FREE

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FORMERLY THE FIREBRAND.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty, that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communismis an Inevitable Consequence.

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WHOLE NO. 308.

The Freeman's Motto.

We speak the truth, and what care we For hisses and for scorn, While some faint glimmerings we Of Freedom's coming morn?

Let liars fear, let cowards shrink, Let traitors turn away; Whatever we have dare to think, That dare we also say.

-James Russell Lowell.

Is Government a Failure?

The hope of many an ardent and wellmeaning worker in the cause of labor is anchored in the law. They tell us that the law is against us; that it is so because the machinery of government and its forces are in the possession of the class that profit by the poverty of the toilers; and that this state of affairs would be remedied if the workers, who are the majority of the people, would vote for workingmen only. We could by that method capture the government and make and administer the law to suit our-

Theoretically the proposition is plausible, practically it is deceiving. The people who propose the plan have no intent to deceive us, however; on the contrary, they are quite conscientious. The deceitfulness of the plan springs from its impracticability, something of which the promoters of the plan are not aware. Here in the United States workingmen have been elected to office, and what has come of it?

At its beginning the American republic was a workingman's government. In fact workingmen were its chief founders. Thomas Paine, father of the Revolution. and foremost revolutionist of them all, was a sailmaker. Benjamin Franklin, whose diplomacy won for the struggling armies of the Revolution foreign aid, was a printer who knew by experience what it meant to be moneyless and tramping about seeking employment. John Paul Jones, commander of the Revolutionary navy, was a sailor. George Washington, commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary armies and first president of the republic, was a surveyor and farmer. And many, very many others, prominently active in the Revolution and in the forming of the government, were men who knew what it was to toil with their hands. Later to the presidency. Abraham Lincoln was a wood-chopper. Andrew Johnson, successor to Lincoln, was a tailor. U.S. Grant was a tanner and farmer; and James A. Garfield a

Regarding the lesser offices, from senator to deputy constable, there have been many who graduated from the ranks of labor. And behold the result! A country in which When under authority the individual man their servants, such as has not been expected "every door is barred with gold, that opens must abandon all claim to liberty and pass from servants since the days when Hebrews but to golden keys," except jails, poor- into a condition of obedience to the State, were in bondage to the taskmasters of

country where strong manhood is decaying ness, because it may conflict with the prevailfrom enforced idlenesss, and weak childhood ing laws, although injuring no one. "The is dying from overwork; where wealth and the vices it breeds are adored, while manhood and womanhood, if clad in coarse raiment and minus of money, are contemptuously spurned; where honesty is a failure, and cheating a success; where veracity is tabooed, and lying exalted; where one man's necessity is deemed another's opportunity; where the unwritten national motto is get money-get it honestly if you can, but

For once in the history of the world, labor did have, in the American republic, theoretically, a government of its own making, founded on a bedrock principlesovereignty of the individual—and proclaiming that all men are born with the inalienable right to live, to be free and to pursue happiness; rights which, however, it did not permit the colored race to exercise; a fact which goes far toward proving the contention of the Anarchist to be correct, i. e., no matter what a government may proclaim, or on what principle it may pretend to be founded, so far as freedom is concerned, the claims, promises and pretentions of government are insincere and delusive.

So happy were these workingmen revolutionists in the thought that they had solved the problem of human liberty, and safeguarded it by law and governmental mechanism, that they invited the oppressed peoples of all the world to come and make their home in the new land of freedom, entirely ignoring the black chattel slave as a part of the oppressed of the world. But the American republic-the workingman's government-is a disappointment to those who strive for liberty through a government of the people, because it has been unequal to the task of securing liberty for its subjects, much less preserving it; and its failure in this respect has emphasized the argument of the Anarchists-that government is destructive of human liberty, instead of protective.

Government and freedom are incompatible. There is no middle ground between freedom and restraint. Government means authority to rule and restrain the individual, consequently the theoretical recognition of "individual sovereignty" under any government is nothing but a snare and a farce. on workingmen have repeatedly been elected Either the individual must be free from all torial. Theoretically the American official restraint-excepting natural forces which are operative in human action as well as in the whole universe-in order to be a free being, or else the government must be absolute in authority over him in order to govern at all, consequently such a thing as a "free government" cannot exist, the assertions of the politicians and Socialists notwithstanding, ence to those they once fondly thought were

right to live" also ceases to be a right and becomes a privilege. Not only does the law deprive us of the natural resources and the products of our labor, but government also destroys the lives of those who incur its dis-

It is the power of absolute authority, without which no government can exist, that makes all governments tyrannical. Take that away-the power to forbid, to command, and to exact obedience-and government becomes nil. No matter whether the method of government be autocratic, aristoeratie, oligarchie, hierarchie, monarchie, Socialistic, Democratic, or Republican, absolute authority is the ruling force, and the individual must be helplessly obedient to that force. Thus they who advise us workers to turn to the State for aid, though meaning well, give us ill advice.

We seek liberation from coercion. The State, no matter how organized, is the force that coerces us, and keeps us toiling for others than ourselves. This is done by a skilfully woven net of laws, obedience to which is compulsory. The certainty of our success to escape from wage slavery, is in the decadence of the State, not in its preservation. The condition that would result if the State were to decay and rot away would be natural freedom. There would be no force to either forbid, decree, command or compel obedience to power, and in consequence each person would be free to pursue that course which appealed strongest to his liking. The source of production-the land and the natural resources, such as wood, coal, minerals, oil, gas, salt, game, water, etc., could not be private property, but would be free to all. Exchange of products between man and man would be free. Thus men would have the opportunity to employ themselves according to their individual fancy or interest, and to use the products of their individual effort as best suited the individual producer. This would be industrial freedom-Anarchy. Whom would it injure? Surely not us workers.

The mass of the people cannot devote their attention exclusively to affairs of State, and in the absence of this attention officialism usurps power and becomes dietawas understood to be a public servant, subject to the public will; but in practice it is always the reverse. The "public servant" assumes the role of a public master. The "public will" is the obedient servant. Forces are now being forged that will, when completed, compel the people to yield obedihouses, insane asylums, and morgues; a he must also give up the pursuit of happi- Egypt. Laws are being created, court deci-

sions rendered, and large armies created would know were I at liberty to give it. and comprehend the feelings and the condithat will, when put in motion, shatter the public servants soon become severe public masters. Experience, if not reason, will cause these friends of ours to conclude that government is a failure; that instead of promoting harmony in human society, maintaining equity between men, and protecting and is the sole robber that plunders labor; society must be reorganized with the principle of authority eliminated, and delegated office has been tried, and has proven as disastrous to labor as electing non-workers, because no matter who or what class conforce of absolute authority. Aside from horse play. Is that honest?" this, even if the workers were to capture the governments, it would not relieve them from having to support drones-officials and their favorites. Label them as you may, officers, authorities, directors, managers, agents, advisers or what not, once a person is taken from active production and placed in a position where the real workers must contribute to his support, he becomes a burden upon the labor force of the world. Therefore it is to the material interest of all toilers torid themselves of the necessity of contributing to the support of able-bodied idlers, "classconscious workingmen's rulers, alias "directors," included. It is not to class supremacy, not to control of government, not to the law, not to politics must we look for salvation, but instead we look to such as being inimical to our welfare, and strive to put an end to them all, so that all ruleworking class rule included-shall not be forced upon men. We workers should have no desire to impose our rule upon others, nor should we permit others to impose their's upon us. If in our daily doings we would act on this principle the masters of the world would soon be shorn of their power. To do this, it is necessary to overcome all feeling of respect for government, law, authority, officialism, and religion, and abandon the belief that either is needful to our welfare.

San Francisco CON LYNCH.

"The Best Within Us."

We were speaking of Elbert Hubbard's "Message to Garcia," "we" being a half dozen women who constitute "Our Club," and the "poet," as we call the husband of piness in creating, in activity, in trying to And yet of these people you say they are our dear little hostess. After some strong do one's best. Work is what one makes of ever ready to 'shirk,' to be dishonest and

"But there is a great deal of truth in what brings the right disposition to it." Hubbard says. Too many workers never learn to work accurately and with that pains-

and over again all day long, something they to do so until death released him? will never enjoy, never see again. What ery to arouse the best there is in a man?"

"The simple joy there is in useful activity, the pleasure of doing the humblest duty the laborer against robbery, it is the chief well. It is precisely this that I am contendcause of disorder in society, obstructs equity, ing for. The best Socialistic, economic the worker ought to give his best to his society you can conceive will never help the employer?" I asked. that to reach their goal—the putting an end man who will cheat now and excuse himself to the enslavement and plundering of because of the system. One should feel a satisfy the worker himself. If worth doing tain space of time to another for a stated sake." power eschewed. Electing workingmen to price, he should as soon think of stealing as

is true, which I am not willing to admit in the majority of cases," I ventured to say, "when they know that at their worst they are producing far more than an equivalent under their dim eyes; women who could for what they receive. According to authentic statistics, wage workers receive about onefifth of what they produce. All their extra efforts do not redound to their benefit, but only go to help swell 'surplus value.' "

than others."

cotton mill when I was but nine years old,

"One might, under different conditions,"

"The workers can have no personal interest tion of a weak, worn-out, overworked wageefforts of those who are trying to effect a in the toil they do. Usually it is the mere earner who had dragged himself to his toil reformation in government by means of the making of one little part of an article, over ever since he could remember, and expected

I felt that I wanted to talk very much, and inspiration is there in this poorly paid drudg- presently the chance came. I did not think it presumptuous in me, for I had lived and toiled and shared with wage-workers all my life, and I understood as one of them.

"Whether well or poorly paid you believe

labor—government must be abolished, and delight in creation, whether for himself or at all it is worth doing well. No work is for another. And if he agrees to give a cer- degrading to a man if he loves it for its own

"But do you know that wage-workers of idling at his work. But men will shirk. generally are working beyond their natural If the 'boss' in a factory goes out of the strength? That they are constantly expendroom, the men dawdle at their work, per- ing more life force than they can make up in trols the government, it must possess the haps cease altogether, and begin some sort of their few hours of rest? I worked in a cloak factory in Chicago for several years. I have "There is some excuse for it, even if that seen women who after five years of stead; work were changed from rosy, happy, healthy looking girls into f.ded, stoop-shouldered women with sallow faces and dark circles never become healthy, worthy mothers of strong children. I once watched some men working in a rolling mill. It was night, and the fierce lights from the furnaces cast wierd shadows over the moving, blackened forms of "They owe it to themselves to do their the men; and one could well imagine it a best, whatever they undertake. What if it scene from the 'Inferno.' They wore no shirts helps his employer more than it does himself because of the heat, and they kept their in material worth? His employer will appre- places before the molten iron but eight minciate it and in the end he will be valued more utes at a time, when they had to run for a breath of fresh air before they fainted. They One little woman murmured that she seemed like demons fighting desperately feared that our "poet" did not comprehend against the powers of hell, so terrible were the real situation out in the world's great their efforts. They worked like this ten industrial centers, or he would not say that. hours a day, six days in the week, year after "Oh, but I do. I was sent to work in a year, and in a little time you could distinguish them for their seamed and seared faces, and I did not go to school again until I was unevenly-developed bodies and hardened sixteen. That is a little worse than the aver- hands. Can you not pick out the toilers age, I think. I have performed various everywhere? Are they not bent, worn and kinds of hard labor in my life. Last sum- faded, distorted and stunted out of semblance mer I did some carpenter work for a neigh- to the noble creature man ought to be? Is bor for a dollar and a half a day. He said I it not because they use more of their life did more work in one day than a regular forces than nature can make up to them? carpenter would have done in three. I was Do they not always work on a strain to accomnot watched at my work. He said that the plish what is expected of them, so that they men he usually hired would saunter when he will not lose their jobs? And it is not so was absent. I enjoyed the work. I put with a few cases here and there, but these myself into it, and gave him as good a piece overworked laborers swarm past us after six work as I could. There is a delicious hap- o'clock in the great cities by the thousands. condemnation from one of our numbers, he it. If he thinks it is drudgery, it is. One cheat their employers out of a few muscle can make art of the humblest task if he strainings and a few moments time when they get a chance.

"Work for a few days at a time may be said our kindly friend, mildly. I looked at done 'with all one's might.' I remember, taking care which comes of real love for this magnificent man, with the soul of an my friend, when you were doing that piece of artist, the heart of a poet, the mind of a phil- carpenter work of about ten days, I think. "What chance is there for this under the osopher, and the vigorous, living, pulsating, You admitted you felt stiff and tired; and wage system?" asked a kindly lady with an healthy nature of a perfect physical being, though you enjoyed the work, were glad it intelligent face, whose name many of you Would it be possible for him ever to realize was done and of a chance to rest. But sup-

posing you dared not rest. Suppose that you with your stiff and aching limbs had been obliged to keep on in the same way for days I would like to ask, if it were not possible and weeks, and years and yet more years? Suppose that wearied, exhausted of life's more plainly? Why so many big words? forces, you never had time to recuperate, you reared children to follow in your footsteps, and to exhaust their strength day after day past the point of recovering it. What kind of men and women would they become? Would they be 'full of the joy of living?' Would their pulses bound with rich, warm blood, would they feel in their bright vigor the capability of conquering circumstances, rising above conditions and reaching high ideals? What will they know about high ideals anyway? Some of them may have them I admit; and it is this ever recurring energy and desire to rise above surroundings that gives me hope in humanity. But I do not wonder or blame when the majority go on as 'brothers to the ox' and aspire to nothing higher.

"To make our daily labor an 'art,' a thing of beauty and love, is a beautiful idea; it is one of my own hobbies. But even William Morris, with whom it was a cherished dream, did not believe in its possibility under the present system. In fact, he despaired of art altogether, unless there came a change in economic conditions. 'The rich,' he said, ' have not the necessary knowledge of work; the wage laborer has no time.' Tending a machine day after day, going through exactly the same motions for ten hours out of the twenty-four, making over and over again the fiftieth part of a finished product, is not the way to cultivate art, and does not admit of any artistic application to itself. It is difficult for a man to make walking a treadmill

"When I know that the majority of my fellow men are wasting their lives in producing for others to enjoy, I cannot censure them for 'dishonesty' in withholding a strain or two of muscle already overworked.

"I admire your beautiful belief in the great possibilities within man; I am often inspired by your noble words to raise my own ideals. But I cannot expect an over-worked human to excel in moral notions of duty to employers, or to make of himself a god, when other men are doing all they can to make him a brute. They have not generally even the incentive of naking themselves solid with the employers, for discharge seldom depends on ability; it is most often whether the employer needs a man or not, and that depends solely on the state of the market."

The "poet" was not convinced; and I no doubt will hear more on the subject, in better words than I have at command. But LIZZIE M. HOLMES. I had my say.

We carry faithfully what we are given, on hard shoulders, over rough mountains! And when prespiring, we are told: "Yea, life is hard to bear!" The reason is that he carrieth too many strange things on his shoulders. Like the camel he kneeleth down and alloweth the heavy load to be put on his back.-Nietzsche.

Big Words.

With all due courtesy to Comrade James, for him to express his thoughts somewhat Why such complex sentences, when he knows, or ought to know, that he is not writing for college professors, but for plain, uneducated mo. tals?

Look at Kropotkin, at Tolstoy, or at Elisee Reclus: how beautifully plain their lofty thoughts are dressed! how simply constructed are their sentences! And I am sure Comrade James could write more plainly if he would try. Take, for example, his article on "Education for Anarchy," in FREE SOCIETY of March 24. You find there such "common," "every-day" words as "non-sequitur," "siren," "bathos," "antiquated," "zany," and the like.

We are not walking lexicons, comrade. Why, many of us are not even lucky enough to be in possession of dictionaries unabridged enough to contain words such as the ones mentioned above. Where are we to take time to master such high phrasing, such complicated construction?

Have pity on us, therefore, dear comrade. and in the future try to present to us the invaluable food of your great brains in a shape that our poor stomachs should be able M. A. COHN. to digest and assimilate.

The Spread of Mutulistic Ideas

It may appear to some that the growth of the "government ownership" idea, often beautiful future which floats before the menmisnamed "public ownership," is the growth of mutualism; but I think not. There is, however, a constant spread of the ideas of mutualism.

Let us look around us and we see all manner of schemes and companies springing up bearing the word "mutual," as a part of their name. Many of them, it is true, are not truly mutual, but their existence clearly denotes the popularity of the idea. On the fare, but for the welfare of the "bosses" and other hand, there are many truly mutual their unprincipled henchmen. In other concerns and enterprises flourishing amid the private enterprises of like nature. For instance, the reports of the insurance companies doing business in this State during the last year show that the Penn Mutual, a truly mutual company, starting long ago with the brotherly Quakers, did far more

Four mutual fire relief associations in this State carry the risks of over eighteen thousand farmers of the State at a cost that is one fourth, or less, of the cost in companies organized on the idea of profit. The day of the eastern fire insurance agent amongst the Oregon farmers is past. Of course it is a purely dollars and cents proposition, but shows the farmers how easy it is to lessen the drain upon their crops, and to accomplish any desired end by mutual helpfulness.

Numerous cooperative creameries are in successful operation, and are rapidly supplanting the "run for profit" creameries and cheese factories. Here again the so-called "conservative" farmers are showing an example of practical application of the mutualistic idea.

ation before us, it seems that the experimental stage is well nigh, passed, and that one department of effort after another will gradually fall in line, and the speculator be crowded out. Such a sweeping consummation cannot be hoped for immediately; but surely as the idea spreads, and is applied practically, first to one industry, then to another, the power of the speculator vanishes. And this is not accomplished by giving greater power to the politicians, or by asking ought of the State, but simply by mutualism, cooperation or the application of the cost principle.

I have mentioned these instances because they have come under my observation. For all that I know to the contrary there are many other fields in which this principle is applied with more or less success.

All this, and the numerous fake concerns posing as mutual or cooperative efforts, goes to show the spread of mutualistic ideas; and it is a remarkable fact that the loudest callers for government ownership are the most strenuous opposers of this voluntary application of an idea they claim to inculcate and champion. Let not the Anarchists, in their zeal for the destruction of the State, fall into the same error as the Socialist in his zeal to put everything in the hands of the State, but lend a willing hand toward the success of every undertaking based upon the ideas of mutual helpfulness, voluntary cooperation, and the elimination of profit.

In the spread of mutualistic ideas we see a hopeful sign. It denotes a gradual breaking away from established forms, and the adoption of methods more in harmony with the tal vision of us all. It indicates a drifting in the direction of solidarity. Henry Addis.

Portlannd, Ore.

Politics and Robbery.

Aristotle may take what stand he pleases, but as the "bosses" look at it, polities is the science, not of government, but of robbery; the art of providing not for the general welwords, politics as it is today practiced in many of our large cities, and in some of our States, is nothing but organized robbery.

The officials who, in theory, are our serv ants, are in reality our masters; and they do with us and do unto us as they see fit. Theoretically they are in sympathy with us, business than any other company in the field. and stand for our interests, while in fact they care nothing for us and stand for nothing ou top of God's earth but their own interests.

They make laws to promote not the general welfare, but the welfare of the corporations whose tools they are, and upon whose bribes they fatten; and when it comes to the interpretation and execution of the laws, the ruling and consequent enforcement are usually determined by the amount of boodle" that is in sight.

The "machine," which has absolutely full wing, selects a lot of fellows who have no intellectual or moral worth or dignity, but who have abundance of brass and low cunning, and when the "nominees" have been elected" and "government" is ready for business, which business, first, last, and all the time, is to rob the public treasure.—Rev. With these successful institutions in oper- Thos. B. Gregory, in the Chicago American.

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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 ...

What used to be called "natural law" is nothing but a certain relation among. phenomenon which we dimly see, and each "law" takes a temporary character of causality; that is to say: if such a phenomenon is produced under such conditions, such another phenomenon will follow. No law placed outside the phenomena: each phenomena governs that which follows it-not law.-Kropotkin.

Helena Born.

Workers in social reform, both in America and England, will be sorry to learn of the death of their good comrade, Helena Born. At her home in Boston, February 27, she passed away, abruptly, and in great suffering, but in great joy, after an intense, happy, healthy life of service to her principles. There was a memorial meeting in Boston, March 17, at which spoke A. H. Simpson, D. Mikol, and others who came to pay the tribute of comradeship.

During her last years in England, Helena Born left her home to become a worker in the Social Democratic Federation. At the time of the great London Dock Strike, she was a leader among those in Bristol who organized the strikers in the cotton factories of the city. Her work there done, about ten years ago, she came to America, where she grew into the ideals of philosophical Anarchism. She has done much good work, but never strove for effect, being more concerned in the laying of broad and lasting foundations for a movement which she knew would survive her own lifetime. She wrote-but all too little!--and had a wide and intelligent audience. A permanent memorial of her is purposed,-a volume consisting of her writings, with an account of her remarkable life.

She died as she had lived, welcoming experience, triumphing over material things, and rejoicing in her fellowship with human-H. M. T.

Certain Comments.

"Applied Christianity" in China is receiving something of a set-back, owing to the marked desire of the Christian soldiers of the various nations to cut one another's throats. Russia and England long to engage in a wholesale butchering match, and only refrain from the reason given by the small boy, that "one's afraid, and the other daresn't." The allied banditti could do no better service to humanity than by turning their arms against each other.

Mark Twain is now in high disfavor, for

the Catholic Church. It will spit its slimy | Anglo-Saxon race? venom at the honest truth-teller, for want of other weapons, until it meets the fate of its old prototype, the Dragon of Wantley.

King Edward the Ass of England has discovered the difference between a monarchy and a republic, as witness the following news item:

King Edward is becoming more and more exacting concerning the formalities on these occasions. A few hours before the reception of a recent deputation, his majesty asked the lord chamberlain what dress they would wear.

"Frock coats, your majesty," replied the lord cham-

"For the last time, then," said King Edward. "In the future, uniform or court dress must be worn. This is not a republic.'

The royal anachronism does not realize that he has today no republic of importance to contrast with his kingdom. Republicanism has already run its little course, both in America and in France, and has developed into a practical imperialism. England has done substantially the same thing, while preserving a few anachronistic forms, and failing to pass through the nominally republican stage. A scrap or two of gold lace is of no value, as an attempt to accentuate a difference which does not really exist. The pompous pigmy who aptly represents the degenerates of England reminds one of Æsop's famous frog. He will not discover that he is not an ox, until he splits his silly throat.

How naive is the statement made by a correspondent of the London Freethinker, in the attempt to exonerate Alexander Campslavery! Campbell is quoted as follows: "I had myself emancipated several slaves . . and for several years had not had any property in any human beings, except in my wife and children." That the marriage system involves "property in human beings," which is the essential characteristic of chattel slavery, has long been the contention of sex reformers; but the fact is rarely so baldly conceded by others, as in this case by Alexander Campbell and his approving disciple.

The hypocritical defence of lynching is often heard, that it is necessary, in order to protect the "honor" of white women-that of colored women apparently is not considered as having any claim to protection. Unfortunately, the immense number of lynchings from other causes than rape, proves the hollowness of this murders' pretext. Read the following, as one of many examples:

Nashville, Tenn., March 16.-A Negro woman named Bailic Crutchfield, living near Rome, Smith County, was murdered last night by a mob that visited her home She was taken from her cabin, and carried to the bridge over Round Lick Creek. Her hands having been tied behind her, she was shot through the head, and her lifeless body thrown into the creek. The coroner's jury returned a verdict that she came to her death at the hands of unknown parties. She was suspected of looting a pocketbook of \$120 which had been lost.

having told a few plain facts about the mis- say to this? Their very silence proves their sionaries. The day has gone by when the dishonesty. A human life for a paltry \$120, exposer of churchly iniquity can be burnt at and that too, only on suspicion! Have we the stake; but the spirit of the Inquisition not reason to boast of our civilization, and still remains in the Protestant, as well as in of the high sense of honor implanted in the

> In this connection, it is refreshing to find a judge, who has some spark of real manhood, and at least an elementary sense of fair play. I note the following, for that as well as other noticeable features:

> Wichita. Kans March 16.-Two days ago at Enid, O. T., a mob of white men attacked a lot of Negroes, who were innocently enjoying a cake walk. Several white men and one Negro were arrested. On trial all the white men were acquitted; and Federal Judge John L. McAtee, who is also a Territorial judge, discharged the Negro on his own motion. He indignantly addressed the jury today, saying: "I say to the colored men, defend your race. If the laws are not sufficient, the God of nature has placed in your hearts the conscious right to protect yourselves; and while I sit on the bench, if white juries cannot reach white offenders, black men shall not be punished by me if they defend

> Judge McAtee sternly faced the jury, as he uttered these words.

It is quite proper that Messrs. Geer and Wakeman should not desire to be credited with the possession of any opinion which they do not hold; but it is not right for them to slur others whose convictions are as sincere as theirs. If belief in the marriage system, or in-any other set institution, is made a test of connection with the university in Silverton, then that university has most assuredly been guilty of an unwarrented usurpatian of the term "liberal." It is well enough, perhaps, to bar certain moot questions from the curriculum; but there is no freedom or genuine liberalism in any university whose professors are required outside the classroom, either to hold certain views, or to stifle the expression of their hell from the charge of being an apologist of honest convictions. Those who are opposed to "free love" might claim a right to know whether Mr. Geer or Mr. Wakeman taught that doctrine to pupils of the university. Apart from that, it is nobody's business; and the gentlemen in question, by the very tone of their denial, have conceded to Mr. Hosmer and other impertinent meddlers the right of a most insolent intrusion upon their private affairs. A vital principle is involved, to which these gentlemen seem strangely blind. If a critic of the present marriage system cannot hold a position in a "liberal" university, then the Bemis, Herron, Ross and Howard outrages must be condoned; and academic freedom becomes a mere myth.

James F. Morton, Jr.

Peppery Pot.

A loveless life is a lifeless life, for love is the very essence of a normal life, and a life without love is but a mechanical expression of an abnormal existence—a failure.

It is to be hoped that Comrade Kropotkin, who is now lecturing in the east, will extend his tour over the whole United States; and give us all an opportunity to come into personal contact with the interesting and inspiring personage, to whom the pursuit of the grand and lofty principle and ideal of What have the apologists for lynching to human emancipation and social perfection-

ment, even at the risk of personal external hundred and eighty years to earn his fee. this statement quite like the other. But I sacrifices, was of greater value than a life of But then, perhaps he realized (if he did not, have no hesitation about pronouncing it, idleness, wealth, luxury, and "social stand-

Another opportunity for lung exercise and the letting off of superfluous steam is afforded the San Francisco radicals by the formation of the Independent Debating Club. It is to so aptly denominates "the brotherhood of meet Sunday afternoons at a hall to be an- thieves." nounced in Sunday's Examiner. The object of the club is to discuss all subjects of interest to the human welfare, and social science is to be favored. From the character of its preliminary meeting, which was attended by a number of old true blues, it may be safely predicted that this club will have very little if any use for god, government, or Grundy.

How sad it is that us common folks know so little about Greek, Hebrew, and all other decayed languages, and that we don't understand the art of overaweing the other fellow with them big words and conglommerated sentences! If we did we might succeed in making dem edicated fellers see that to force some animal rot and filth into our bodies cannot improve upon the plan of old mother nature in our construction; that such a process is nothing but an antidiluvian plan of Too bad us common folks and "cranks" care much less for a ton of our greatgrandaddies' superstitions than for a grain of our own-common sense!

For once the monopolistic press is really calling things by their proper names. It announces the formation of a "new billion dollar steel trust" which is to "absorb mines and other industries." Indeed, it is a billion dollar steal, by which mine and thine and everybody else's industry is absorbed. It's a case of "communistic pelf," as Grover Cleveland used to call it, but the producers aren't in it; only the most hightoned loafers are concerned, and even Thief Rockefeller is losing his identity in it.

Crazy Billy of Germany recently had his majestic locomotion interrupted on two occasions: the first time by a woman's hatchet, and the second time by a man's iron missile. The authors of these sudden interruptions have naturally enough been declared insane. By sheer accident we may expect a large number of the German people to go insane 'ere very long. In fact there is a strong tendency to insanity with the inhabitants of most of other countries afficted with rulers except with our own. We are the only civilized nation on earth. The Germans for instance throw hatchets at their rulers, and we throw boquets at ours. And really our Billy is after all not so much worse than theirs. Faith, he ought to have a third term of boodle!

is Harrison, "the great"—great in contra- it would be a much safer basis for the power. dictions. It was he who considered \$1 a Mr. Morris (judiciously dropping his slaves case. If he had worked on that case for one ment, upon pauper patients; and, as I know

we do) that the law profession cannot be in the main, absurd. That is no common compared to the labor of a workingman; society, while the profession of a lawyer is that of a villain, and that he himself belonged to that band of society which Tucker S. D.

Danger in Sight.

It is always so. Where a people are about to pass from freedom to tyranny, nobody shouts from the housetops: "Hurrah boys, let's change our freedom for tyranny! Probably nobody desires the change, and only a few realize the tendency. What really happens is this: Things that really make for empire, but which are supposed to be desirable in themselves, are done regardless of where they may lead on to; and one step following another, the time comes when succeeding generations are awakened by sore experience to the fact that the freedom their fathers had is gone. Says James Bryce, 'The greatest changes are often those introduced with the least notion of their consequence, and the most fatal those which encounter least resistance.'

The history of republics furnishes a neverfailing admonition to us that our republic may pass into empire without exciting alarm by any of those outward indications with which securely established empires advertise their power. The price of liberty is now, as it always has been and always must be, eternal vigilance.—The Public.

"Movements in Favor of -

I read John A. Morris' "Movements in Favor of Power," with a real desire to find something which called for reply-such as an attempt to prove that slavery existed in England under Charles I. But I have to own myself a little disappointed. It would surely be trespassing on your space to show that I do not move "in favor of power," or in favor of slavery, or in favor of materialism. Everybody who knows anything about science at all, knows that its first condition is doubt; that the very idea of experiment is shown to be scientific by transcendently implying doubt; that experimental scientists accordingly never claim infallibility, though a priori quacks often do-Mr. Morris does when he says that "as a physi cal culturist," whatever that means, he can prove no woman was ever benefitted by ovariatomy. I don't at all agree with him, and need say no more than that, when he asserts that "movements in favor of power" are based on anything else than ignorance Ignorance is the only basis of power. The Movement in Favor of Ignorance is the movement in favor of power. Half-knowledge can support power only so far as it is Another ruler is laid away. This time it half-ignorance. If it were whole ignorance, day sufficient compensation for a working- vivisceted by Harvey) does, indeed, make man's day's labor, while he himself drew an attempt to prove that unjustifiable oper-\$100,000 for his services on the Venezuelan ations are performed for the sake of experi-

ignorance which does not recognize that we that a workingman is an honest member of live in an age of polities, an age of newspapers; that all the bourgeois public charities are managed by a dominant party; that every such party implies an opposition party; that the latter has "organs," which like nothing better than exposing the other fellows' misdeeds; that democratic and philanthropic humbug makes the wrongs alleged exactly those about which a row can be kicked up most easily; in short that all this is nothing to Anarchists, as such. If the bourgeois "outs" do not make the welkin ring with pauper vivisection-if "exposing" it is left to crank papers, like the Abolitionist, too poor and too silly to be sued for libel, the inference is irresistible. Its existence rests on no authority by which the most venomous anti-ministerial editor, who has anything to lose, dare go.

As to the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, since I am its original and undisputed discoverer, I have always felt the necessity of guarding against monomania and mare's-nestism-like the anti-vivisectionists. The idea of such a Movement dawned upon me, if I remember right, about twenty-three years ago. The poor whites and Negroes in a North Carolina wilderness were frightened by explosions, which turned out to be the work of a railroad company; but which even such scientists as they possessed, at first thought might be volcanic. An immense 'revival of religion" sprang from their fears of earthquake. About the same time, or a little earlier, Richmond, Va., had witnessed a much greater one, beginning among the Negroes, with Bro. Jasper's "sun-domove" discourses, but eventually extending to the whites! Instead of deprecating such imposition on the ignorant poor, and calling down the preachers who were making their religion a stench in the nostrils of educated people, certain northern evangelical papers went into eestacies over the "gracious work of the Holy Spirit"; gave every encouragement to the vile impostors; and said all they dared in praise of Jasper, who actually was able for a time to get "sun-domoveism" taught in the Negro public schools! These infamous publications were especially the organs of God-in-the-Constitution party, which was then a considerable fad. I need scarcely say that ridiculing new discoveries in science was quite an industry of theirs; nor that they were active supporters of anti-vivisection, quack medicine, but, above all, Comstockism. However, it was their artful treatment of the Jasper-gunpowder-earthquake business which caused me to see a great light. I perceived that they understood how every ignorant prejudice could be utilized in turning people away from the sources of knowledge-also, how necessary this was to draw or hold within the pale; and, consequently, that their hearts were in delusions like Jasperism which they did not dare to unqualifiedly endorse. Observe, I did not then, and do not now, suppose that there is an organized conspiracy such as Chiniquy and other hobbyists' attitude to the Jesuists. What I am persuaded is that, at least twenty-five years dollar a day it would have taken him two nothing about his authorities, I cannot treat ago, the pillars of the falling Church found knowledge and the methods by which it is poor hod-carrier or mason who might have promoted, every crank was a possible friend felt that the carpenters' trouble was none of well worth the looking after; and that the his business, and would have preferred to trick is now pretty well understood among remain at work, did not the bully of a counthem. These convictions have been strength- cil walking delegate come along and drive ened all this time by my observing how every new enemy of any particular branch of physical instruction, whether he be actuated by sympathy for animals or hatred of "vice," or the quack's envy of the doctor, or undue prejudice against the existing order, or morbid credulity of evil in general, or imaginative impatience with cold dry fact, or craving for immortality, or whatever else you please, forthwith gravitates to dogmatic revelation of the supernatural, and it to him. Morris does, when he calls medicine and surgery materialistic, by way of deprecation. The pope's headship of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, I first realized when I saw Cardinal Manning and the Truth Seeker, just as bacteriology began its career of dazzling glory, working together against the only method by which it could have started. And then first I was really alarmed. For, as Morris quotes me, I thought the Comstockian phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance almost too barefacedly ecclesiastical to be dangerous. But if every half-taught Liberal, with a prejudice, could, by "pulling his leg" the right way, be made an ally of Manning against the most universally beneficial and rapidly progressive branch of inductive inquiry, there was, indeed, no telling what might happen. I ought, however, to have known that Rome was at the bottom of it, before. The idea of thus organizing stupidity in all its forms-taming and utilizing so many unfriendly truisms-was too grand, too fine, for the advanced intellectual scrubbiness of orthodox Protestantism. Rome is strong and rich enough to have smart men among her generals; and, besides, she has a tradition of practical policy. Had I foreseen, when I broached this subject in FREE Society, how many defenders this phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance had among us, mercy on the editor might have tempted me to forbear. But the more they are, the more needed was my warning! I have yet to find one who will say, in cold and the making of a special agreement with type, he had rather a quack should treat a felon on his finger than a surgeon.

C. L. JAMES.

Master and Man---A Skirmish.

About a year ago the building contractors of Chicago decided that the Building Trades unions may organize a new one, but they Council was not a good thing. It tyran- must not use the old name. nized, they said, over their men and prevented them from making "free contracts." When, for instance, the carpenters had a endured a great deal of hardship. dispute with a contractor, and struck and their families went hungry that a work as a result, the council stepped in and ordered all the other tradesmen on the job of resistance shown by these men is to be to lay down their tools likewise, until the carpenters' grievance was adjusted. This the contractors averred was wrong, not because many ways; they cannot be blamed for the striking of the whole job prevented the that. It is easy to stand on the heights of contractor from carrying on the work with philosophy and, point out their mistakes, other carpenters than those who struck, and aim the shafts of derision at some of the and thereby forcing him to terms with the means they employ to attain their ends. strikers. No, indeed. The contractors' motives were entirely impersonal, and who will step down into the ranks, and

out that being, like themselves, an enemy to decidedly altruistic. They thought of the him away from his job-a poor man with perhaps a large family and a mother-in-law to provide for.

When the contractors fully realized all this possible tyranny going on right in their midst, and in a free country, with the stars and stripes fluttering thoughtlessly above it, not to mention Emperor McKinley's own special flag, they first shuddered, then wept then resolved. They resolved that at all costs the freedom of the American workingman to work for starvation wages should not be abridged. The council was composed of a set of interfering, intimidating bullies who terrorized the simple, honest workingmen into obedience to its wishes.

Who would champion the cause of these oppressed ones? The politicians dare not do it, for the council had votes. The newspapers and preachers were indifferent; and only occasionally, and that with mere words, did anything toward checking the flowing tide of slavery that was submerging the friendless building tradesman. It was left for the contractors themselves to take up the heroic work of striking the shackles of trades unionism from the belabored limbs of the poor worker. The council must be smashed; and to smash it the contractors formed a council of their own.

The workers were locked out until they withdrew from the council. The contractors did not object so much to the workers retaining membership in their industrial unions. The slavery of the unions was not nearly so oppressive as that of the councilat least the emancipators did not then see it. Undoubtedly at a later date, when the council would be disposed of, the unions would come in for their share of the liberators' lash.

All building ceased and for nearly a year; the workers stuck loyally to their council. But one fine morning the strongest union of them all, the Bricklayers' and Stonemasons', announced its withdrawal from the council, the bosses. Soon others followed their example, and later a compromise was effected which was practically a victory for the contractors. That is, the unions had to withdraw from the council; but the first stipulation that the council could not be recognized was withdrawn by the contractors, and the

Thus a long and bitter fight between capital and labor, is ended. The workers principle might be maintained. The spirit admired by all lovers of liberty.

Trades unionists may be shortsighted in The question is, are the ends worthy? If so

shoulder to shoulder with the most lowly of us, grapple with the details of this mighty work of clearing the ground for the free society of the future? IAY Fox.

- 0 -Report from Boston.

March 23 we gave Comrade Kropotkin a grand "send-off." The hall was packed to its utmost capacity, "a mixed and enthusiastic gathering of Socialists and Anarchists," to use the newspapers' phraseology. Many of those who had made the acquaintance of Comrade Kropotkin in his lectures at the Lowell Institute, attended the social; and were quite surprised to see such a large crowd, mostly strangers to one another, being sociable together without policemen, committee, or even chairman. Comrade Simpson was the first speaker, explaining the purpose of the gathering. After some music and singing Comrade Kropotkin took the floor, and spoke on the growth of Anarchism and the lessons to be drawn from past historical events, especially the Commune of Paris. The latter was a failure, he said, because the people of Paris had no special object in view, nor a plan of action outlined. It was the lack of understanding its importance that crushed the Commune inside of three months, by an enemy hardly their equal in numbers, while the Boersnotwithstanding that a war of extermination is waged against them-are holding out against tremendous odds.

No program had been prepared, yet the understanding between musicians, singers, speakers and the audience was perfect, and all desiring to entertain the audience were given a chance to do so.

Let-us hope that-many of those who attended this social will not limit their love for Anarchism to this evening, but will have been inspired to work for its realization.

K. A. S.

Here and There.

It is reported that the Russian government is hastening to make concessions to the demands of the students and liberal officials. From this it seems that violent resistance is more effective than persuasion. And how many years would have been required to exact these concessions by the ballot-box?

Peter Karpovich, who killed the minister of public instruction, has been sentenced to twenty years' hard labor and deprivation of all civil rights, instead of life imprisonment, as reported. Such leniency on the part of the Russian government is the effect of the courageous attitude of the students.

The "signs of the times" in the civilized (?) world are certainly encouraging, and if evolution" continues to run in its present course, emperors, kings and queens, sultans and shahs will soon take to the woods; and it is to be hoped that the rulers of the different republics, as well as all other parasites of society, will not delay their escape too long. It's time the producers have a rest.

In addition to the decoration of the Russian czar, the Socialist minister Millerand has received another medal from the Austrian monarch. Verily, "political action" does wonders.

Prince Kropotkin, the famous Russian

audience at the Grand Central Palace this cago, were \$2.48 for single individuals and afternoon, His subject was "Anarchism: \$5.72 family earnings. Now compare these Its Philosophy and Ideal." Prince Kro- earnings of hard-working, suffering toilers potkin contended that the philosophy of the with the \$240,000 Mrs. Palmer-a woman of Anarchism, and that the prevailing ten- her life-of this city, receives a year, and ask dency of the great movements of this cen- yourself whether we are not living in a tury would differ radically from those of the lunatic asylum. earlier part of the last one hundred years, when nearly all movements tended toward an increase in the power of the State. The increase of the power of the individual and the masses, he declared, was the most needful thing for the relief of the laboring classes.

"We have on all sides of us," he said, "beautiful cities and magnificent palaces and specimens of architecture that have been created through the labor of the masses, yet they have no part in their enjoyment. One hundred years ago a lifetime was needed in which to amass even moderate wealth; now human genius has made possible a system of production that permits the amassing of enormous fortunes in a length of time so short as not to have been dreamed of even at the beginning of

the last century.'

By what right, the speaker inquired, did any man presume to say he owned this line of railway, and that enormous manufacturing industry, and through such ownership was worth a specific sum? The masses, the laboring class, created the values of the properties, and vet owned no part of them. Those who have by their efforts, their applieation and the use of their intellects been the means of creating these properties, are in reality persecuted by those to whom the laws of the State grant tittles of ownership. -Ghicago Tribune.

A bill has been introduced in the Illinois legislature by one D. E. Sullivan, which provides for assisting intoxicated voters at the ballot-box. Hail Columbia! And in Maryland a new election law has been passed which is expected to disfranchise 26,000 Negroes and 18,000 white men by imposing on them an educational qualification. One State solicits the inebriate to elect wise lawmakers, and the other disfranchises thousands of sober and intelligent men, because they were not given an opportunity to acquire an education.

"Some startling figures relating to the sweating system in Chicago are furnished by Miss Nellie Mason Auten, who recently made a study of the condition of the workers in the garment trades of that city," says the Literary Digest. "In her investigation among the Italians there she found only twelve workers who were able to earn more than \$300 a year. Forty-three were receiving actually less than one dollar a week! The writer cites two extreme cases to show the depth of poverty and degradation to which some of these workers are reduced. In one case, a housewife button-sewer working sixty hours each week at forty cents per week (a rate of two thirds of a cent an hour!), in fifty-two weeks of the year earned \$21. A housewife pants-finisher working sixty-six hours each week at thirty cents per The general averages of weekly wages wholesale assassination.

Nihilist, lectured to a large and enthusiastic among the Italian garment-workers in Chitwentieth century would be the philosophy who has never done a day's useful work in

> According to the San Francisco Star, "the Japanese authorities have requested that no more of the hoodlums now being sent to the Philippines as soldiers by the United States, be allowed to disembark at Japanese ports. The Japs object to even a few hours of 'benevolent assimilation,' with its trimmings of drunkenness, riot, rape, and outrage. The question naturally arises: How long will it take the Filipinos to learn to love the sort of treatment which the Japs so strenuously object to?"

The Chicago Tribune has interviewed many "prominent citizens" regarding General Funston's "daring act," and only one of them had the honesty and courage to call black fiends (Bechuanas), precedes our main body, and the "heroic deed" by its right name. To quote from the Tribune: "Professor J. Lawrence Laughlin, head of the department of political economy in the University of Chicago, said that Funston's scheme to trapthe rebel leader was too treacherous and unfair to be carried out by the United States authorities."

The editor of the New York Truth Seeker (?) is now aiding Anthony Comstock in suppressing "indecent" literature. His first heroic deed consisted in "killing" the report of Comrade Emma Goldman's lecture on "Vice" at the Manhattan Liberal Club, looted before we got to them, supposed to have been although the report of the lecture had reached the "galley stage." His excuse for houses that we visited yesterday was an instance of such bigotted proceedure is that he "sawno way of reproducing her remarks . . . without giving offense." He himself "sustained a perusal of that report without demoralization: how it might have affected the unilluminated is another matter." mains to be seen how the readers of the Truth Seeker will take this flattery of belonging to the "unilluminated," and being so much below the moral level of the worthy

The following clippings from the Portland Evening Telegram are samples of his everyday editorials, writes Comrade Addis. They are useful as illustrations of the trend of thought, even amongst the editors of the dailles.

It is reported that General Funston, disguised as a orisoner in the hands of Filipino scouts, who accompany him, has gone on a hunt for Aguinaldo, intending to deceive the Filipino leader into the belief that the party is friendly instead of hostile, and that having him thus at a disadvantage, they will easily capture him; and it is naively added that there is some danger The whole scheme, if there by any of "treachery." foundation in fact for the story, seems to be one of treachery." Is this a specimen of modern warfare? If Aguinaldo's capture is desired, is there no other way o accomplish it but by such a trick?

Meanwhile the "trick" has been accomplished, and Funston is the "hero" of the American lunatics.

After one of his "expeditions," Von Waldersee re ported: "Two hundred and fifty Chinese left dead on week (a rate of five elevenths of a cent an hour!) in forty-eight weeks earned \$14." this is "Christian" warfare! It is not war at all; it is

Correct; and all these "wholesale assassinations" in South Africa, Philippine Islands and China are committed solely for the almighty "In God We Trust."

An Omaha man who assaulted a policeman was fined \$100. Another Omaha man who beat his wife was fined \$10. Conclusion: A policeman is ten times more valuable and sacred in the eye of the Great American Law than a wife.

If this editor continues to utter the truth he will soon have to look for another job.

The fact that the people all over the socalled civilized world do not protest against the brutalities perpetrated upon the Boers by Christian England, is amply proof that mankind is hypnotized by the daily prostituted press. Reynold's Newspaper (London) publishes letters from soldiers, from which we quote the following:

For our failure the women and children had to suffer. All women and children of the Lichtenburg surrounding district were brought in with their goods and chattels, and than forwarded to Mafeking

As I mentioned in my previous letter, Methuen leaves nothing for either beast or man.

A commandering party, consisting of a horde of destroys crops and commandeers everything in the shape of cattle, food, waggons, etc.

Homesteads are burnt down en masse. Brute force of the most deplorable kind here does the work which the strategist has so far been unable to do.

And not one strong man in the world lifts his voice on behalf of the women and children of these unfortunate Boers. Humanity is deaf, otherwise

Our work now consists of going round to all the farms north of the Vaal River, looting them, and, if there is no one in them, burning them to the ground. If we find any men or boys on the farms, we take them prisoners on suspicion, and they generally finish up by being sentenced to one or two years' imprisonment. It would make some people weep to see the way some of the farms and houses round here have been sacked and done by the irregular Colonial cavalry. One of the this. Every pane of glass in the place had been smashed for a start. In one of the bottom rooms lay a spiendid grand piano utterly wreeked, and round it lay pictures, ornaments, chairs and tables and furniture of every discription smashed to pieces. Well, we finished the job by burning the house, and then went on our way to find fresh farm houses to burn. There is a job, how ever, connected with this that our fellows do not like, and that is turning women and children out of the houses or farms, and then burning them down. Of course this is hard lines on the women and children; but it is Kitchner's orders, and therefore has to be beyed. But as I say, the men do not like the job; and I have often seen our troop collect a sum of money among them to help the woman to get, with her children, to the nearest town. We have had a new order today to say that every farm has to be burnt and the white women and children sent to Johannesburg.

A special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, after riding from Bloemfontein to Kimberly, wrote:

In ten miles we have burnt no fewer than six farmhouses; the wife watched from her sick husband's bedside the burning of her home a hundred yards away. It seemed as though a kind of domestic murder was being committed. I stood till late last night and saw the flames lick around each poor piece of furniture—the chairs and tables, the baby's cradle, the chest of drawers, containing a world of treasure; and when I saw the poor housewife's face pressed against the window of a neighboring house, my own heart burned with a sense of outrage. The effect on the Colonial troops, who are gratifying their feeling of hatred and revenge, is very bad. They swarm into the houses, looting and destroying, filling the air with high-sounding cries of

A maxim glibly repeated from childhood remains practically unmarked till some mature experience enforces it.—Thomas Hardy.

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NOTICE.

Grand Social and Entertainment to welcome Comrade Peter Kropotkin in this city, will be given Thursday, April 11, 7.30 p. m., at Medinah Temple Bldg., Corner Jackson and Fifth Ave.

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Special lecture by Peter Kropotkin, on "Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal," in Central Music Hall, Sunday, April 14, 1901, at 8 p. m. Clarence S. Darrow will act as chairman and open the meeting. Admission 25 cents. Advance tickets may be obtained at the following places:

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PITTSBURG AND VICINITY.

All comrades are cordially invited to meet Saturday evening, April 13, at the Debating Club, 155 Crawford St., to discuss arrangements of massmeetings for Comrade Emma Goldman.

For ST. LOUIS.

A meeting of all St. Louis comrades will take place on Sunday, April 14, 7:30 p. m., at the Reform Hall, 312 North 12th St. Speaker: Carl Nold.

The Letter-Box.

B., New York, N. Y.—Your poem was returned.

C. and W., Hoboken, Pa.—Letters were received. Greetings.

R. T., Duluth, Minn.—Neither Carnegie nor Rockefeller have ever given a single penny to universities or libraries "out of their own earnings." They were in a position to rob the workingmen of what they produced; and gave a small fraction of the plunder to institutions enjoyed by rich and well-to-do people. The toilers—the real builders of these institutions—have neither the opportunity to attend colleges nor leisure enough to frequent libraries.

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Translated from the French of JEAN GRAVE

By Voltairine de Cleyre.

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