of society, were it possible, would be the acme of human happiness. Such a picture is calculated to dazzle the eye and capti-

vate the unthinking multitude; but it will never stand the sunlight. The past history of the world, which is ever repeating itself, and the prospective future, are insurmountable obstacles in its pathway. Today we are basking in the sunshine of history which carries us back ten or more thousands of years; during all this time man has been the same, subject to the slow changes of environment; his nature has not changed. A few have done the thinking,—all others have but followed their leaders. As they have been and have done in the centuries behind them, so will they be and do in the long vista to come. History ever repeating itself, all things in nature move in cycles; there are no straight lines, no centrifugal forces in nature. This applies to men, peoples, nations, states and empires,—to civilizations, to all. The old Chaldeo-Babylonians built up a civilization superior in many respects to our own. Where is that civilization now? Europe and America stand today about where Babylon and Egypt stood ten thousand years ago. Our turn will come, and, as wild beasts, after centuries of civilization, roamed in solitude over the desolation of the once mighty cities of Mesopotamia, so, in the cycle of events, will wild beasts hunt their prey along the streets and thoroughfares of London, Paris and New York. As the future is to be measured by the past: When, oh when will the Anarchist realize his covert dream of an Elysian paradise where the sweet fragrance of absolute freedom shall issue from every land, free of the curse of governmental control,—the time when all mankind will be educated up to a standard to live in peace without government,—the time when all will see, think and act in accord?

Is it possible, by any amount of education, to teach all to think and act along the same lines? That time can never come until man's nature and natural laws are overthrown, and new nature is ushered in. All men are selfish, self-preservation is the first law of our being; it pervades the entire animal world, and no amount of education will ever eradicate it.

When the Anarchist can pasture his cattle beside his neighbor's grain field without fences, and educate them up to a standard to keep out of that grain, then may he be able to teach the other herd to keep off his neighbors' premises.*

When the Anarchist says there are no good governments in the world, I fully agree with him. All are bad; but bad is a comparative term,—all are not alike bad. I concede that none are good; but some are worse than others, ours is the worst of all. It is the worst because it is the most expensive and gives its people less protection than all others. The government which curtails the liberties of its people the least, gives the greatest amount of protection, and at the least expense, is the best. Ours is behind all other in these respects. According to statistics, our people are paying 1,600,000,000 of dollars annually to be governed; to have our federal, state and municipal legislative bodies meet and vote away our liberties. Our government, like all other, is in the hands of politicians. Politicians are the worst men in the world—worse than devils, nearly as bad as the priesthood. Power and pelf is their all. They glibly talk patriotism, which has no other meaning than subservience to the powers that be. Patriotism is a cheat and a fraud, a device to hide rascality. The politician tells us that our federal and state governments give us protection. May love save us from such protection! I should like to know when our federal government ever saved its people from a foreign foe? Since our revolution we have had four wars,

*Well, well; if the absence of fences denotes the capability of living without government, then the Russian peasants have reached that stage of education and culture. The Russian peasants pasture their cattle beside their neighbors' grain fields without fences, and "invasions," which are rare, occur from negligence and not from malice. I V

in each and every one of which we were the aggressors. Did we not make the war of 1812? Did we not make the war on Mexico and steal her Pacific possessions? Did not the political demagogues provoke and make our civil war? Did not our president and Congress force that late cursed war on Spain, rob her of her territory, and then keep up a continuous war on the Filipinos, and murder their men, women, and children, in the name of patriotism? Did not the pious Roosevelt steal the Isthmus of Panama?

The only protection the American people need is to be protected from governmental plunder. Not one farthing's benefit does any one receive from the federal government that he does not pay for and pay in advance, such as the use of the federal courts and the carrying of the mails. As to the states, and their municipalities, we pay in the form of direct taxes, a hundred dollars where we get the benefit of one dollar.

I am not surprised that Anarchists are on the increase. They see the curse of government as administered. But it is not the fault of a proper government, as much as the administration of a bad one. The late legislation on the Anarchists is the result of cowardice, first invoked by Roosevelt, who, after the death of McKinley, fearing his own life, implored Congress to enact laws for the extermination of all who, however honest and harmless, profess to believe the world can be educated up to a position to live without government. Whatever may be said about our cowardly executive, our rascals and subservient congressmen to the executive, the thing is with us. How to be rid of it, is a question more easy to ask than to answer.

The most of the evils which have been entailed on the American people, are the natural and inevitable outcome of our misconceived form of government. The few, seeing the rottenness, are on a strike for all they can get; the great masses are stupid, ignorant, and purchasable; the result, the worst government on earth. But I fear I am drifting away from the main question: (1) What do the Anarchists propose to do? (2) When are they going to do it? (3) How do they propose to do it? (To these questions I do not want the stereotyped answer: "Educate them up." I demand to know the *modus operandi*.) (4) What are you going to do with the present state of society? (5) What do you propose to do with the present governments? (6) What do you propose to do with government officials? (7) What do you propose to do with the present wealth in the hands of the few? (8) How are you to help the poor? (9) How are you to put brains in empty skulls? (10) How can you make people think who have no thinker? (11) How do you propose, in the absence of government, to keep the ill-disposed from encroaching on the rights of others? (12) How are you to change human nature? (13) If, without government, one takes your property from you, or assaults and beats you, or shoots you, or kills you, what do you propose to do in any such case?

To all these questions, which are fair and legitimate, I ask for fair and full answers; nor do I want to be put off with the words "educate the people up to a proper standard."

In conclusion allow me to suggest that we cease advocating the impossible; join our forces, revolutionize the government by peaceful means, if possible, and establish the best government we can secure, while the power resides with the people; for at the rate things are going the time is not far distant when the power of the people will be a thing of the past. Empire is in the air, and the powers at Washington are marshalling their forces, and building ships to crush the last vestiges of our once cherished liberties.

Why sleep while the cohorts of hell are drilling their legions to march on us. There are enough thinking, discontented people in

the United States, who, if they would unite, could by peaceful means carry everything before them. Why stand we idle? Why let the golden opportunity pass from our minds? Why listen to the song of lullaby from the crafty hands of government, like the babe in the cradle? All is deceit, all is a pack of lies, clothed in the old rags of patriotism to hush the prolétaire, while the official plunderer intrenches himself in imperial power. The presidential election is at hand, so let us bend all our energies to defeat the crafty pilot at the helm. Roosevelt is an unprincipled despot. If the democracy cannot give us something better, something on which we can rely, then let us join for a new deal; give us but the one motto, the restoration of the American people to their former liberties under the letter and spirit of the constitution. Let us unfurl our banner bearing this lone star, and let us carry it on high, even tho we march over the dead bodies of the imps of hades, and the cohorts of an imperial hell. Sleep not, the war is already in,—the bugle's blasts are heard in the distance, the clattering of hoofs, the tread of marshall feet, amid the clouds of dust foretell that our enemy hovers nigh.

PARISH B. LADD.

Government an Unnecessary Evil.

The lengthy article by Parish B. Ladd on "Government a Necessary Evil" divides readily into the following three parts:

1. An argument, very good, as far as it goes, to show that government is *necessarily* an evil—that is an argument in favor of Anarchism.

2. A plea, principally in the peroration, for laying aside all differences among liberals, at least *pro tem*, and uniting to beat Roosevelt. I have no objection to any one's doing that who thinks it worth while. True, we might have more dangerous men in the White House than Roosevelt. There was much more real venom in McKinley's oily gammon than there is in his buncombe extract of the last twenty years' patent "inside weeklies. Still—"when ever you see a head, hit it." To "smash a slate," bust the administration, defeat the dominant party, is, at least always better than to support them.

3. Objections to Anarchism, mostly in the form of thirteen questions addressed to Anarchists. From among this unlucky number it may be convenient to take the eleventh first.

"How do you propose, in the advance of government, to keep the ill-disposed from encroaching on the rights of others?" Ah, there! Just so. Always put that question first, instead of eleventh; for it really is the crucial one. Why "we" collectively propose to just simply LET 'EM RIP. ("Print them words in big letters," as Artemus Ward said upon a similar occasion). Observe, I say "we" collectively. Individually I have not had much trouble with "the ill-disposed." They once robbed my clothes-line. Once, they became rather troublesome in my turnip field. Once, they tore down an empty shanty which I had built. Once, some of them came stealing eggs. I don't deny they are a nuisance. So are mosquitoes. Fourth of July crackers, church-bells and many other things against which government makes no pretence of protecting me. It does make such pretensions in the matter of clothes-lines, shanties, turnips, and eggs. But in no one of the cases where I might have invoked such protection, did I find it of the slightest value. Has your experience

been widely different? On the other hand I found that I could often do something without government. I caught one of the egg thieves and talked to him like a father. He did not call again. Similarly with a turnip raiser. I have, indeed, heard it said that such "encroachments" would be much more common but for fear of government. But I don't believe it: and, what is more, I can give a reason for disbelieving. My reason is that I do not observe them to be more, but rather less, common in proportion as government is less efficient. Shady gentlemen, who find their room preferred to their company in the unpoliced country, always strike a bee-line for those identical parts of great cities where the peelers are thickest and the enforcement of penal laws most rigorous. Nor is it at all difficult to say why. The first governments were instituted by robbers to facilitate their business of stealing. The institution, as Mr. Ladd is aware, bears every mark of its origin. One excuse for the existence of governments is to resist other governments. And this may once have had some weight. But that was long ago. The most successful resistance to foreign governments in authentic history has been made by almost complete Anarchies—Greece to Persia, the American colonies to England, Revolutionary France to Europe; in all of which cases, even the invaders found their antiquated governmental machinery a hindrance. In our days "the ill-disposed" are a mere remnant of reversionary degenerates; to fear whom is simply cowardly; and who find no place so congenial as that where government can protect them on consideration of a well-understood black-mail. Of course I mean by "the ill-disposed," the little ones; and so does Mr. Ladd. He will scarcely propose government as a remedy for the encroachments of Napoleons, financial or other. These really formidable specimens of the ill-disposed become so only thru persuading people that "government is a necessary evil."

The answers to the other questions follow pretty straight from this. If educating to comprehension of the above truths be a stereotyped method, I am glad to hear it. It ought to be stereotyped; for it is the only way to do any real good.

2. "When do we propose to do it?" As fast as possible. Mr. Ladd is my witness that it is not necessary to educate all the people. Educate a majority of the intelligent class to think government mischievous instead of useful, and the thing is done.

3. "How do we propose to do it?" It must be confessed there is some difference of program. Some Anarchists (I beg their pardon, Anticrats) think there is much virtue in repeating that "every man has a right to do as he d—m pleases, provided he does not invade the equal rights of others." I prefer showing that government does not prevent crime but increases it. This, however, there need be no controversy about—"wherever you see a head—hit it." Attack the hydra at the point which seems to you the most vulnerable—there are plenty to choose from among—and if we all keep on doing that, we shall soon fix them.

4. "What are you going to do with the present state of society?" Ignore it, as much as possible. Mrs. Grundy lives on people's anxiety about what she will say.

5. "What do you propose to do with the present governments?" Show 'em up; till every one sees they are just as bad as the discarded ones.

6. "What do you propose to do with government officials?" Make it as hard as possible for them to live, otherwise than by going to work.

7. "What do you propose to do with the present wealth in the hands of a few?" There is not enough to worry about, unless you mean by wealth charters of monopoly. They, of course, would go, with their creator and preserver, government.

8. "How are you to help the poor?" For the worthy and helpless poor, now, this is a grave question; which every man not so poor, must, on anarchistic principles, answer according to his best thoughts. But when charters of monopoly are gone—the sexual among them—no poor, except cripples, will have any difficulty in helping themselves.

9 and 10. (Virtually the same.) "How will you put brains into empty skulls?" Not at all. It cannot be done. Only quacks pretend to do such things as that. With the abolition of sexual tyranny, I incline to think the production of empty skulls will decrease.

12. "How are you to change human nature?" I do not see the pertinency of these questions. Who has proposed to change human nature? It probably is true, that, while human nature remains unchanged, "the masses"—"them asses," will want to be in the fashion. Therefore they will support government, as long as the majority of educated people do; but not after favoring it becomes a mark of ignorance and a passport to ridicule.

13. "If without government, one takes your property from you, or assaults and beats you, or shoots you, or kills you, what do you propose to do in any such a case?" If he killed me, probably nothing afterwards. I might come and haunt him, perhaps. Otherwise, can give no general answer. I must know all the circumstances of the case. But is it not enough that I am afraid; because of reasons to which I could easily add others, for thinking such things less likely to happen without government than with? C. L. JAMES.

The Postoffice.

In the sight of recent doings of the post-office department, it would be a great mistake to have the government control the transportation of the country, as some Reformers and Socialists are urging. We have lately seen how the postoffice department seeks to control the business, the pleasure, the religion, and the ordinary affairs of the individual by censoring the mails.

Any person who contemplates the contemptible pleas under which editors, writers, publishers and average citizens have of late been arrested, will at once reflect upon the additional scope that would be given the government if the transportation of the country was given over to its hands.

By applying regulations corresponding to those now in vogue in the postoffice, every passenger and every package of freight would be made the object of detective inquiry or investigation, with the result that what the postoffice department has neglected in espionage the transportation department would fully cover.

The *Boston Traveler* under ten lines of big heading, says the postmaster-general issued a "fraud order" against the Preferred

Mercantile Co., Boston, and that the company promptly retaliated in less than a week by procuring an injunction from Judge Colt in the United States Circuit Court, prohibiting Postmaster Hibbard, of Boston, from obeying the order. Mr. Hibbard wrote to Washington for instructions, and after a long wait received none. Perhaps the department will have to open its eyes.

In the meantime, people thruout New England, who had written the company, are worked up to wrath because of the non-delivery of their letters, they simply being held in the meantime. These people will, undoubtedly incline toward joining forces with thousands of others in every walk of life who have of late been victims of the postoffice department's folly and tyranny, and, with them, they will demand that the post-office be run as the express companies are run, divested also of the legal restraints imposed upon them. The fact is, mails should be "free" for everything save those things physically damaging to them.

Those capitalists, therefore, who recently laid before the people the details by which they would run the post-office, can now confidently come forward and find many editors, writers and speakers ready to assist them in attaining their end.

Congressman John Sharp Williams says the post-office department is "rotten from turret to foundation!" So it is! I will here write of its injustice to the citizen.

Capitalists have already laid before the people the details by which the post-office system can be managed better than it now is. What private enterprise has been successfully doing in the express line it can also do in the post-office line.

Before the last presidential election tons of properly prepared mail were lost or detained until too late to be of service.

Unless a man is writing to a confidential friend he hardly knows nowadays what an average postal or letter may bring him.

All over the country men of the highest standing are finding themselves suddenly confronted by inspectors, and then marched by United States deputy marshals before United States commissioners for a nuisance of the mails, when the sequel proves that the post-office department is but making itself an agent in assisting some small-minded persons to the realization of a petty spite not obtainable otherwise—it is despicable.

In view of this growing despotism, therefore, it is time to sort out all the various apologies which have made the despotic growth possible, and give the country really "free mails."

So wroth have some rich and prominent New Yorkers become over these inquisitorial features in the mails that they have formed a league, and have sent a prominent Bostonian to Washington to interview officials, to manifest their disgust, and to work, as far as possible, for that freedom of the mails to which the people of a professedly free country are entitled. FRANCIS B. LIVESAY.

On Several Things.

I see that the new paper *Freeland*, issued by my friend Mr. Horr, is pretty sharply criticized in No. 466 of *FREE SOCIETY* by a pseudonymous writer. (Not that his pseudonym is meant for concealment—he is evidently confident that we shall all recognize him by the sort of thing he writes just as we do the man who puts the second syllable of his name before the first.) His criticisms on *Freeland* give several opportunities for counter-criticism, but I pick out only one of these, because the article appeals especially to facts, and because its chief claim is that the pseudonymist and his sort are distinguished from Mr. Horr and his sort by their preference for putting their ideas to the test of experiment.

I remark, then, that it is lucky our pseudonymist does not really care for concealment; for he begins giving himself away sooner than he thinks. He locates himself geographically by the faults he finds; he proves that he does not live at or near New York. If he had been a New York comrade, or anywhere in that neighborhood, he would have known that Mr. Horr had already sunk a lot of money and hard work in making an experiment of his ideas, besides an amount of nerve-strain which was doubtless the indirect cause of his further misfortune; and that he is at this moment sinking more money and more work in trying to get the chance to repeat the same experiment with an alteration of the conditions. Our critic's distance from the source of information, and the utterly fanciful nature of his accusations as well, are shown when he assails one of the most ardent and irrepressible experimenters in the libertarian movement with these impatiently iterated charges of neglecting experiment. The moral is not new, but is still useful—it is that those who talk most about sticking to facts are not always those who do most of it.

I suppose the critic's pseudonym, "A Newly Fledged and Half-Baked Aspirant," is meant as a satire on the person criticized, since Mr. Horr is just publishing Vol. I, No. 1, of his paper. As to that I can only say that I suppose fledgling depends on the passage of years; but if baking depends on the heat of the oven one gets into I think Mr. Horr may claim to be more than half-baked by this time.

The same critic writes about an article of mine, and says some kind things of it. Praise from him is praise indeed however mixed with blame. I only regret that I must disavow having made the discoveries that he credits me with. I did not find that organizations to oppose invasion are the only invaders strong enough to be worth opposing; I found that the constant disposition of men to make laws and enforce laws, whether organized or not, is one of the important dangers to be looked out for in the future society, and that this danger cannot be all got rid of by abolishing organization or by abolishing any sort or sorts of organization. I did not find that the only law we need to have is a law against enforcing law; I mentioned that as a suggestion that might be made, but after discussing it I explicitly rejected it in favor of the more familiar proposition that we should not use violence except in defence against aggressors, and should not treat a man as an aggressor when we found a difference of opinion as to whether he was such. As to the editorial criticism which the Aspirant credits to Tucker, my impression is that Tucker was many miles from *Liberty's* office when that was written.

This brings me to C. L. James, because, when he last wrote about me his principal question to me was, what reason I had to believe that primitively the populace made laws. I found the answer to that question leading me so far that I reserved it to be treated by itself—hence that article of mine which made such an impression on the Aspirant. As to the other points in James's article of February 12, I note that my own principal point of attack, James's claim that he knew of cases where organizations purely for defence against invasion had degenerated into invasiveness, has disappeared except so far as it is represented by his statement that he doesn't know what invasion is and he doesn't believe anybody else knows. Well, if he doesn't know what it is, he ought not to have been telling Simpson that he knew such definite historical facts about it. His withdrawal decidedly leaves Simpson crowing on top of that wall.

He asks me some questions about the name "Jehovah." I answer that it was known before Samuel, because the battle-song in Judges 5, in which this name occurs over and over, was written long before Samuel accord-

ing to the almost unanimous agreement of critics of all schools; also because I do not find it denied that the name Joshua (in full Jehoshua) is a compound of the name Jehovah, and I think it is not doubted that Joshua's name belongs to traditions that are older than Samuel; also, because we do not know of any other proper name for this particular god, about Samuel's time, so that if the name was then new, we must assume that the older name (whatever it may have been) was suddenly abandoned—but monotheism was not yet well established in Samuel's time, and where there are rival deities it would be an almost incredible tactical blunder for the special supporters of one of them suddenly to abandon the name by which he was known to the people. I admit cheerfully that the name is used by all the prophets; tho (setting aside the book of Esther, which is neither priestly nor prophetic) the Old Testament writer who is most notable for almost never using this name is the prophetic writer "E" in the Pentateuch (I take it that Mr. James knows a little of the higher critics' language), while the priestly writer "P," who avoids this name in Genesis, uses it freely from Exodus on; the priestly writers also all use their name, down to and including the book of Chronicles, which is later than any prophet in the Hebrew canon. As to its disuse in popular language, of course nobody really knows anything about the causes of that disuse—for the interpretation of Leviticus, xi, as "pronounced the Name," is more likely to have been a later explanation of the reason why it was not pronounced than to have been the reason why people left off pronouncing it familiarly in every-day life. Anyhow we should credit that interpretation to the scribes rather than the priests. But on grounds of general probability I should certainly deny that this disuse was a ritualistic innovation. Reluctance to pronounce the name of supernatural beings is one of the commonest phenomena of popular superstition. We have in English, especially among those whose religion is of a rather Jewish cast, the preference for saying "Lord" rather than "God," and "Christ" rather than "Jesus;" and where fairies are believed in, you find folks thinking it safer to call them "the good people." The like is familiar in all languages. On the other hand, can Mr. James cite any case where a ritualistic power has decreed the disuse of the name in familiar every-day use as the proper name of the being orthodoxly worshipped?

He complains of me for calling certain methods "his" when I ought, he thinks, to have called them "those in fashion now." He calls this an uncandid attempt to make him appear an innovator. Since I was explicitly saying that the methods in question were not merely fashionable, but almost exclusively dominant in important branches of science, I shall survive the uncandidness of having named them by reference to the man I was dealing with rather than to the multitude whom I was not dealing with.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Letter-Box.

C. Q., Worcester, Mass.—Thanks for prompt renewal and encouraging words. Yes, we have neglected to write the subscription numbers on the wrappers, but will not do so hereafter.

M. P., City.—No, neither the "editor" of *FREE SOCIETY* nor its contributors are "infallible," but that is no reason why they should not express their opinions in the paper. Its columns are open to all who disagree with its contents; consequently there is no reason why you should complain about the "twaddle indulged in by Esther Minkin." I cannot please everybody, and do not intend to do so.

The Thibetians seem to be the next "Little People" on the list for "assimilation."—*The Star*

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

ALLEGHENY, Pa.—H. Bauer, 73 Spring-garden Ave.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—M. Kisluck, 1108 Baltic Ave.

BOSTON.—K. A. Snellenberg, 127 Center St., Roxbury.

CHICAGO.—T. Appel, 710 Girard Ave. H. Gordon, 427 Park Ave.

BROOKLYN.—M. Metzkw, 174 Ralph St.

CLEVELAND.—E. Schilling, 34 Elwell St.

LONDON, Eng.—T. Cantwell, 127 Ossulton St., N. W.

NEW YORK.—M. Maisel, 104 E. B'way. Alfred Schneider, 230 E. Fourth St.

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

FOR NEW YORK.

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

LIBERAL ART SOCIETY meets every Wednesday at 8 15 p. m. sharp, at Terrace Lyceum, 206 E Broadway. Free discussions.

Wednesday, July 6—"Municipal Socialism," by Hon. John De Witt Warner.

Wednesday, July 13 — "Tolstoy's School and Education," by Alexis Ferm.

George F. Morong,

Instructor in English grammar and orthoepy, can be seen at the Radical Reading Room, 37 Attorney St., every evening between 6 and 8 o'clock.

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

FOR ST. LOUIS.

The Debating Clubrooms, at 1008 N. 17th St., are open every evening. Lectures and discussions every Saturday evening. Everybody is welcome.

FOR CLEVELAND.

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

LUCIFER—See of the Morning—a fortnightly Journal of Radical Thought—Devoted mainly to the Emancipation of Womanhood and Motherhood from Sex Slavery, and to the Right of the Child to Be Born Well. Send 25 Cents in Stamps to 500 Fulton St., Chicago, Ill., for a three month's trial, and get a Catalogue of books and pamphlets in the line of Sex Reform.

FOR CHICAGO.

Liberty Group holds its

BASQUET PICNICS

every second Sunday in the month at the Grove on the corner of N. Western and Berceau aves. Take Lincoln ave. cars and transfer to Irving Park Boulevard and get off on Campbell ave., or take any car line which crosses or transfer to Irving Park Boulevard. The proceeds will be used for propaganda purposes.

Anarchist Stickers.

Aggressive, concise Anarchistic assertions and arguments, gummed and perforated, to be planted everywhere as broadcast seed for thought; 25 in a sheet; 1 sheet for 2 cents, 3 for 5 cents, 20 for 25 cents, 100 for \$1. Postage paid. Address S. T. Byington, 70 Otis Street, East Cambridge, Mass.

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 05
- "Crime and Criminals"..... " 10
- "Realism in Literature and Art"..... " 05
- "Resist Not Evil." Cloth..... " 75
- "Tolstoy"..... " 05
- "Crime and Punishment"..... " 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
- "The Coming Revival of Socialism"..... " 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"..... F. Domela Nieuwehuis 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
- "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
- "The New Dispensation." Cloth..... " 1.50
- "Social Democracy in Germany"..... Landauer 02

"Life Without a Master." 336 pp. Cloth \$1.50..... J. Wilson 1.00

"The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court; and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab"..... 25

Order from FREE SOCIETY.

M. N. Maisel's Book Store

194 EAST BROADWAY
New York

The best ten plays of HENDRIK INSEN.

- A Doll's House, 25c.
Rosmerholm, 25c.
The Lady of the Sea, 25c.
The Wild Duck, 25c.
Young Men's League, 25c.
Hedda Gabler, 50c.
The Master Builder, 50c.
The Pillars of Society, 25c.
Ghosts, 25c.
The Enemy of Society, 25c.

The last three plays named are also published in a cheap edition in one volume, cloth, and sold at 50c. or 40c. postpaid.

The above ten plays, paper, sent to one address, postpaid, for \$2.50.

The same ten plays, seven in paper, together with the last three in one cloth volume, sent postpaid for \$2.25.

MAXIM GORKY'S.

"Orloff and his Wife" and seven other stories, 485 pages, cloth, published at \$1; my price for the copies on hand, 45 cents, with postage, 60 cents.

LEO TOLSTOY'S.

"The Slavery of Our Times," cloth, published at \$1.25; my price 40 cents; with postage, 50 cents.

I have only a few copies of this book on hand.

"History of Civilization in England."

By Henry Thomas Buckle.

Three vols., cloth, 12 mo., 1720 pages, large type and good paper. This best edition of Buckle's great work was originally published at \$9.00 a set. My price is \$3.25 or \$3.60 postpaid.

I have only a few sets on hand.

Walt Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass.'

Elegant artistic cloth binding, 12 mo., 446 pages. This is the copyright edition of 1897 by Bucke, Horned, & Traubel—literary executors of Walt Whitman. My price is 85 cents, or \$1.00 postpaid.

Modern Science and Anarchism

BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

By some critics this book is considered one of Kropotkin's best work, dealing with all phenomena of life scientifically.

The author reviews and analyzes the intellectual movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as the teachings of the Church. He shows what place Anarchism takes in science; the object of the ideal, its origin, and how it developed. In conclusion he treats law, mortality, economic ideas, government, and revolutions and their birth.

Price, 25 cents.

Address orders to N. Notkin, 1332 So. Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

THE ANARCHIST CONSTITUTION

By D. I. STURBER, Anarchist.

Price, 50 cents.

Sent prepaid on receipt of price. Sold by The Radical Publishing Co., San Francisco, Cal.

History of the French Revolution.

By C. L. JAMES.

A new history of the French Revolution, and a history written from a new point of view—this is in little a characterization of a work which is exciting intelligent interest and appreciative criticism among historical scholars and readers of history in general.

The author of the work, C. L. James, is in a literary as well as the physical sense the son of his father, G. P. R. James, who was well known both as a scholar and imaginative writer to an older generation of book lovers. With a trained literary faculty, an unbiased judgment, and a capacity for painstaking investigation and emendation, he has produced a piece of writing which cannot fail to become better and better known as time goes on, and which will take a place among authoritative pronouncement upon those events which it chronicles.

C. L. James approaches the problem of the French Revolution in a thoroughly scientific spirit, and conciliates opposition at once by giving due consideration to all the facts having any importance in that memorable strife. But ere the reader has gone very far into the book he discovers that it is a vindication of the human race in its long, long struggle to free itself from restrictions upon its liberty and life; in short, he discovers that the author views the evil of the French Revolution as a thing arising mainly out of oppression prior thereto and authoritative interference during its progress, and the good as those liberties which it gave to the world and which its ideal and example predispose men to augment according to their strength and individuality.

Monarchic, democratic, religious histories we have had; the French Revolution is now presented to us from a libertarian point of view.

Printed from large, new type on good book paper, and handsomely bound in cloth; 343 pp. Price \$1, postpaid.

Order from Liberty Group, 427 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SURE CURE FOR

"THAT WAR SPIRIT"

Resist Not Evil 75 CENTS postpaid

By Clarence S. Darrow.

Write for list of other Darrow books.

THE HAMMERSMARK Publishing Co.

151-153 Wabash Ave., CHICAGO, ILL.

Comrades SEND ME NO MONEY but a statement from the publisher of FREE SOCIETY, that you have deposited with him the sum of \$25 to be forwarded to me when the Cancer is removed, or returned to you if it is not, and I will send you, postpaid, my Remedy, which is painless and has NEVER failed. EDW. E. GORE, Lawrence, Kan.