

FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY THE FIREBRAND.

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 Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VII. NO. 35.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1901.

WHOLE NO. 333.

The Coming Day.

I hear a song—

Vivid as day itself, and clear and strong,
As of a lark—young prophet of the noon—
Pouring in sunlight his seraphic tune.

He prophesies—his heart is full—his lay
Tells of the brightness of a peaceful day!
A day not cloudless, nor devoid of storm,
But sunny for the most, and clear and warm.

He sings of brotherhood, and joy and peace;
Of days when jealousies and hate shall cease;
When war shall die and men's progressive mind
Soar as unfettered as its God designed.

It breaks—it comes—the misty shadows fly—
A rosy radiance gleams upon the sky;
The mountain-tops reflect it calm and clear;
The plain is yet in shade, but day is near.

—Charles Mackay.

Legislative Superstition.

I regard the government superstition as complete a superstition as the Jehovah or Satan superstition. And to have people understand that is more difficult than to have them understand that many religious beliefs are superstitions. There are many persons who have rid their minds of crude ideas of God and a future life, who are strong adherents of the legislative superstition. Colonel Ingersoll was a striking example of this. He saw through religious superstitions with a clear eye, but there was no one in deeper political darkness along certain lines than he. I selected a passage from Walt Whitman for our reading for the reason that he was free from almost all superstitions, and especially from the political superstition. He says: "The great city is one in which the men and women think lightly of the laws." He had a large, clear mind. Most persons cannot see how society can be orderly without legislative enactments. In our single State there are laws enough to fill a number of books as large as Webster's Unabridged Dictionary. The same is true of every other State, and also of the United States, independently of the States. There are enough statutes to fill the shelves of a large library, and it has not occurred to most people that this is unnecessary to the smooth, orderly working of society; that the legislatures or Congress need never sit again.

We have illustrations before us every day of the uselessness of legislation of any kind. For example, the most delightful and orderly associations of men and women are those of what is called society. Every night thousands of persons come together for hours at a time, converse, eat, drink, amuse themselves in various ways; and that goes on year after year among ladies and gentlemen, and there are no laws on the statute books regulating the conduct of such gatherings. It is a question of culture. There is a state of entire lawlessness, in the sense that they have reached a condition of mind wherein they know that law is entirely unnecessary

to regulate their conduct at such times.

Every day we see the streets filled with trucks, automobiles, and street cars moving with harmony. The number of accidents is very small, and yet there is no law as to how the vehicles shall move. There is no law as to how the pedestrians shall use the sidewalks, but it is rare that there is any friction. The presence of policemen is more likely than not to cause disorder in the streets. In the case of trucks the drivers let off language at one another occasionally, but they straighten themselves out finally.

The matter of dress is another example. It used to be thought that people could not dress themselves unless the laws told them how it should be done. Now there are no laws on the subject of hats, dresses, boots, and shoes. We are allowed to do as we please in such matters. Dress is controlled by custom, fashion. In these instances you can see how unnecessary it is to have any law. And we get along much better without laws in many other instances. On the subject of dress the world was just as fearful about stopping legislation as you are today about stopping legislation on other subjects.

A judge is a man who sits on a bench as a kind of deity and administers the law. One of these judges, who happens to be a little larger than his business, said to me: "If I were a supreme ruler, the first thing I would do would be to abolish the legislature at Albany for twenty-five years." I told him I would abolish it forever; then no new laws would be passed, and the laws now in existence would gradually die out, as all laws do, and in a few generations there would be no laws. In all relations of life we should conduct ourselves by fashion, by public opinion, of which law is but an expression. The law has no power unless it is rooted and grounded in public opinion—that is to say, in the thoughts of a large majority of the people. To the extent that a law varies from public opinion or common belief it is inoperative. That is why legislative superstition is a superstition. The only thing a law can do is to declare what public opinion is. Laws cannot execute themselves. Even the force at the command of the government cannot enforce laws unless the public approves. A declarative law has no penalty attached to it, and is more forceful than many laws that have a penalty attached. Some time ago an order of the Board of Health was issued forbidding people to expectorate in street cars. There is no penalty attached to it; nevertheless, within a comparatively short time that loathsome habit has been nearly broken in this city. The effect of this notice to the public in the street cars, backed by public opinion, was as great as if exemplary punishment had been inflicted.

In some of the western States the legisla-

tures passed laws against ladies wearing hats in the theatres, as if any law for the control of ladies would not be necessarily a dead letter. In this State the matter was handled differently. A request that ladies would remove their hats, so as not to hide the stage from persons behind them, was printed on our theatre programs, and within a year the nuisance was abated. There is not now a theatre in this city where women keep their hats on during a performance. If a lady should keep her hat on now, before the evening was over she would be made to feel very uncomfortable. Law is effective in so far as it is a declaration of public opinion, and no farther. What is wanted to be done is done, law or no law.

Let me give you two or three conspicuous illustrations of ineffective laws. What superstition the law against liquor saloons is! Legislatures pass such laws because certain people insist upon having them. Both the Republican and Democratic parties exact saloon legislation in fear of losing Church votes, but they know such laws might as well not be on the statute books. Look at the State of Kansas. It is against the law to sell liquor by the glass in Kansas, and it has been so for many years. In talking with a resident of Kansas, I learned that the liquor law was effective there four or five years ago. I do not say that he misstated the situation as it was at that time, but by reading the newspapers lately in regard to Mrs. Nation, it would appear that, in spite of the fact that it is against the law to sell liquor in Kansas, there are many expensive saloons running in full blast, and there was nobody to stop it until Mrs. Nation appeared, and even she cannot do it. Nobody would vote to take that law off the statute books, and the ruling powers in Kansas have agreed to allow the law to stand, and to allow the liquor saloons to remain also. Why do not the governor of the State and mayors and policemen close those places up? Is it not because they know the majority of the people do not want them closed? They can do nothing against the will of the people.

Look at our own affair. Our saloons are not allowed by law to sell drinks on Sunday or from one to five o'clock during the night. What is the use of such a law? Is there a saloon in town that wants to sell liquor during prohibited hours that does not sell it? When a policeman makes an arrest of a saloon-keeper because he refuses to "put up," and he is taken into court, he cannot be convicted. Juries in New York are more likely than not to acquit such men. One of the reasons why juries will not convict is this: A judge said to me the other day while a jury was out on a liquor-tax case: "There is a case of a man against whom the evidence is perfectly clear, but I hope

the jury will acquit him. When I charged it was for an acquittal, because, if convicted, he must be fined eight hundred dollars or sent to State's prison for two years, and I do not care to sentence a man to any such punishment for selling liquor." In my opinion, the judge and the jury in such cases are right in acquitting. The law is entirely ineffective; still, with our present superstition about laws, the law must stand. Why not let people sell liquor the same as they sell dry-goods?

As to the matter of collecting debts, I am satisfied that business men would be more honest, and trade would be carried on better without such laws. Contracts for buying and selling are violated, an appeal is made to the courts, matters are complicated, and the lawyers get everything. What makes the whole business world so dishonest, if it is dishonest? Trade is looked upon as a game of law, and each party to a transaction sets out to skin the other if he can. It is not a matter of morals, but of law. So futile are these laws that the Wholesale Grocers' Association has for years refused to appeal to them. If a man does not pay his debts, they refuse to sell him goods, and they find that works better.

Do laws against murder stop murder? During the Kennedy trial in New York a few weeks ago there were two or three murders. Every month there is just such a proportion of crimes, whatever the laws are. Laws have nothing to do with stopping crime. We are controlled by our social conditions. When men are tried and sent to prison, there is no change brought about in their morals; there is simply a change in their residence. While the honest workman is trying to get a living some way, the criminal is well taken care of. The city of Kokomo, in Indiana, recently had no police force whatever for a period of two weeks. Reporters flocked there to see what the result would be. The city never was more quiet and peaceable.

The Eskimos have neither Church nor State, and I suppose they are the most honest and peaceable people in the world. Crime is unknown among them. They are few in number, to be sure, but they have no king, no government, no mayors, no policemen, and no priests, and they are probably the most orderly people on earth. They have a different social system from ours.

In the courts recently there was a case where both the man and the woman were cruel to each other, and because of that fact they could not be separated. Had the charge of cruelty been against one of them only, the law would have separated them, but because they were both brutal they had to live together. The policy of the law is to get people married and then prevent their being separated. Under our abandonment laws, a man is put under bonds to support a woman with two, five, or twenty dollars a week according to his income. He is sent to jail, and every time he is turned out she can have him rearrested and put back. A man in Brooklyn has been kept in jail for six years because he will not support his wife. He would rather remain in jail. In cases like that where a man refuses to support his wife, the county says, "All right, then, we

will support you both." A man is sent to jail because he cannot pay alimony to his wife, but how is he going to pay if he is in jail? There never was a law made that you did not have to make two laws afterward to take care of it. There never was a law passed that would work, and that is a good reason for believing that the universe is not run by law. This superstition about legislation is so strong that some people cannot understand how water could run down hill unless there was a law to compel it to do so. Most people cannot understand how there can be any social order unless there are laws; but some day society will move in perfect order without a court in existence.

I never take anything away from you without putting something in its place. I have not taken Jehovah or heaven or hell away from you, because you would not let those ideas go until you were ready. You yourself will put in place of what is taken away what you find in its place. You do not believe in Santa Claus any more; what have you put in his place? Just a little common sense, have you not?

However, people will go on wearing scapulars and carrying rabbits' feet regardless of what I say.

Do you not see abstractly that the people of England do not need a king? They think they need a king, and that is why they must have him. Do you know how many tens of thousands of years it took for any country to understand that it could get along without a king? You can see how England could get along without a king, and I can see how we could get along without a president or Congress. We need all these things as long as we think we need them. They are the outgrowth of superstition. I know that because I do not need any laws to keep me straight. I do not have to be forbidden to kill people by threat of death in the electric chair. I do not want to steal anybody's money, nor burglarize anybody's house, nor to fight. I do not need law, and I live without any regard to it. Laws of men or of God I never think of to live by. It took a long time to convince people that it was not necessary to burn people at the stake, but finally the world has come to see that, and I can see a little further than that.

The world does not need more law; it needs wisdom and the disposition to deal fairly with one's neighbors. We need not legislation, but education.—Hugh O. Pentecost, in the *Truth Seeker*.

Voices in the Wilderness.

Since the time of the assassination of President McKinley, and especially since his death, a stranger who had no other source of information would think from the newspapers that he reads that half the people in the United States are Anarchists.

Also from the reading of the papers and from the speeches heard he would think an Anarchist was a person who claimed it his right to shoot whomever he pleased; claimed it his right to determine who is fit to live and those he judged not fit it is right to kill.

But, as a matter of fact, there are very few such people. There are nearly eighty million people in the United States. How many of them ever saw a person who

claimed such a right? How many who reads this article ever saw one? It may be set down as unquestionable, that there are a thousand other murderers to one murderous Anarchist. Perhaps if we would say a hundred thousand it would not be out of the way. There have been three presidents assassinated. How many of them were assassinated by so-called Anarchists? Nobody ever said Booth was an Anarchist. Nobody ever called Guiteau an Anarchist. Prendergast assassinated the elder Harrison, mayor of Chicago. Was Prendergast an Anarchist? A man or men assassinated Dr. Cronin of Chicago. Were they called Anarchists? A man assassinated Gov. Goebel of Kentucky. Was he claimed to be an Anarchist? Dr. Goebel himself had premeditatedly shot a man in the back and killed him. Did the country go crazy about Anarchists on that account? Who ever said Goebel was an Anarchist?

There has just been one murder in this country by a person called an Anarchist. Czolgosz said he was an Anarchist. But from first to last all the indications are that his pretense is merely to have an excuse for his crime. Because he said he was an Anarchist ten persons called Anarchists were arrested in Chicago and kept in jail a week or two as co-conspirators. In New York City also arrests were made. Herr Most, said to be the chief of all Anarchists, is one of the arrests. Very little reflection, unhampered by prejudice, bigotry or superstition would lead the mind to the certain conclusion that they had no more to do with the assassination than Boss Hanna had.

Columns and pages of newspapers have been filled with proposed laws for punishing Anarchists. They would make laws suppressing newspapers that would advocate assassination and they would imprison or exile for life the editors of such newspapers. Now, readers, tell us: How many of you ever saw a newspaper that advocated assassination? Give us your ear and your confidence for a moment and we'll tell you something. *There is no such newspaper.* And yet the denunciations are repeated so often and in such violent terms that it seems as if everybody had come to think there were such papers. Just think of it for a moment, a newspaper or a print of any kind sent out for readers, that advocates the assassination of a president or of any other person! Anybody of common sense ought to know that there is no such publication. No new law is needed to suppress them. There is plenty of law already. If men are going to commit a crime they do not put the fact in print. They know they would be "jugged" before their papers could get to the readers.

The Anarchy of our time is the witchcraft of Cotton Mather's time. Sarah Good of her time may do for Emma Goldman of ours—innocent of evil, harmless as doves. The Anarchists are made scapegoats for official plunderers and assassins. Captain Alberti, the ex-Russian officer who lectured in Lancaster sometime in the past year said that the crimes charged to Anarchists were not committed by Anarchists. There was no excitement about Anarchists at that time, and when he said this, he

could be heard with patience. Anarchy is in itself no crime. If a man is a member of the Methodist Church and commits a murder it doesn't follow that all Methodists must be hanged or exiled. There have in fact been many thousands of murders committed in the name of religion, while you can count on your fingers all that are charged to Anarchy in both hemispheres. The Anarchists are simply a society that holds that the world has arrived at that plane of intelligence wherein society would be better without formal laws than with it. They hold that law is an instrument wielded for the advantage of those who get into positions to enforce it. Who will deny that there is much truth in their claim? If Thos. Jefferson were alive now he would be classed as an Anarchist. His Declaration of Independence is an Anarchist document. It recites that governments are instituted among men for certain ends and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to abolish it. The school of Anarchists thinks our government has become destructive of the ends for which it was intended and that it ought to be abolished, but that they offer to do it by assassinations is a pretense that originates with the official thugs who hope thus to dupe the people and conceal their own crimes. Of course the Anarchists are mistaken in their philosophy, but Jefferson said: "Errors of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." It will be found as great an undertaking to kill Anarchy by killing non-combative Anarchists as for murderous Anarchists to kill governments by killing its officers.—Lancaster, Wis., *Teller*.

Anarchy begins where American law can not reach. You cannot throttle an idea.

Lead and hemp are excellent remedies for overt murderous deeds, but you must not hope in this land and century to deal with opinions as you deal with acts.

There is some danger that legislators, in justifiable zeal to crush Anarchy, will do that which must soon be undone in the interests of liberty.

The well known maxim of a certain medical school, "Similia, similibus curantur," will not work in politics. Anarchy will not cure Anarchy.

Rousseau shot McKinley. Proudhon shot McKinley. Bakunin shot McKinley. These philosophical Anarchists, reasoning that there are no property rights, sowed the idea that property holders are robbers. That idea developed another one, namely, that such robbers should be destroyed.

In its next evolution the idea had developed a demand for the destruction of the representatives of that social order by which property rights are protected.

Society reaps what it permits to be sown.

This murderer of Canovas; this assassinator of Carnot; this Sipido firing at the prince of Wales; this Bresci slaying Italy's king; this Salson who attacked the Shah, and this Czolgosz, abhorred by every honest heart for this last deed of blood—these men all are but results, foam on the top.

A police captain tells me that in 1886 Chicago disciples of Proudhon made dynamite bombs. That is, a malignant idea,

appearing at first as a harmless opinion, would get itself transformed into an engine of bloodshed.

Taking the path of least resistance it chose for its helpers the most selfish, the most ignorant and the weakest-minded folk. Such is the foam.

There are, then, accessories before the fact. With some of them, as the guilty nine of 1886, the law may deal.* But with others, and these others quite as guilty, the law cannot deal. Indeed, did it but try there would be nothing else in court save Anarchy cases.

For whosoever denies a World-Maker and whosoever derides or resists any just authority or moral government or social peace whatsoever, and whosoever encourages contempt for magistrates is an abettor of Anarchy.

With conspirators and slayers the law has business. By international agreement and police espionage it may take preventive measures, and with it will lie the execution of just sentences. Any failure to defend this latter right encourages Anarchy.

Come all ye States, South and North—North as well as South—come all communities where mob law and lynch law and Ku Klux law and White Cap law have been permitted to displace the law of fair trial and legal execution; gather, all ye impetuous and impatient botheads, and hear what a Christian statesman advises in the hour of his assassination—"Protect that man."

No patriot ever led a mob or lynched a horse thief or burned a "nigger" or assaulted a sheriff discharging his duty. Anarchists—practical Anarchists—do [?] these things.

You know what you would do the Buffalo prisoner? You would skin him; you would pump his carcass full of lead; you would torture him after Chinese precedents; you would fry him in slow fire? You are a fool!

You would make Anarchists by your Anarchy, for here is a case where, instead of like curing like, like begets like.

There are many such cases. Has intemperate zeal aided the cause of temperance? The *Voice* is quite as Anarchistic in some ways as anything printed by the Isaaks. The W. C. T. U., a splendid organization, has mightily marred its usefulness by ill-advised attacks upon public officers, especially our martyred president.

But there is a cure for Anarchy. Oppose an idea with an idea—a weak one with a stronger one.

While doing that, legislation—so far as it assists espionage, trial and conviction—is good, provided that it tampers not with the right of opinion. Could it devise to suppress the names and pictures of assassins, thus removing the incentive of notoriety, it would do something.

Your practical Anarchist has a vanity. He would like to have his name printed in

* If this reverend had earnestly sought to obtain the true facts regarding the "guilty nine," he would have found that they were innocent and "legally" murdered, as Ex-Gov. Altgeld has proven. And by a little reflection he would also learn that the most cold-blooded murderers are always found among those who pretend to uphold "law and order."

the histories. Theoretical Anarchy is the gospel of Individualism, and inordinate egotism is one of the marks of a practical Anarchist.

But there is more yet, and better things to do. Make your theoretical religion practical. Destroy by love force ecclesiastical Anarchy and theological Anarchy and household Anarchy, and in the "unity of the Spirit" and "in the bond of peace" let once warring secretaries and opinionated religionists go into all nations, teaching the things once taught by the great Man-Lover, Jesus Christ.

Translate creed into conduct. Emulate the great example, forgetting not the highways and the hedges. Practice the Golden Rule. Put idea against idea, the idea of Christ against the idea of Proudhon; the practice of a Christian against the practice of the Anarchist. Our half-heartedness, our divisions, our much talk and small performance, our sensational pulpites and sniveling emotionalism, our own selfishness and our own corruption make for Anarchy.—Rev. M. Edward Fawcett, in Chicago *American*.

Rev. Dr. Heber Newton, rector of all Souls Protestant Episcopal Church, amazed his congregation today by radical utterances on the subject of Anarchism. His views came as a surprise to many, while some, who knew the trend of his mind, were astonished at the rector's bluntness. Dr. Newton took for his text the seventeenth verse of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew: "Think not I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." In part he said:

The appalling crime of September brings the nation face to face with the problem of Anarchy. On the day on which the death of the president occurred one of the leading journals declared, "Scratch a Socialist and you will find an Anarchist."

This is as though it had said: "Scratch a Republican and you will find a Democrat," "scratch a Catholic and you will find a Protestant." Democrats and Republicans alike are striving for the good of the country, Catholics and Protestants are both seeking the kingdom of God, but they are moving intellectually in different directions. Archbishop Corrigan, in his letter to the clergy, lumped together Socialism and Anarchism. Cardinal Gibbons seemed to have done the same thing. Both dignitaries quote Pope Leo, who, if the reports of the latest pronouncement are correct, has not only confounded Socialism and Anarchism, but has mixed them up with Free Masonry and Judaism.

Anarchism is in reality the ideal of political and social science, and also the ideal of religion. It is the ideal to which Jesus Christ looked forward. Christ founded no Church, established no State, gave practically no laws, organized no government and set up no external authority, but he did seek to write on the hearts of men God's law, and make them self-legislating.—*Record-Herald*.

When Czolgosz was arraigned in Buffalo on a charge of having shot President McKinley, he said, "I am guilty." "We do not want you to say guilty; we do not want you to say you are not guilty in order that we may prove you a liar as well as a murderer," said the court. And Czolgosz lied to the men appointed to administer justice. They want to know who instigated the first crime; they already know who instigated the second.—*Toronto Citizen*.

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Tyranny's argument is suppression.

FREE SOCIETY.

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Asso.

A. ISAAK*.....PUBLISHER

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 515 CARROLL AVE., Chicago, Ill.

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.

To All Comrades!

Pressing circumstances and menacing conditions urge us to appeal to you. As is known to you, Comrade John Most has been "sentenced" to serve one year in the penitentiary. The most bare-faced violation of the law, the most malicious and vile condemnation that has ever been perpetrated upon Comrade Most, was committed by the New York judges; and we intend to appeal to the higher court. But such proceeding requires money. The comrades of New York have already successfully appealed to the labor unions, and a defense committee has been formed. This committee has already taken up the work necessary; but, in order to counteract this governmental injustice successfully, we need your fraternal assistance. The money will be used exclusively for legal proceedings.

WORKINGMEN'S DEFENSE ASS'N.,

E. BRADY, Treasurer.

New York, N. Y. 182 E 82nd St.

Exchanges please copy.

Notes.

Under the auspices of labor unions, turner and singing societies, the 14th anniversary of the victims of the Chicago labor movement will be celebrated November 11, 8 p. m., at Brand's Hall, cor. Erie and N. Clark. Admission 10 cents.

Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre will be the principal speaker of the evening, and we hope that friends and foes will come and hear what she has to say on the occasion.

Splinters.

It is to be noted that the clamor against the Anarchists is gradually subsiding. The suggestions of vivisection, branding, deportation, life imprisonment, etc., are giving way to milder forms of punishments. The voice of reason is again becoming heard. At first timid and far between, it is now heard on all sides, boldly demanding honest investigation into the real principles of Anarchism.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the reaction is dead by any means. Club resolutions and convention platforms condemning Anarchy, with but a vague idea of what is meant by "Anarchy," have become a fad. At the same time the utmost efforts are made to obtain at least a few victims for sacrifice upon the altar of public ignorance and hate.

A number of comrades have lost their jobs for being Anarchists. In Pittsburgh a house was wrecked because its occupants were supposed to be Anarchists, although its inmates are unknown to the comrades. And there is a determination to carry to the utmost the persecutions against the arrested comrades.

Comrade G. Ciancabilla is still in jail in default of an enormous bail of \$5,000, but *L'Aurora* makes its regular appearance just the same. The comrades of Home have been released upon \$1,000 bail each, and are to be tried in February, for alleged misuse of the mails.

That there is no such thing as a free press in this country, has long been known to all who have kept their eyes open. The freedom of the press has been attacked under various hypocritical pretenses, such as "misusing the mails." But it has remained for three judges in New York, whose names are Hinsdale, Hoolbrook, and Wyatt, to bring the matter into a new and clear light. John Most was charged with "disorderly conduct" for republishing an article written by Karl Heinzen fifty years ago. Any police judge would be expected to see the absurdity of such a charge, and to dismiss the case at once. But no, these wise judges, of the court of Special Sessions, found John Most guilty, and sentenced him to one year in the penitentiary on the spot! In passing the sentence, Judge Holbrook is reported to have "delivered a scathing denunciation of Anarchy." It is at least well that he gave away the real reason of John Most's outrageous sentence. As the absurdity of the preferred charge was evident on its face, it was but necessary to "denounce Anarchy" and sentence the prisoner! An appeal is to be made, and in another column a call for funds will be found. The comrades are expected to respond generously, in order to fight this infamous decision of the court.

In Chicago Mayor Harrison is doing his best to prove that free speech does not exist in America. A meeting had been arranged, in which Emma Goldman was to deliver her lecture on "Modern Phases of Anarchism," which the lying press had reported as having incited Czolgosz to his act at Buffalo. Instead of giving the people an opportunity to hear the real sentiments of this lecture, the mayor ordered the police to stop the lecture. The police ordered the hall keeper to close the place, as no meeting of Anarchists would be allowed there. Suppression is always the answer which tyranny gives to the voice of reason.

That any excuse will serve a tyrant, has received ample proof by the recent action of the authorities in various parts of the country. Mayor Harrison stated that lives might be endangered if Emma Goldman attempted to deliver a lecture in Chicago. Except in so far as this applied to any contemplated police brutality, its absurdity is apparent. Delivering an intelligent philosophical discourse is calculated to disturb only petty officials of the Harrison stamp. The Anarchist has nothing to conceal, and therefore seeks the light; while the machinations of any city hall in the land would not bear inspection. That is the reason the great howl is made concerning the Anarchists. The "stop thief!" cry has been worked with effect by the thieving officials. But the silly subterfuges resorted to in the cases of the Home comrades, Ciancabilla, John Most and Emma Goldman will not blind people for long.

ABE ISAAK JR.

By the Wayside.

Some sky-pilots insist that "the will of God was done in Buffalo." If that be the case, why punish the man who carried out "God's will"?

According to press reports, thousands of Boer women and children are dying from ill-treatment and neglect in the "concentration camps." But there is no protest, no indignation expressed in the pulpit,—no howl raised by our newspapers, which recently manifested a very keen sensitiveness in regard to murder, to "stamp out" the British rulers who perpetrate such atrocities on innocent mothers and their babies. Truly, even to the most conservative mind Czolgosz must appear an angel in comparison with these goody-goody Christians, who murder thousands of men, women, and children in cold blood, and that for no other reason than to gain fortunes for the stockholders of the Transvaal gold and diamond mines. What a monstrous world this is!

Powderly has let the cat out of the bag. It is not the ignorant, illiterate "foreigner" that is dangerous to this country, but the intelligent one is apt to become an Anarchist. The former, Powderly informed President Roosevelt, becomes a "good citizen." It is to be hoped that the Americans will reflect upon this information and feel flattered to be among those who are qualified to be "good citizens." But Powderly is right, although cruelly frank. Ignorance is the bulwark of oppression and exploitation. With the ignorant and indolent subjects governments hardly ever quarrel—except when driven to desperation, but it is the intelligent, independent thinker who annoys the human vampire; and I am not in the least anxious to be thus classified as a "good citizen," but will remain among those who strive for a better world—a world in which no one shall suffer for want of food, shelter or clothing. The Anarchists are a "bad lot," indeed, to have such notions.

Father Yorke of San Francisco recently lectured to the strikers, and among other things said:

Put not your trust in politicians. Put not your trust in political parties. I do not care what the name of the party is, I do not care who the man is—I implore you, my friends, do not put your trust in politicians or in any political party.

What can a politician do for you, will you tell me? Suppose you elect all your officers. Suppose you elect all the men you want, from the top to the bottom of the ticket. What can they do for you? Was there ever a man went into office with so many professions of sympathy for labor, was there ever a man went in with such a labor crowd around him as the present mayor? And what good is he to you? You might as well have a dish-cloth on the top of a pole.

Let me tell you that whoever you elect mayor, I do not care what party he is from—I am not talking against one party now or the other; I am talking against all parties—I do not care by what names they are called, the man who would be elected by you would be just as far from you as if you took him and put him up on top of Mt. Shasta.

After all, let us ask, What is politics, and what are politicians? Politics is a business, and the politicians are in a union just the same as you are. It is just as much of a business as any of the things you belong to, and if you imagine that a mere outsider can break in and that the doors are open for all stray sheep to return, you are very much mistaken. Go down to the City Hall today, and take a good look around and see who are employed there. If you went down there two

years ago you would have seen the same old gang, and if you go down there eight years from now you will still see the same old gang, except those who have gone to their eternal home.

The men who are in politics are in politics as a business, to get wages, and you might vote yourself black and blue, and they would get the employment in spite of you.

In thus undermining the confidence of the workers in politics, Father Yorke's name is liable to enter the "Red Book" which now is prepared by the United States Secret Service for all Anarchists and those who have ever been seen in company with one of the "reds."

"What would you do with the thieves, if you had no governments?" Comrade Issak was asked by the chief of police.

"The same as you do—leave them at large," was the reply.

"Well, we imprison them; but you don't believe in prisons," the chief retorted.

"The petty thieves you imprison are harmless. The big ones are all at large. But we do not claim that government could be dispensed with under the prevailing property system. When you abolish the causes which produce criminals, you will have none."

"What do you mean?"

"If you have sore eyes from impure blood and the doctor treats them externally, will you get relief?"

"No, I don't think so."

"Very well; but that's exactly what you are doing to abolish crime. You deal with the effect—the criminal, who is but the natural product of a rotten system, while the crime is never thought of. Abolish the causes which create luxury, idleness and extravagance on one hand, and poverty, suffering and drudgery on the other, and you have abolished the incentive of theft and murder."

INTERLOPER.

The Dilemma of Authority.

McKinley's death calls for little comment from us, so much having already been written upon it. That what has been written concerning Anarchists and the movement is filled with falsities, does not alter the case. Truth wears a grim face and is not beloved of penny-liners. It might be well, however, if the glib journalists, who strive so eagerly to gull the public mind, could for once appreciate the difference that lay between McKinley, private citizen, and McKinley, president of trusts. McKinley, private citizen, may have been, possibly was, a blameless individual. Now, it is only the newspaper Anarchist who kills the blameless individual. The bullet that, probably aided by his physicians, finally ended McKinley's career, was not aimed at the blameless individual, but at McKinley—unscrupulous imperialist and crafty politician—at McKinley, ignorer of the rights of workingmen, defender and supporter of the infamous trust system of the United States—at the president of a "free" republic, who, spurning the title of monarch, possessed more power than all the autocrats of the world rolled into one, and never in one single instance used that power other than to foster the privileges of the rich—to ameliorate the condition of his less fortunate countrymen seems never to have entered his thoughts.

A George Washington as ruler is never likely to have a shot aimed at him except by some disgruntled politician. Presidents of the Washington type are not foisted into the White House on the back of a bank cheque; Washington was not the embodied representative of the greed of monopoly that today, under the cloak of commercialism, grinds down the American workers and rouses the bitterest animosity against a system and a class of which the human mind is capable. Hall Caine's contention that the worker who struck this latest blow at capitalism was but fulfilling a natural law, is just. America, he further remarked, like every State, must in its turn reap the fruit of the centuries of oppression that have devastated the nations. A few as serious-minded men write in a similar strain. For Time brings its own revenge, and the militant Anarchist of our day is only one of the instruments by which its insistent hand adjusts the pendulum of Justice. "Anarchists," says our far-sighted friend Mr. Dooley, "is sewer-gas," and implies to "Mr. Hinnessey," that there would be no such gas if it wasn't for the sewers.

Exactly; but for the gross abuses festering the earth—abuses of power, wealth, position, commerce—abuses patent to all but their blind and hardened purveyors—there would be no militant Anarchists. Fill in the sewers and you will have no deadly gases; drain the swamp and malaria ceases; remove the wrongs under which millions of men and women hopelessly struggle, and you destroy at once the breeding-places of discontent and rebellion. But what do capitalists care about the suffering upon which they fatten? What does militarism care for the slain upon whom it treads to earldoms and incomes—or clericalism, what recks it of the human intellects paralyzed by its blighting grasp? But the Anarchist thinker and worker does care—cares at times so much that, as has been proven, one might say to excess, he is ready at the bidding of a restless impulse to face death in the expression of his fierce indignation at wrongs that can be remedied, but are never remedied until the sufferers weary of suffering revolt. Czolgosz dies, as the American judge puts it, to teach a class of people that the law must be supreme, a class which must be given, "a terrible example of the majesty and irresistible force of the law that they would tear down." Oh, most blind judge! How many "terrible examples" has this "class" not had, and what has been the result but an increased contempt for the majesty of "law" that never since it fell into the hands of Authority has worn a smile for the rich and a scowl for the poor.

Death!—Rest. No, judge, the majesty of your "law" thus translated has little terror for the Anarchist. Were you to reverse the process and electrocute a few of your Trust fiends, your wheat cornerers, your municipal boddler, your senators who do not believe in educating the Negro, but make an eloquent plea in justification of lynching him—were you to kill off a few of these noble upholders of the law we wretched Anarchists have the courage to despise—it would do your soul good to see how terror might inspire honesty in the ranks of the rich. Anarchist literature may be suppres-

sed, Anarchists themselves throttled off the face of the earth in groups or singly, but Anarchism will live and grow. We are tired of repeating this. But as Emma Goldman once wrote: "What makes the work of propaganda so hard is fighting the prejudice against Anarchy, that popular belief so eagerly spread by police and press that Anarchy means Beer and Bombs. It is difficult to get people to understand that Anarchy as a philosophy has nothing to do with either. Lately," she continues, "I addressed a meeting of liberal thinkers, and they told me that what I expounded as Anarchy was Socialism, not Anarchism, because as they were taught to understand the principles of Anarchism, these meant Violence and Destruction. I am doing my best to disperse these nonsensical notions." She has always done her best to do so. But the rapid spread of Socialistic ideas throughout the world is terrifying princes, churchmen, and bureaucrats alike. Anarchists do not make plots in these days; they know that in every case where bomb throwing is advocated the suggestion comes from a police pupil or a police dupe—that is, from men in the pay of those who know that the breath of Liberty is in the air, that Liberty spells loss of power and empty pockets to them. Thus Authority will fight for all it is worth, will not only not put out one finger to right the wrongs of the people, but will not even expend a thought on them until compelled by force of fear, preferring to misrepresent the opinions and acts of their enemy rather than buy a penny pamphlet on Anarchism, with a view to understanding or explaining a philosophy that inculcates a hatred of tyranny and injustice in all their forms. Cleanse your sewers, Capitalists and Kings, for death lurks within their slimy depths, and Time the Avenger, when it means retaliation, is not particular in its choice of instruments. If the rights of the rich are many—the wrongs of the poor, who shall number them? Men like Bresci, Czolgosz—and when they lose their heads over the sum . . . ?—Freedom, London, England.

Here and There.

In Kentucky union miners clashed with the guards of the mine owners, and several hundred shots were fired. The "casualties" are not reported; neither is it said that those who did the shooting were "Anarchists." They were undoubtedly all men who do not believe in violence.

Another sentiment of peace and good-will was manifested in Scranton, Pa., where the street car men are on strike. Two riots occurred on one day, the company finally abandoned the attempt to run the cars.

The baker's strike in Italy seems to be a serious affair. The government has ordered the soldiers to take the places of the strikers, yet these scabs have not been able to supply the public with bread. A state of siege has been proclaimed.

Russia has its famine troubles again. Riots have occurred in many districts, in one of which fourteen peasants and two rich landlords were killed. In another district 1,000 students demolished the house of the governor, the police station, and the office of a newspaper.

Comrade Maurer, editor of *Neues Leben*, Berlin, Germany, was sentenced for six months imprisonment for writing an article on the assassination of McKinley.

History of the French Revolution.

XXIV

The legislation of the period is a queer medley. Some parts of it were dictated by the Committee. Some parts of it, mainly representing the State Socialistic trend are now generally approved "now we are all Socialists." Some hardly find defenders even now. Of these, some were great, and therefore in my judgment, wise, extensions of personal liberty. Others illustrate the well meant folly of trying to alter Nature by a "be-it-enacted." All alike were condemned by the conservatism of that period. Imprisonment for debt had been abolished already—on Danton's motion. Negro slavery was now abolished. The National Assembly had done this May 15, 1791, and characteristically retracted, on Barnave's motion, September 3; after plunging Hayti into rebellion.* But Hayti, and all her sister isles might sink before the Jacobin Liberty, "watchful Tisiphone with bloody robes tucked up," would yield an inch to slave traders! The property rights of married women, which in England and America at that time could be created only by the awkward circumlocution of a marriage settlement, were uniformly guaranteed by law. Combacères moved this, Danton seconded. Technical education was established in three branches; mechanical, for all; special, for professions, and scientific. The Normal School, the Conservatory of Arts, the Polytechnic School, the Museum of Natural History were devised. Two hundred million dollars' worth of land was appropriated to old soldiers. Wages were secured against cheats and cormorants. Old age pensions were granted to laborers. Outdoor relief was given to paupers. Divorce was made as easy as marriage. A cash bounty was offered for children, legitimate or illegitimate. The best thing to be said of this measure is that it could by no possibility last. The rulers of France during the Reign of Terror have been called "wicked men, but great." A far happier characterization would be "well-intentioned, but profoundly unversed in the relation of cause and effect." Yet an admirer of Napoleon should consider that his renowned Code is merely theirs', minus some parts which had proved, as the French say, "impossible," especially the penal. Its principal author was the old and able lawyer,

* The mulattoes of Hayti were free by its own custom. The National Assembly declared them citizens, "active" if qualified, which they had not been before. This caused the whites to rebel—under the Bourbon flag. The mulattoes then incited negroes to avail themselves of their emancipation; the whites, too few to cope with this double revolt against their power, now they had lost the friendship of the home government, called in the aid of England, and armed such slaves as it seemed would stand by them. Preferring them generally at first to mulattoes, the negroes under their famous leader, Toussaint d'Ouverture, soon became the real masters of Hayti. The whites, massacred by insurgents of both parties on the plantations, fled when they could to the towns. Bourbonic as D'Artois, they would satisfy no faction, and at last gladly accepted permission from "the Black Napoleon" to evacuate. After the great revolt of August 23, 1791, they had tried making terms with the mulattoes; but the imbecile Assembly envenomed the latter again by disfranchising them. Negroes and mulattoes continued to disagree, till migrations divided the island between them, and gave rise to two republics. What is now the mulattoe's part (San Domingo), was ceded by Spain, nominally to France, really to whomever could get it, during 1795.

yer, Billaud Varennes. The revision, and some original features, are due chiefly to Cambacères. Even for the penal code there are excuses. It absolutely dispensed with torture, judicial or penal; from which hideous blot the codes of England and America are not even now quite free, though it was the boast of England that she never reduced torture to a system, like the continental nations. The worst characteristic of Revolutionary jurisprudence is, of course, its Draconian spirit. About English, at the same period, an English author of romance, indeed, but he was a good historical scholar, says: "The forger was put to Death; the utterer of a bad note was put to Death; the unlawful opener of a letter was put to Death; the purloiner of forty shillings and six pence was put to Death; the holder of a horse at Telfson's door, who made off with it was put to Death; the coiner of a bad shilling was put to Death; the sounders of three-fourths of the notes in the whole gamut of crime were put to Death." These were mostly statute laws passed to please shopkeepers, by two legislative chambers, whose most boasted virtue was that they contained only gentlemen. Let us allow that shopkeepers are more sacred characters than other people, or that gentlemen should, naturally be less refined by philosophy, art, and scholarship, than *sans culottes*. I fear then England will still find little reason to censure France. For while in France the Revolutionary Tribunal was executing savage laws designed mainly to crush notorious public enemies, England sent men to penal colonies for times like seven years and fourteen years, because they praised the political works of Thomas Paine. Public reading rooms were declared illegal, unlicensed public meetings riots. A judge of assize told the executive that if it would find prisoners, he would find law. "Some reformers," says Macaulay, "whose opinions were extravagant and whose language was intemperate, but who had never dreamed of subverting the government by physical force, were indicted for high treason, and were saved from the gallows only by the righteous verdicts of juries." Suspected aliens were arbitrarily banished. All this under a minister, who, as the same writer tells us, never comprehended the formidable character of his foe. "He was all feebleness and languor in the conflict with the foreign enemy who was really to be dreaded, and reserved his energy and resolution for the domestic enemy who might safely have been despised." That will not be said of the French Revolutionary government!

Nevertheless the popular opinion holds good that it was one of the worst which ever existed, as well as the strongest without qualification; and it was about the worst for the same reasons that it was the

* Macaulay on William Pitt (junior). In his essay on Barrere he perpetrates the following piece of patriotic moonshine: "A political spy by profession is a creature from which our island is as free as it is from wolves." The present tense may give this a barely verbal truth. At the time when, he held, France might be blamed for having such creatures, on which all the weight of his parallel depends, it would have been utterly absurd. Dickens, writing to the same exact comparison, remarks, "Our English reasons for vaunting our superiority to secrecy and spies are of very modern date."

strongest. Every element of power which a government can possess contributes something to make it a nuisance. The unity of monarchy means narrowness of view, its prestige means insolence. The personal ability which gives birth to an aristocracy is of that kind—not a high one—which seeks employment either in robbery or intrigue. Democracy, or mobocracy, is passionate, short-sighted, subject to violent fluctuations of purpose. Bureaucracy, or oligarchy, is meddlesome, cruel, treacherous; and, itself incorruptible, can subsist only on public corruption. Hegemony is always oppressive to distant provinces. Dictatorship, like Satan, has much wrath because it has only a short time. The Great Committee was as monomaniacal as Marie Antoniette, as unscrupulous as the feudal nobility before Louis XI, as furious as the September butchers, as tyrannical as the Council of Ten. It treated Vendée and Lyons as badly as Sparta treated Plataea or England America. It raged and revelled in the blood of Paris like Marius in that of Rome. All which redeems it from being the very worst among governments, is due to this, that it was a brand-new government, authorized and expected to make a clean sweep of abuses which had become intolerable to the civilization of the present; while the special boast of every venerable institution is that it reposes on the ignorant precedents of the barbarous past!

New armies, at first generally beaten, were pushed again and again upon the invader till they began to win. Carnot, though hardly a great general, knew enough of the art to understand that concentration of overwhelming forces on decisive points, whenever it is practicable, must do that. It was not difficult, even with a host only almost equal to the invaders' aggregate if holding a central position. But after the general levy, France had vast odds in total numbers. The recruits quickly acquired experience. The new government encouraged their enthusiasm instead of damping it, like the old. St. Just flew from place to place along the front, weeding out cowards, traitors, and public disgraces. In Belgium, at his suggestion, the troops enthusiastically consented to have a rear guard which would shoot all runaways. On one occasion he led the column, bearing the colors. Carnot, visiting a corps on the day of battle, and seeing them waver, snatched a musket, as Caesar did a shield, and led them on to victory. A fellow named Schneider had been riding about Alsace, where he acted as commissioner, accompanied by a guillotine with which he cut off thirty-three heads; while his style of pomp proclaimed the Jack in office. St. Just arrested him, and sent him to Paris, where, after a few months, he was beheaded. It is among the most creditable traits of the Great Committee's work that such justice was usually meted out to proconsuls guilty of wanton excesses in a way with which the history of England and America furnishes many humiliating but no edifying contrasts. Less defensibly the heads of several unsuccessful generals were cut off; but it is fair to add pretty much every one had some ugly story of intrigue behind his last treason or misfortune. That the army should

be purged of officers like Dumouriez was absolutely necessary; and the evidence that they were numerous is very strong. Custine was beheaded for losing Mayence and Valenciennes (?)—because he was not above reproach on account of his correspondence with the enemy. Biron (Lawzun) was beheaded, for defeat in Vendée—and for having been Marie Antoniette's lover, and holding questionable interviews with German princes in French towns. Luckner was fatally involved in Lafayette's double dealings. Blanchelande, who lost Hayti, suffered for criminal blunders. Not the first fault, nor the second, nor perhaps the third, brings down this terrible Committee's vengeance; but the committee keeps count, gives solemn warnings,* and has an unwritten law that many half-treasons make a whole one! It was, one might say, rather slow about trying the tyrants of its own appointment, like Schneider, Lebon of Arras, and Carrier of Nantes. Can those who blame its speed in despatching notorious traitors blame this too, seeing the end was that these fellows lost their heads?

The Girondist insurrections of Caen and Bordeaux had been very promptly crushed. In Belgium, Dampierre, who took Dumouriez' place, had been defeated and slain at Famars. The Austrian army had been reinforced by an English one, under the incapable duke of York. Affairs were shockingly mismanaged, especially the medical department. Men died like rotten sheep. Nevertheless, the allies took Condé. Soon after they separated. York wanted Dunkirk, the Austrians a slice off Flanders. How they jointly prevailed against Custine, has however been told. His successor, Houchard, won a partial victory at Hondschotte, and drove York from Dunkirk—September 8. He fought under positive orders of the Committee. Not quite satisfied, Carnot sent another general, Jourdan (not Coupe Tete), assisted him, as above described, in person, and defeated the Austrians at the important battle of Walsberg, October 11. He brought up for the purpose a division from the Rhine, where the Prussians were lying idle. Houchard was afterwards guillotined for alleged cowardice. On the Moselle, Hoche and Pichegru held the foe in check. Kellermann, the hero of Valmy, stopped invasion from Italy. The Spaniards, though they had some success at Perpignan, were defeated on October 1, and in January their own territory was invaded. It was in October St. Just made his reforms about Strasbourg. Besides what has been stated, he gave Pichegru a combined command; shot one brigadier for cowardice; degraded another for idleness; raised such requisitions as 10,000 pair of shoes, and a thousand beds; made the officers stay in camp; thoroughly renovated the commissariat, and clothing department, taking \$2,000,000 from the city for the purpose; and bade the men sleep in their uniforms, as they might have to fight any minute. A few days of this energy secured victory at Landau. The general rising of the west had been planned by Comte Rouairie; but he

was arrested in season; and leadership of the spontaneous insurrection devolved on peasants. Those of the department called Vendée were joined by several nobles, Larochejaquelin, Lescure, Bonchamp, Charette, etc., also the Germans D'Elbée and Stofflet; but the peddler Cathelineau was commander in chief. Holding in La Vendée a strong base protected by the sunken cross roads between the thoroughfares which connect Nantes with Rochelle and Tours with Bordeaux, they cleared it by the victories of St. Vincent, Aubiers, and Cholet. They pushed south to Chataignay and Fontenoy, north to Thouars, Beaupreau, Vetiers, Doué, Montreuil, and Saumur, which Larochejaquelin took June 10, thus uniting Vendée proper with Brittany, beyond the Loire. On the 29th Cathelineau and Charette entered Nantes, nearer the mouth of the river, but the former was killed, and his victory became a defeat. Against this most serious rebellion, Paris sent Biron and Westermann. The former ravaged Vendée; but, on July 5 he was badly beaten at Chatillon. Both being removed, Rossignol, Santerre, and Rousin, good Jacobins, but indifferent commanders, tried their hands. They were defeated in five battles. But during October, Kleber won for France against Vendée the great second battle of Cholet, where D'Elbée and Bonchamps fell. After a vain attempt on Cherbourg, the southern warriors tried to recross the Loire at Angers. In December the combined Celtic armies were beaten by Marceau at Maus, a bloody battle where neither side gave quarter. Another, at Sarcau, reduced the revolt to a guerrilla contest. Lyons began to be bombarded by detachments from Kellermann's army, August 22. A shell blew up the powder magazine, and destroyed 117 houses. The second city of France, however, only yielded to famine on October 9. The Convention passed judgment which Conthon, Callot d'Herbois, Laporte (till August, 1792 a royalist) and Fouché, ex-oratorian professor, were sent to execute. The old local institutions were abolished. The public buildings, and the houses of many individuals were destroyed. Conthon, carried in his paralytic's chair, supervised this work. With a hammer, he tapped doomed structures as a signal for his workmen, adding to each designation the formula "La loi te frappe." He would not allow the town to be pillaged. The regenerated place was rebaptized Commune Affranchie. A pillar was set up with the inscription "Lyons made war against liberty—Lyons is no more." Fouché aired his abhorrence of the religion he had renounced. An ass was made to drink out of chalice. Chalié's bones were cremated on a pile of church furniture, for Pantheon.

The revolutionary tribunal established here found the guillotine too slow for its enormous task. The condemned were shot by platoons and artillery to the number of 280. A great many fled into exile. These first enormities, though far inferior to those of the enlightened Thiers in a more liberal age,

* It may be observed that in the regulation histories this is made far too much of. We get a vague idea that Lyons was to have shared the fate of Carthage, but some one's slackness saved it. Nothing except rants by Barere & Co. support such a view.

excited profound indignation at Paris. Collet d'Herbois, hitherto popular alike as patriot, poet, and dramatic artist, received the chief blame, and found himself generally avoided. Marseilles stood a short siege, in which Napoleon is said to have distinguished himself. He first however receives mention in an extant report at the greater siege of Toulon. For so young a man he had a very high post, and stands first on the roll of honor. I see no reason to doubt the stories about proposing to command the entrance of the harbor by artillery, (which was the decisive move) or his simultaneously pleasing and getting rid of commissioners from Paris (whom other generals endured ungraciously) by the simple expedient of taking them at once to the most exposed place, where the English ships soon showed them more real war than they wanted. Though he and his eulogists gloss it over, his "Supper of Beaucaire" and sporadic observations, make it clear that he now professed Jacobinism. The patron to whom he chiefly looked for advancement was Augustin, brother of Maximilien Robespierre. At Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Toulon, the vengeance of the Committee's agents was almost as terrible as at Lyons. Jourdan Coupe Tete perished at the former city. Organizations, among which Rousin's Revolutionary Army is best known, did the work. At Nantes, punishment was marked by more circumstance of horror than any where else. This place was the shambles of Vendée. Carrier, who was sent there to chastise the rebellion soon got tired of trials. A "Company of Marat" was ready to do "justice" without any. Great numbers of Vendéens were shot. Even this, however, was either too slow or too public a method to please the blood-thirsty fanatic. He devised one which had the double merit of being wholesale and secret. The prisoners were herded together in an immense warehouse. They were by no means all political offenders, or all guilty of any grave offense. Carrier's zeal for virtue to be propagated by methods like those of the ancient hero-prophets had, for example, swept into this catch-all a great many prostitutes. From the warehouse, a boat containing ninety four priests was one night taken to the middle of the Loire and scuttled. The *noyade* was repeated twenty-five times during winter. At first these massacres were glossed over in the same manner as those accidents to Mississippi steamers conveying rebel prisoners home, which occurred with such suspicious frequency at the end of our civil war.

C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

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It is a matter of so much importance, and it is so necessary to the maintenance of the free institutions of this republic, that the right of free speech shall not be attacked; that any legislation that may be attempted should be watched with the utmost vigilance. There will be, in all probability, schemes put forward to muzzle the press under the pretense of legislating against Anarchists, and they must be prevented on every account.—N. O. Picayune.

Government by science is becoming as impossible as that of divine right, wealth, or brute force.—Elisee Reclus.

* "We take no account of difficulties; we look only to results," was the grim admonition of Lindet to Beaumarchais, who was using public money without getting what it had been appropriated for.

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Through Their Own Eyes.

The stage-coach robber used to be considered a purely Western product, and is so far a relic of a bygone age that one would hardly have expected him to outlive the nineteenth century. Yet he turned up again recently, "holding up" coaches in the Adirondacks and California on the same day, terrorizing the passengers, and filling his pockets with the jewelry and money of his victims. The Baltimore *Sun* moralizes on the subject as follows:

It is not to be assumed that there is anything admirable in the highwayman who holds up a stage-coach. He may be handsome and debonaire; he may sometimes spare the ladies' purses while compelling the frightened male passengers to part with their wealth. He may appear to impressionable persons to be a fascinating fellow—perhaps the scion of some good family gone wrong—but for all that he ought to dangle at rope's end just as soon as the law will permit. It is true that the highwayman does very little injury to the public when his operations are compared with the gigantic schemes to swindle by which the unwary are continually victimized. Wall street probably dips deeper into the pockets of the unsophisticated every year than all the highwaymen that ever carried on business in this country, from colonial days to the present time. The armies of the "Christian nations" which recently invaded China carried away more plunder than all the stage-coach robbers of history. But Wall Street and the armies of the "Christian nations" do their looting under the protection of the law, whereas the highwayman is outside the pale of the law and must be sternly discouraged. Highway robbery has declined as an industry, not, perhaps, because men are better than they were in the last century, but because holding up stage-coaches is a crude and ineffective way of acquiring wealth. There is no use for a man to risk his neck in such perilous enterprises for the sake of a few hundred dollars when great fortunes are made, without breaking the statutes, by

modern methods of "holding up" the public.—*Literary Digest*.

PARTISAN FOSSILISM.

Governor Shaw, of Iowa, in a political speech yesterday, said: "It has ever been the aim of the Republican party to find employment for the American laborer and at wages commensurate with his needs, and to find a profitable market for the products of labor, agricultural and mechanical. In this field it has had no rival."

Surely it is time for average American citizen to despise such party drivel as this. A party only "finds employment" for such people as it is necessary or politic to employ in the government service. No party "finds employment" otherwise for people, nor helps them to better wages.

True, the Republican party, or any party in power, may pass laws that will have some effect in this direction; but such laws, so designed, are reactionary; they almost surely work evil results—as the "protective" laws for example.

The idea expressed by Governor Shaw is a mischievous one—that a political party provides work and good wages for people. It does nothing of the kind, nor should it. Men who get along in the world must do so by their own efforts and on their own merits. As a rule, they must earn all they get.

The Republican party has indeed helped some people—Rockefeller, Morgan, Quay and even Uncle "Less" Shaw; but the average man finds his opportunity or makes it, and is not beholden to any political party for it.

The Republican party has been very useful and in some respects an admirable and even a "grand old" political agent in this country; we needed it, and it has done certain good service; but it doesn't find work for men or help them to get better wages. Latterly, it protects the multi-millionaire very well; but the average workman has to rustle for himself, and he would be foolish to depend upon any political party—even the grand and glorious old Republican party.—Portland (Ore.) *Evening Telegram*.

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