



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 407.

When I am Dead.

(From *Munsey's Magazine*.)

When I am dead, friends, carve no words
On marble as an epitaph;
Nor raise for me a splendid tomb;
At such things time would laugh.
But hold me in your faithful thoughts
While briefly life and thought are lent:
Your tears shall be my ample praise,
Your love my monument.

William Francis Barnard.

Politics and Socialism.

It was in 1871—immediately after the defeat of France by the Germans, and of the Paris proletarians by the French middle classes—that a conference of the International Workingmen's Association, secretly convoked by Marx and Engels, instead of the usual annual congress, and the composition of which had been cleverly manipulated for the purpose, met at London. This conference decided that the Workingmen's Association, which had hitherto been a revolutionary association for the international organization of the struggle of labor against capitalism, should henceforth become a series of national organizations for running Social Democratic candidates in the different parliaments.

Thirty years have passed since this step was taken; and we can fully appreciate by this time the results of the new tactics.

The main argument in favor of it was that the workingmen were not prepared to accept the ideas of Socialism; that consequently a long preparatory period was required in order to spread these ideas; and that—to say nothing of the prestige of members of parliament—periods of elections, when everyone's interest in public affairs is awakened, are the best moments for spreading broadcast Socialist ideas.

To this the workingmen, especially those of France and Spain, replied that the International Workingmen's Association, such as it was, had already been excellent for the propaganda of Socialism. In less than three years it had awakened the conscience of the workers' interests all over Europe; it had done more for the theoretical elaboration of the principles of Socialism, and for the practical application of Socialistic principles, than fifty years of theoretical discussions. It had immensely contributed to the spreading of the idea of international solidarity of interest among the workers of all nations, and of an

international support of their strikes; of International Labor opposed to International Capitalism. Besides, the strikes, especially when they attain great dimensions and are supported internationally, awake general attention, and are infinitely better opportunities for spreading broadcast Socialist ideas than electoral meetings, in which, for the very success of the election, Socialists will often be compelled to compromise with the middle classes—to parley and to convene with them. In the struggles for political power Socialism would soon be forgotten—it was foretold—for some spurious teachings in which radical political reforms would be mixed up with some palliative legislation in favor of labor, thus creating a confusion in the minds, from which the middle classes only would profit; while palliative laws (hours of labor, compensation for accidents, and so on) might be enforced upon the parliaments in a much more effective form if the labor unions took everywhere the great extension which an international propaganda in this direction could give them.

It is for a good reason that we are here restating these arguments at such a length. Every one of them has had, within the last thirty years, its full confirmation.

See what has become of theoretical Socialism—not only in England, but in Germany and Belgium as well, amidst those who take part in the elections under the etiquette of Socialism. There is less of it left than there ever was in a Fabian pamphlet. Who speaks now of Socialism, with the exception of the Anarchists, who precisely therefore are described as utopians, if not as fools! In 1869-71 you could not open a single Socialist paper without finding on its very first page this discussion: Whether we must, and if we must—how shall we expropriate the owners of factories, the mines, and the land? Then—and this was especially important—every legislative measure, every political event was discussed from the point of view, whether it was leading to, or leading away from, the aim in view—the social revolution. Of course, everyone was extremely interested in obtaining shorter hours and better wages for every branch of trade; everyone passionately took the part of strikers all over the world: the International was indeed a permanent international strike—an international

conspiracy, if you like, for reducing hours, increasing wages, obtaining respect for the workers' freedom, and limiting the powers of capital in every direction. Of course, everyone was passionately interested, too, in widening political liberties, and this is why the International was frankly anti-imperialist. But it was also something else. It undertook, as its own specialty, the spreading of those ideas, and the conquest of those rights, which neither the old type trade unions nor the political radicals sufficiently cared for. The labor party, thirty years ago, had its own special functions, in addition to trade-unionism and Radicalism, and these were Socialism—the preparation of the Social Revolution. But where is it now? All gone! What is now described as Socialism—all of them are Socialists now!—is the most incoherent mixture of trade unionism, which trusts no more to itself, and looks for a John Gorst to make its business, with Toryism—the paternal State to whom you must look for every improvement of your conditions—with State capitalism (State monopoly of railways, of banks, of the sale of spirits, of education, etc., is preached and fought for by the Socialist party of free Switzerland) with Fabianism, nay, even occasionally with imperialism, when Socialists declare in the German Reichstag that let the State only declare war, they will all fight as well as the Junkers! Add to this all sorts of theories built up with bits of metaphysics for persuading the workers that a social revolution is bosh; that Socialism is only good for a hundred years hence, and those who talk about it now are dangerous utopians; that all capital must first be concentrated in a few hands—which every intelligent man sees never will happen—and that the peasant owners must disappear, and all become even more miserable than they are now, before Socialism becomes possible. This is what has now taken the place of the distinctly expressed idea: "The land, the mines, the factories, everything that is wanted for living, must return to the community, which by local action and free agreement, must organize free Communistic life and free Communistic production."—Is *this* progress?

If the workingmen of Europe and America had only the so-called Socialist and Social Democratic parties to rely upon for the tri-

umph of the Socialist idea, the general position would be really desperate. We certainly are the first to recognize that, the Social Democratic party in Germany is doing excellent *Republican* propaganda, and that, as a *Republican* party, it splendidly undermines the authority of the petulant William. We gladly acknowledge that the parliamentary Socialists in France are thoro-*Radicals*, and that they do excellent work for the support of radical legislation, thus continuing the work of Clemenceau and Rank, with the addition of some genuine interest in the working classes; they are *radicals sympathetic to the workers*. But who is doing work in the Socialist direction? Who is working in bringing the masses nearer and nearer to the day when they will be able to take hold of all that is needed for living and producing? Who contributes to the spreading of the spirit of revolt among the workers? Surely not the parliamentarian!

The only one possible reply to this question is this: "It is the labor movement in France, in Spain, in America, in England, in Belgium, and its beginnings in Germany, and the Anarchists everywhere, who, despite all the above-mentioned dampers, despite all the confusion that is being sown in the ranks of labor by clever *bourgeois*, despite all the propaganda of quietness and all the advices of deserting their fighting brothers, continue the old, good, *direct* fight against the exploiters. The great desperate colliers' strike in America has done more to shake the authority of trusts, and to show the way to fight them, than all the talk in the talking assemblies. The attempts at general strikes in Belgium (despite the opposition of politicians), at Milan (despite the treason of the leaders), at Barcelona, and at Geneva, have done infinitely more for spreading conviction in the necessity of a complete expropriation of the exploiters than anything that has ever been said in or out of a parliament by a parliamentary leader. The refusal of 400 Geneva militia soldiers to join the ranks, and the attitude of those fifteen who have been bold enough to tell the martial court that they would never join the ranks of their batallions in fighting against their brother workers—such facts of revolt are doing infinitely more for the spreading of true Socialism than anything that has been, or will ever be said by those Socialists who seek their inspirations in the speeches and the review articles of a John Gorst. Of course, it is those Anarchists whom the would-be Socialists hate so much for not having followed them in their middle-class "evolution"; of course, it is those blessed Anarchists who have their hand in these movements, and go to prison like Bertoni in Geneva and scores of our brothers in France and Spain. Yes, it is true they have a hand in these movements, and 8,000 workers on strike in Madrid shouted the other day: *Long live Anarchism!* This is true. But they are proud to see that the workers trust them more than their gloved "representatives."—*Freedom, London.*

"Suffer Little Children . . ."

I was reading a criticism on Mrs. Van Vorst's book "The Woman Who Toils," and the president's letter to the author, the other evening, and in reflecting on the subject I seemed to lose myself and my whereabouts. When I came to consciousness a moment after, I found myself in a great, underground cave that appeared to be peopled with a strange race of little beings. They were all trying to heap up great piles of rock and rubbish that lay in the bottom of the cave as far as one could see: each endeavoring to make his own pile the largest, excepting where a number combined to build one as large as possible. Each tried so hard to make his pile the biggest that it made no difference how he obtained the material—often it was by carrying it away from another person's pile. So, each looked at the other in a savage and suspicious manner, and each knew that only by vigilant watchfulness could he keep the others from snatching what he had accumulated and added to his own heap.

Some of these beings had scraped up enormous piles, behind which they sat secure and comfortable. Others, for all they seemed to struggle very hard, could accumulate nothing. I wondered what good these piles of dirt and rubbish could do any of them, until I noticed several huge, shadowy creatures creeping about apparently seeking whom they might devour. They never attacked those who were protected by their piles of rubbish, but were always hovering near those who had not made their piles. The beings seemed terribly afraid of the monsters, for they scrambled and dug and worked with all their might, and yet only managed to keep them an inch or two away by their small heaps of dirt. Sometimes they stumbled and fell in their struggles, and the monsters caught them, crushed and devoured them. I learned after a while that these monsters were named Hunger, Cold and Want.

I wondered at the inequality of the piles, where all seemed to be struggling so hard to heap them up; but I noticed presently that those who had the largest heaps were doing the least work, while those who toiled with frenzied haste, made no showing of heaped-up sand. It was difficult to see at first what became of all the stuff they scraped together. But by studying the situation, I found that the heap-owners also controlled the floor of the cave, and they would allow no one to dig there unless he would promise to give up a good share of what he scraped together. Sometimes a person would become so hard pressed by the monsters that he would borrow a little heap of sand to ward off their attacks, for which he was compelled to promise to work an indefinite length of time. All those who could not find a place to dig were crowded to the dark borders under the edge of the cave where the monsters lurked more than anywhere else. The horrors of these places I can scarcely depict. And yet thru some strange spell that the heap-owners seemed to have exerted over the others, the many poor creatures appeared to think it was right that they should be so treated, and that when they were crowded into the dark recesses of the cave where the greatest dan-

ger lay, they seemed to consider it was their own fault, and made no complaint.

The individuals who had accumulated the most dirt were not satisfied, but were constantly scheming how they might undermine their neighbor's pile, bring about its downfall, and scrape the debris into their own piles. They learned different ways of doing this, but most of these methods were labeled "legal." They set the most desperate ones to digging stealthily under the heap and when the right moment came the whole thing would crumble to the ground, often burying the workers beneath as well as the owners. The material was quickly conveyed to the larger and firmer piles.

But the struggle grew fiercer and more desperate. No one was content with what he had or what was necessary to keep the terrible animals from him. They were all ceaselessly attacking other heaps and trying to add to their own, and therefore they must ever be on the watch that crevices and cavities were not being made in their own piles. Sometimes when it was convenient they grabbed the bodies of the workers and jammed them into the cracks that had been made in their mounds; and some of the greediest found that little children would fill up the gaps as well as anything else, and they were much easier grasped. They were shoved and packed in under the sand and dirt where they could not be seen; their cries soon died away and they helped wonderfully in elevating the pile. Children were plentiful and they were grabbed up in great clusters and shoved beneath the mounds.

This came to be quite a common thing. The mothers and fathers only groaned, they dared not stop to fight or protest lest the monsters should be upon them. Sometimes they were even glad to see their children covered beneath the sand when the ugly animals came too near, not seeming to know that one killed as cruelly as the other.

But presently, when the rubbish owners had got into the habit of reaching out whenever they deemed it necessary and grabbing up a lot of children, they discovered that the children were not so plentiful as they once were. It began to be difficult to find material that could be put to their use in the old way. Then one of their rulers sent forth a cry of alarm and warning. He said that the people were selfish, narrow and shortsighted; that they loved their own ease too much and cared more for the piling up of rubbish than they did for the propagation of their kind. The women who were safe behind their husband's heap of rocks smiled and said nothing. But the miserable women among the workers sent up a cry that pierced the hearts of those who heard.

"What have you done with the children we have borne for you? In toil and suffering we have brought forth children—where are they? Many of them lie buried beneath your piles of rock and dirt; some of them are chained in the darkest recesses of this cavern; some are here among us, begging vainly for a chance to heap up dirt and rocks, and are victims every moment of the monsters. And you demand that our love be tortured to furnish you more children!"

There were mothers there who were glad. For they had found wherein they could

frighten their oppressors. If there should be a lack of the weak and helpless ones—what then?

"We will learn wisdom! We will give birth to no more children until you learn to care for those we have already given you. Until you secure them from the monsters Want, Hunger and Cold, and cease to build your mounds of shining rubbish on their frail little bodies, we will have no more children!"

The rulers and the owners of the great heaps began to tremble and turn pale with fear. They looked all about them to see what could be done.

And then I saw the great heaps themselves quiver and shake, and the tiny white bones of little children came trembling into view and the pebbles and sand were stuck together with their blood. Then the solid bottom of the cave itself began to upheave and there seemed to be no safety anywhere. But many were looking toward the entrance where a marvelous light was shining. The roof of the cave raised itself and exploded. The light came pouring down and shone into all the dark corners and recesses, and the people looked up with a new and mighty hope.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

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Crime and Punishment.

Fully 1,200 persons welcomed Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre back to the lecture platform. It was her first appearance as a lecturer since the assault committed upon her some time ago, and she was given a tumultuous reception. Her subject was "Crime and Punishment."

"Punishment is a failure," she said, "because the murderous deed of the criminal was against conscience, while the deed of the punishers is with conscience. This conscience is diseased and perverted, and a new class of brutal men is brought in who execute the laws. I do not imagine that the question of criminal punishment will be settled until long after all memory of myself is completely swallowed up by time. Two thousand years ago men's souls revolted and they eagerly followed him that cried out, 'Judge not that ye be not judged.'"

"Yet men and women who have taken this name have gone on judging as if their belief was only make-believe. Judges sit upon benches and send men to their deaths because it is the law. Prosecutors exhaust their ingenuity to convict men, and witnesses and jurymen do their part. Then they all go to church and pray. 'Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us.' It is not by lawyers and judges that the final cause of the criminal shall be tried, but the lawyer, judge and criminal shall be told by the social conscience, 'Depart in Peace.'"

"I believe that within every bit of human flesh and spirit all crime and all virtue are germinal. If in you the virtues have grown and not the vices, do not suppose you are essentially different from the men you have helped put in the stripes and behind bars. Your balance may be more even and the temptation may not have come upon you."

"I believe in the individual. I believe the purpose of life, so far as we can give it, is the development of a strong, self-centered personality. I believe that immeasurable

mischief has been done by the ceaseless repetition thru the last 2,000 years that men are made strong thru the sacrifice of Christ. It is not thru this nor any other sacrifice that anyone shall obtain strength, except in so far as he takes that spirit into his own life and lives it.

"Set your standard as high as you will, but if your neighbor fails to reach it, do not judge him. He lies beyond your sphere. You cannot know the inward battle, nor the weight of circumstances he has had to endure. You do not know how long he fought before he fell. Therefore, let him alone."

"Violence to life or liberty is anti-social, whether done by the individual, a collection of men or a nation. The greatest crime ever perpetrated is war, and the greatest murderers those who order it and those who execute it. And yet the State, its hands red with blood of thousands and tens of thousands, presumes to judge and condemn murderers."

"The born criminal is a sick man, and is irresponsible. His treatment is for the medical world, and for the best part of it—not for the prosecutor, judge and hangman. If the criminal is an accidental or occasional one, then he has a more severe judge and a more pitiless jailer—his own conscience and his own memory. Leave him to these; or, no—teach him to forget his error. In the prisons and jails we find the lash, the iron chain and every torture the ingenuity of the non-criminal class can devise by way of teaching criminals to be good. And this is what they call reforming men!"

"Is the action of the man who takes the necessities which have been denied him really a criminal? Is he morally worse than the man that crawls into the cellar and dies of starvation? I think not. The hungry man should have the social right to take bread. If there is no alternative between starving and stealing and the disintegration of society, let society consider this mistake, and let its own crimes cease first."

"Believe me, forgiveness is better than wrath—better for the erring, who will be touched and regenerated by it, and better for you. It is easier, far easier than hate. It may sound like a paradox, but the greater the injury the easier the pardon."

This synopsis of Voltairine's lecture, taken from a Philadelphia daily, is more or less correct. Only when she spoke of circumstances, she did not mean that the individual was altogether mastered by them. "This," she said, "is the excuse of the crawling, backboneless creature, for whom no defense is offered and who needs none."

MARY HANSEN.

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Let Us Spread Knowledge.

The article of Viroqua Daniels, in a recent *FREE SOCIETY*, has to my mind the best ring in it of any article appearing in the paper for a long time.

To an ordinary, every-day wealth producer, too many columns of long-drawn-out philosophy fail to reach or interest him, but take such clear-cut language as this article contains, especially the opening and closing paragraphs, and it appeals at once to the minds of busy men and women who have limited economic knowledge, but who,

nevertheless, need all the knowledge obtainable, on the how and wherefore of increasing the daily means of their labor product until it shall represent more than the bare necessities of life, even the full measure of their earnings.

They fail indeed to read the signs of the times who believe the present wave of "prosperity" is to deluge us much longer. Already, the "captains" of industry are beginning to assure the public, "that there are signs appearing in the sky which portend the waning of prosperity."

The alacrity with which the "masters" of this, that and the other industry are signing wage scales to run for years at a stretch, is deceiving none but the gullible; the most superficial student of the trend of economic events well understands what shipwreck a few hundred thousands of empty stomachs will make of those "mutual" agreements which have been left to boards of arbitration to "adjust."

As the aggressions of capital become more and more acute, because of concentration, each "panic" will find the workers more helpless and dejected, but readier to give heed to those who can point out the simplest road to freedom. Are Anarchists in a position to do this? Are there not a few hatchets to be buried first? LUCY E. PARSONS.

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A Black Sheep.

The prevailing custom in so-called "distinguished" families, of having their "inconvenient" but otherwise sane relatives locked up in insane asylums, has demanded another victim. This time it is the 26-year old Count Bathany who has been put in a "sanitarium" simply because he entertains views on the social question which are not agreeable to his relatives. Indeed, the young count seems to be of a different disposition than most of those of his caste. Just think, he is a rich magnate, who, instead of confining himself to horses, women, and cards, reads books, and meditates on social and philosophical questions.

Yes, Count Bathany really defies all the customs of his rank. In London he associated with the Anarchist Peter Kropotkin—another "degenerate"—and now holds the atrocious view that the present condition of society is not perfect and cannot prevail forever. Later he joined Eugene Schmitt and was attracted by the teachings of Tolstoy—another demoralized man of his own rank. He even determined to live in company with his peasants on his estates like Tolstoy. Such scandal his noble family could not endure, and so he was put under guardianship and locked up in an asylum. This is not so hard to do even in liberal Hungary when one bears the name Bathany. But thru the intervention of some of his friends the young man was soon released; yet he had not reformed, for he translated Tolstoy's "Appeal to Humanity" into the Magyar language. For this he has again been locked up, and his friends now appeal to the general public for aid. It is to be hoped that their appeal will be crowned with success, for it is horrible to think that the malice of a fanatical clique should thus deprive a harmless young man of his mental liberty and ruin his health. "It would be an unequaled infamy," remarks the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Vienna, "if the Hungarian government should not grant individual liberty, which Leo Tolstoy enjoys in despotic Russia, to one of its scholars."

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, MARCH 29, 1903.

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

Attention!

The entertainment and ball, given by the Progressive Club for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY, takes place March 28, 7:30 p. m., at Libuse Hall, 936 Twelfth St. Miss Fuers-tenberg will give a few Russian songs.

Tickets in advance, 15 cents; at the door, 25 cents.

Notes.

To anyone sending us \$2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and \$2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

Outpost Echoes.

Dare to be.
Ideas are seeds.
Learn to dream.
Elections are fights.
Despair is only death.
Slaves speak to order.
Even-night has its stars.
Be as you wish others to be
Can your dreams trust you?
Intelligence influences evolution.
Chains are only good when broken.
The love of liberty makes no cowards.
Would you rather steal than be happy?
Every lie has the respect of its neighbors.
Never despair; a little cloud may hide the sun.
Only the lesser robbers admit their robberies.
He who asks nothing of the future cannot remember.
Taxes are the wages paid to those who steal from us.
Injunctions are issuing thick and fast. They are paper.
Liberty may be a long way off; but are your arms folded?
To compromise with a lie never helped truth to get a hearing.

Men who are afraid to die really have not enough courage to live.

The State wins its place by power, but wears a mask of justice.

Again they are clamoring to have the Bible read in schools. Comstock!

The people of Russia are being promised reforms. Will alms quiet their cries?

Tho the western coal barons escape the law, they do not escape the damning facts.

Schwab has returned from Europe, and asks if he looks insane. No, the people do, tho.

Can the people live without government? Let government take its hands off our throats, and see.

The poor appeal to the law, the rich laugh at it; and the law laughs at the poor, and appeals to the rich.

The strenuous life is an abnormal life, but the life which should be would neither be a paroxysm nor a sleep.

The magnates of the beef trust have been "convicted"; but their fines are so small that a slight rise in prices will pay them.

Those who talk of the crimes of Anarchists are rejoicing daily over the crimes which their feudal lords commit against mankind.

If to hope for and believe in a future of freedom and fraternity is utopian, then the misery of common sense is indeed forever assured.

Let no one call him a freethinker who will not trust thought alone with any subject which the mind can conceive of, for he is a hypocrite.

Sex is no more sacred than any other function of the body, and the sooner we realize it and drop our cant the better will it be for our purity.

European State Socialists are still repeating their feeble lies about Anarchism, and their American echo, the press of Socialism, more feebly responds.

The free life attracts men in proportion, not to their poverty, but to their manhood; but not those men who measure your worth by what you have stolen.

Political life, enables one amidst other accomplishments, to acquire the qualities of an expert mud slinger, which in the present state of society are graces indeed.

The Paris *Figaro* has some high praise of Theodore as man and statesman; but if he could only be seen in his stunt of killing for the love of killing! Our Newer Nimrod!

The coal miners weakened their case by "arbitrating"; had they continued the strike a little longer, the American people would have forced the hand of the coal barons without the State.

Carter Harrison wants to be mayor again, and is out with some new promises made to be broken. If Chicago were subjected to a Minneapolis investigation, the result would put our eyes out, almost.

The Commune taught the world one thing, that freedom cannot be killed; that try as they will; lie about her, seek to bribe her, drown her in blood; freedom will rise again

to command human love and devotion anew.

Of course there should be child labor. Who are you that would restrict the rights of the people to work? This right is sacred. Yes, let the babies work; our flag must still wave on high, our Constitution be unimpaired.

Joseph Chamberlain has returned to England with stories of reconstruction, and love of conquerors and conquered. The drying bones on South African plains are too far away to make their mute denial to the eyes of the English.

The world is large enough, there is intelligence enough, but there is not opportunity enough to give every man alive home, clothes, refinements, food, and happiness. If it is all a dream, let us wake up and learn why; if it is not a dream, it is ours.

Non-union men are preparing to organize against union labor. Good! This will be the shortest way of learning who their friends really are, the capitalists or the workers. Only thus can they learn that the right to live is superior to the right to work.

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

Some radicals will attend baptisms, circumcisions, weddings, etc., but get into a frenzy when a speaker refers feelingly to the teachings of Jesus or the morality of the Bible. If such would go before a looking-glass they would find all the rubbish of Bible morality peeping out of their eyes.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad" can be aptly applied to the American capitalists. It is not enough that the toilers are forbidden to quit work when they please, the Waterbury exploiters have now attached the funds of the strikers in order to whip them into submission. It does not seem to occur to these legalized highwaymen that such arbitrary confiscation of the workers' money may recoil upon themselves, in that it teaches the wage slaves that property is simply a question of might, and is not so sacred after all.

Because a Pinkerton bloodhound was killed in Waterbury, supposedly by the strikers, there is great consternation in the camp of organized plutocracy. Even the New York *American* and the Chicago *Examiner*, which ostensibly sympathize with the labor union movement, plead with the workingmen for the abandonment of all methods of violence. But nothing is said of the deliberate murder of the workers by government during the last four decades, or the recent murder of ten strikers in Virginia who dared to defy the impertinent injunction issued by one of the hirelings of capitalism. On the contrary, 250 strikers have been indicted for murder because one of the deputy sheriffs was shot by the strikers in self-defense, altho it was brought out before the grand jury that Sheriff Cunningham had fired on the miners without any violent provocation. But "what's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," and so long as the worker is robbed of his earnings by means of violence he is likely to resort to force in self-defense.

Anent the turbulence prevailing in Holland between capital and labor, the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung* observes:

"The *Chronicle* delivers itself of the profound remark that the events in Holland are really significant enough for further contemplation. What would become of a country if the workers of all callings should go out on a general strike?

"A gloomy future for dividend-makers and spectators indeed. For those sitting on the top of the pyramid, from which base they draw their nourishment, the question is no doubt significant. What their answer will be is already clear. They will appeal to the government to rescue them and with prisons, musketry and canons, teach the slaves obedience, for it would be against the order of things if the honey-bee should refuse to supply the drones in the hives with honey.

"That will be repeated until intelligence and the sentiment of solidarity have become so strong among the workers that it will make them invincible, and enable them to resist the hardest means of power. From this the last strike may result things, the achievement of which will remove the exploiting rule of the propertied classes over the propertyless."

While reading Viroqua Daniels' article, "The Strike," in last week's *FREE SOCIETY*, it occurred to me that there is a greater evil to overcome than slavery and tyranny, and that is the fact that the workers are not conscious of their degraded condition and have no desire for freedom. The greatest task for the Anarchists is, therefore, to awaken in their fellowmen the desire to free themselves from the thralldom of wage slavery and governmental tyranny. Great conflicts between capital and labor are imminent in this country, as anyone can see who observes the signs appearing on the social horizon. The exploiters are organizing everywhere for the sole purpose of crushing labor unions, which in turn will intensify the resistance of the wealth-producers; thus a fierce clash between the bees and drones is inevitable, a clash which many a rebellious Anarchist will hail with delight. But have we done our share in order to justify us in expecting great results from the coming struggle? I fear not. Instead of devoting our time, means and energy to the distribution of appropriate literature among the rank and file of organized labor, we indulge in petty quarrels as to the merits or demerits of revolutionary action and philosophy, thereby hampering each other in spreading Anarchist ideas. In France and Spain the Anarchists have succeeded in permeating the labor movement with their ideas by circulating excellent pamphlets on all aspects of the labor problem and the general strike in particular. Let us spread the seed, and we will soon be in a position to exclaim with Comrade Nieuwenhuis: "It is a deluge of light to live!"

INTERLOPER.

More on Laws.

The anti-Anarchist bill, which went thru a laborious process of incubation for eighteen months, did not become a law after all. It seems that, in spite of the fact that "every-

body" approved of it, one man, Senator Bacon of Georgia, knocked the whole thing out by objecting, and as any Senator is able to "talk the session out" during the last hours of Congress if determined, the whole matter was dropped, and sank deep into the obscurity of the foggy brains which "rule the destinies of a nation" by their ayes and nays in the capitol at Washington. The darkness of oblivion is a kind cloak which has folded its mantle over many things greater and wiser than this.

It may be thought in some circles that Anarchists have cause to rejoice that, though Theodore reigns, they still live. But this is not so. They were perhaps the least interested, though apparently the most concerned. However, when such ridiculous measures as this piece of legislation are brought against us, it is a good occasion for a little hilarity. I should think that the political Socialists would suffer much more under such a measure than the Anarchists, for with such a weapon for disfranchisement in the hands of capitalist judges, it would make the growth of Socialist votes scarcer.

But speaking of laws, the new immigration act which is now in effect will be of more concern to many comrades of foreign birth than the amusing "anti-Anarchist" law. It classes Anarchists as among undesirable persons, such as lunatics, paupers, those afflicted with an incurable disease, etc., who are prohibited from entering the United States, and each immigrant is asked the question whether he is an Anarchist. The secretary of the treasury is empowered to order the deportation of any "objectionable" persons, among whom Anarchists are classed, within a period of three years.

This means no more nor less than that the American police power has now secured a formidable extradition weapon against active comrades who should wish to settle in this country. But really, we can scarcely contemplate such a law without a wink—we have the best of it after all! The comrades will simply understand that European conditions prevail here, and act accordingly. Laws do not enforce themselves; "they are made to break"; and the political police are such ridiculous fools! And besides, every immigration officer is compelled to carry on a constant Anarchist propaganda, by keeping the Anarchist idea vividly before the minds of people who otherwise would hardly give it a thought.

Give us more! ABE ISAAK JR.

At the Chicago Philosophical Society.

A packed audience listened to Rev. Barney, who claimed that the creed of Mormonism would solve the social problem. The speaker contended that society could not exist without a moral code, and the Mormons would apply the teachings of Jesus—the brotherhood of mankind and equality, which would establish harmonious relations. So-called Christianity had preached one thing and practised another, and it could therefore not be said that the teachings of the gospel had proven a failure. The conflict between capital and labor could never have arisen

had the teachings of Jesus been applied, and it was the object of Mormonism to eliminate poverty and strife. Among the Mormons there was no poverty—all owned land and homes. Yet, the speaker claimed, no one should be forced to accept the doctrines of Mormonism, but every individual should follow the dictates of his own conscience.

All the critics coincided in the opinion that the speaker had attempted to win for a lost cause with a broken weapon. Too long had mankind worshipped gods and been subservient to "revelations"; cut and dried moral codes had been the curse of man. Freedom, and not this or that moral code could solve the social problem. In freedom man would expand intellectually, and experience alone could establish harmonious relations. Religions are founded on authority, which the adherents must either comply with or be excommunicated, and under such conditions equality is simply a farce. Equality can only be realized in a condition when all government, be it religious or civil, is absent. A Church is liberal in its inception, but becomes tyrannical when it achieves power. The claim that this or that Church or this or that party will save man from slavery is humbuggery. Even Anarchism would not save man if it involved a stationary moral code. Churches and parties cannot solve any problem. Once people realize that they are slaves, they will remove the cause of their slavery, and break the chains, which is only possible by the growth of intelligence.

Sunday, March 29, Geo. Schilling will address the audience on "The Next Step in the World's Progress."

REPORTER.

Here and There.

Next week, April 3, Comrade John Most's imprisonment terminates, and his friends are preparing to give him a grand reception, which will take place April 11, 8 p. m., at 28 30 Avenue A, New York. *FREE SOCIETY* sends the old Warrior of Freedom its most cordial greetings.

Victor L. Berger, leader of the Social Democrats in Wisconsin, has induced the Federated Trades Council to adopt a resolution advocating the arming of union men for the purpose of defense against the encroachments of capitalism and its hirelings. This would indicate that Mr. Berger has little confidence in the efficiency of the ballot which he so ardently advocates.

LETTER-BOX.

L. M. P., Swinton, Ohio.—Subscription received. Glad to hear our ideas are progressing in your neighborhood.

S. R., Lawrence, Mass.—You will have seen meanwhile that the "Anti-Anarchy bill" was "talked to death" by Senator Bacon. But we understand another law has been passed which purports to deport Anarchists who have not been naturalized.

A. S. Cleveland.—C. L. James has explicitly stated that he will not discuss the question of restraint until his essay, "Vindication of Anarchism," is concluded. I will say, however, if you "can imagine a society, in which all notions of 'rights' and 'duties' are discarded, living harmoniously, because opposing forces will establish an equilibrium," then you coincide with those who argue against arbitrary restraint, for any "Spencerian metaphysical Individualistic moonshine formula" would simply mean meddling with the prevailing forces, i. e., increasing the friction.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

V (continued.)

Observe, I do not say the amount of crime cannot be affected by any known means, I say, and can prove that the crime, like rain, or anything else, fluctuates a little from year to year, in amount and still more in kind, thus enabling us partly to tell what causes do affect it, yet, in the same country, it circles at a short radius, about a fixed point; from which we may clearly infer that only slow processes of evolution affect it much.* Most absurd of all therefore, is the Philistine who cries, "If there is so much crime with law to prevent it, where should we be without any?" The reason there is so much crime (and so little) is that human nature has reached a particular stage of evolution. On this relation, government and laws have as much influence as they have on the moon's orbit. But as the government, by cutting a canal or building a dyke, can exercise a certain effect on the distribution of the tide, which follows the moon; so it really has some influence on those minor increases or diminutions of crime which are caused by the social state. This influence, I have partly proved, is mischievous. The cost is so enormously great,† that this alone would be enough unless some benefit were pretty clearly shown. But all penologists agree that in the days of barbarous punishments these did harm. And they hesitate to say that merciful ones do good. Not that they profess to be Anarchists, observe! Far from it. They assume the benefit—perfunctorily, as sceptical writers do the truth of Christianity. But I challenge the production of a line from their works above referred to, which does or seems seriously meant to prove it. Those which palpably *impeach* are innumerable. As to Lombroso and his school, they too are no Anarchists—of course! But the contempt they pour upon the penal law, its enactors, and its executors, is undissembled, as well as boundless. In short, no Anarchist

* The causes both of annual and longer variations, by no means sufficiently understood but indicated, are curious on account of their extreme unlikeliness to common guesses, such as legislators and unscientific projectors go by. Thus all punishable crime is known to be more common in the country than in the cities! Suicide is more common in summer than winter! Disappointment in love very often causes suicide, but never insanity! Times of excitement are fruitful in both suicide and insanity; tho as we see, the annual total never goes very far from its average. An actual majority of murderers' fathers were over forty years of age at the conception. Of thieves' fathers, a far greater number than of any other class of criminals, tho by no means a majority, were under twenty-five. Among all classes of persons, normal and abnormal, murderers alone excepted, the most usual age of the father was between twenty-five and forty. These figures are of real and high importance. They show that one great type of crime, dishonesty, is encouraged by early marriages, and (therefore) by middle-aged women's well-known penchant for boys; the other kind, violence, by old rakes' lust for young girls. Every class of abnormal persons has, as compared with normal, an excess of fathers either too old or too young (under 25 or over 40). Thieves, insane persons, and criminals collectively, exceed in both. Alcoholism and crime in the parents, both favor crime and every other degenerate trait in the posterity. Weeding out of particular types of character by obvious causes such as war, produces marked results after a sufficient time. The modern Italian character, it has been remarked, almost exactly reverses the ancient Roman.

† The annual cost of administering the American penal law is estimated in Drahm's work at \$50,000,000.

who wrote simply as such could assail the whole idea of the penal code's doing anything but mischief, half as terribly as do these men; for they assail it under the flag which protects it, or else under none; and they assail it, not with rhetoric or verbal logic, but facts in which they are universally admitted experts.

Coming down now again to the particulars, I feel within the limits of easy demonstration if I say that the *salient doctrine* in all these writer's works is, *Penal institutions increase crime by making young offenders worse*. It is not "they did," but "they do." Of course we hear much about reformed reformatories, which are now going to reform criminals. But, alas, we find little proof that any have done it, and much that many have not! The terrible conclusion "reformation does not reform" is no more to be expunged from penology than the blood from the mad queen's hand. Nor is it permissible to say that young offenders *must* go to prison as a measure of immediate public safety. The penologists themselves know a better plan than that, as we shall see. The only trouble is, its application would amount to Anarchy instead of penal law! Contamination is the way that prisons chiefly increase crime, according to penologists generally—contamination against which solitary confinement is a vain precaution; for it is among Wines' doctrines, delivered in the most explicit language, that "isolation does not isolate"! The cell, he tells us, has yet to be invented thru whose walls prisoners cannot telegraph. The officer is still unborn who can read what two silent convicts are telling one another, tho he perfectly sees that communications are passing; and knows that every news item will be all over the jail in a few hours. There is, however, another way in which the double damned prison manufactures felons; a way not ignored by our penologists, tho the best accounts of it are in the higher kinds of so-called "criminal literature" as Vidocq's Memoirs, the Life ("chap-book") of Jonathan Wild, the romance under this villain's name by Fielding, and Ainsworth's "Jack Sheppard," of which he is the devil hero. As regards the authenticity of such data, I may state we learn by the best penological authority that while the alleged Lives and Memoirs are full of particular lies, the general picture, even in the professed romances, is perfectly correct. Jonathan Wild's career is summarized in Ellis. The manner in which prisons make felons outside direct education to crime between their walls, is as follows. Stealing is a "business" conducted, like any other, by men who invest money in it. The employing capitalist is the receiver of stolen goods (in thieves' vernacular, the "fence"). The actual pick-pocket, burglar, or laborer at some other branch of depredation, is the proletaire, whose "wages" are regulated by such bargains as he can make with the "fence," the determining conditions being, of course, principally the number of competing thieves and the average rate of profit on the plunder, over loss and expenses, which are heavy, as more than one store must be kept to insure safety.* Now, since the whole business is

* One of the innumerable idiotcies of penal law consists in ignoring the truth that a wicked trade is gov-

unlawful, how does the capitalist get his proletaires? Why were men willing to risk, at no distant time the gallows, for a pittance? And why did they not exact their "natural wages" from the receiver? The reason is that everyone of those poor wretches, having once stolen, was in the power of the receiver. The goods he stole were in the receiver's shop to convict him; while, if he should attempt to retaliate, there was nothing to prove criminal intention against the receiver, except the word of a thief!† Thence the maxim, known to every policeman, that the thief is made by the receiver. It is true; but it comes short of the whole truth. *The thief is made in the first instance, by the penal law. If there were no laws against stealing there would be no professional thieves.* There would only be sporadic pilfering, checked naturally by the horsewhip and the bulldog. Would not this be a practical improvement? Ever since laws existed, theft has been more legislated against than any other crime, without being diminished by one iota. Ask a believer in "law and order" what they are good for, and the odds are he will tell you "to protect property." But how can it be said they protect property when they make expert burglars out of naughty boys; and occasional filching into a great organized business, with trade secrets, maxims, language, capitalists, and twenty thousand proletaires in London?

Statutes against theft do not protect property. They are not meant to protect property. They are meant to influence the next election by silencing the clamor of ignorant and timid property-holders. They are what all other laws are—they are humbugs. They are fakes, by means of which the small governing class perpetuates its power and profit at the expense of the whole people. The only kind of property govern-

erned by just the same economic principles as a legitimate one. Any economist could tell the legislature that *demand creates supply*. To punish furnishing a supply of anything, does not, therefore, affect the magnitude of the trade, but only raises the price. All laws against any traffic, whether itself culpable or only a *malum prohibitum*,—laws to punish stealing, usury, smuggling, liquor-selling, prostitution, dealing in obscene publications, etc.,—are, however, ostensibly or virtually, laws against furnishing the supply, not against making the demand. It follows that for their professed purpose, all such laws are perfectly powerless. We have seen elsewhere a signal example in the laws against the slave-trade. They made slaves dearer; they increased the horrors of the Middle Passage; but the slave-trade, even now, is increasing, and but for loss of the American market it would be increasing faster than it is.

* This disposes of any such suggestion as that stealing might be checked by more laws against receiving stolen goods. The receiver is liable to punishment now. The laws against his business are severe enough. But while it is easy to convict Oliver Twist (tho in fact he was innocent) since he had been wounded while entering a house, it is not usually possible to prove that Fagin knew the goods he bought were stolen, altho every "peeler" in London might be perfectly aware his regular occupation is finding "plants," on which Charley Bates or Bill Sykes are set at work according to their respective talents. For very similar reasons, it is only ostensibly that in any unlawful trade those who make the demand are punished. A man can be punished for patronizing a brothel—if he is actually caught there. But that seldom happens. On the inmates the law weighs steadily; with the necessary effect of making their lives in some respects more unpleasant and their demoralization grosser; but also of raising their price, and enabling them to live in more tempting luxury.

ment protects is property according to the definitions of Cicero and of Proudhon—the right to misuse, which government created and bestows. For the frightful extent to which the penal laws against stealing aggravate the character of crime, I must again risk ridicule, tho there is nothing ridiculous about it, by referring to godd "criminal literature,"—to Briery, whose honesty is recognized by Hawkshaw, but who cannot escape from Moss; to Sykes and Fagin, living with their deadly eyes upon each other and knives pointed at each others' throats.

Criminology, and therefore Anarchism, instead of throwing such worse than useless boomerangs at the horrible evil of crime, as if we were Melanesian savages and it a demon to be exorcised by thru fetish sacrifices, condescends to study it, as a great social phenomenon, in a scientific spirit. Criminals it perceives are among *degenerate** branches of the human race. They divide into the following classes.† First, Born Criminals, in whom the propensity to some form of misdoing is as uncontrollable as a duck's love of water. The classic type is the "little monster," like Jesse Pomeroy, of Boston, who began to murder other children as soon as he was strong enough. Some child-criminals' mania is arson, sometimes it is stealing, sometimes sexual vice. But it is not necessarily anything very alarming to others. There are born drunkards. There are also those against whom it is hardly possible to allege anything more specific than "general worthlessness." Thus, few of the notorious Jukes family were dangerous; but all were shiftless, and the immense majority mischievous. Accordingly, the class of Born Criminals seems to be quite large.‡ Even the law, however, is intelligent enough to see that tolerably harmless specimens are best let alone. The statutes against tramp-

* The significance of this term must not be misunderstood. Its use was suggested by the Darwinian theory. The human race has been brought to its present physical, physiologic, and psychologic condition, by natural and sexual selection, as a cultivated plant or blooded animal is made by selection of a desired type to propagate. If this be neglected, the plant or animal returns to the primitive quality. Similarly, when circumstances exempt a family from the pruning knife of natural or sexual selection, degenerate (reversionary) traits appear. They are so numerous and so slight, and partial interruptions of the process which eliminates them are so common, that a classic type of humanity is rare—almost every one has some degenerate stigmata. Those only are designated as degenerates, however, whose features, figures, craniology, physiology, or psychology, or more than one of these, as is commoner, revert in a marked manner to the older savage type, the rest of us, tho imperfect enough, being called normal.

† The classifications are not exactly, tho they are nearly, the same in Lombroso, Ellis, and Drahm's. The most important difference will be noticed by and by. Of course, the classes "have nuclei but no outlines."

‡ The annual convictions for crime in the United States amount, by a recent census, to (about) 260,000. The penitentiary population was 45,333; that of jails 14,357. That of all penal institutions including "industrial schools," etc., was estimated at 85,000. (Drahms). In England and Wales, more than forty years ago, the prostitutes known to the police, numbered nearly 50,000, against a population much smaller than that of the United States at present (Lecky). The number of tramps in the United States is popularly estimated at millions,—doubtless an exaggeration, but one which would be impossible if there were not a vast number. About half the tramps and prostitutes may be mere victims of misfortune or wrong; but about half have their predestined life written in their very faces.

ing and prostitution,* in which practises these unfortunates are so largely represented, were made only to satisfy those innocents who suppose that a government can do anything. They are not made to be literally enforced. The next worst class of criminals (psychologically and physiologically) may get thru life without disgrace, under good guidance; but their propensity to crime is very strong. The name of Criminaloids has been given them. These distinctions, it should be understood, are not founded on their acts alone, nor yet upon their physiology, but on uniform coincidence of the two data. One who knows as much of criminology as even I, can tell a Born Criminal or Criminaloid from a normal person at first sight. The third order among criminals is described by Lombroso as Habitual, the fourth as Occasional, and here important but reconcileable discrepancy occurs. Lombroso says, while Born Criminals, Criminaloids, and Habitual Criminals, can be made nothing else, Occasional Criminals may be reformed. He is probably right; but his terminology is objectionable, for a professional criminal is certainly habitual, and it is equally certain that professional offenders have been reformed. The penologists, in their solicitude to stand by legal waymarks have tried to make a distinct class out of "recidivists" (persons convicted more than once). But it evidently breaks up into two—those whose natural character determines them, not to purposeless misdeeds, like those of the Born Criminal, but to a culpable mode of life; and those who follow an illicit trade because, after they have once sinned, "society" will not let them adopt a legitimate. A large proportion of thieves, tramps and prostitutes, belong to this latter class. In speaking of the professional thieves, we have already seen there are two kinds—those whom the law makes habitual thieves, and those whose sins it only renders much worse. These are the reformable and irreformable kinds; whom the "professional" or "recidivist" doctrine hopelessly confounds. But the thief is the type of the habitual professional offender or recidivist. The following passage, continually quoted by penologists, illustrates: "A woman who had no intention of stealing, but whose conscience is probably elastic, grows impatient at the delay in attending to her wants. It is, let us suppose, a purse worth ninety-five centimes, and the shopman is busy with purchasers of more expensive objects. Suddenly, the woman nervously yields to a swift temptation; she does not wish to wait longer, but instead of replacing the purse on the counter, she slips it into her pocket and turns on her heels without paying. 'From that moment,' said the inspector, 'she is lost, she will come back to steal, but she will steal inten-

* Vice, Mr. Ellis remarks, should be distinguished from crime. But he finds the distinction very difficult, and only just misses the Anarchistic conclusion that it is confusedly factitious. Crime should be defined as what the law chooses to make punishable. It consists of some *mala in se* and all *mala prohibita*. Vice comprises all *mala in se*, but is not crime when the law declines to punish it. To the obvious criticism that I should have said "vice" thruout when I said "crime," I reply the inaccuracy was forced on me by an established usage. The law is what made the usage. It will not even let us employ scrupulously correct English!

tionally and deliberately," (H. Joly, "Le Crime"). But she is not lost. Turn back two pages in the work of Ellis, and you come on multiplied proof, reiterated with a *plain statement of the moral* by Drahm's, that an offender of this kind needs nothing to reform him effectually beyond the shame of detection and rebuke—provided he gets nothing else.* Add imprisonment, and in the ordinary course you have created an habitual criminal and recidivist. Drahm's does not shrink from the obvious practical conclusion. He pleads earnestly for permission to dismiss first offenders with a warning. He lets slip only this point that the public must be converted to Anarchism, and the penal system torn out of the social by its very roots, before anything so sensible is done. For among Occasional Criminals are many whose crime is of a very serious character. It would be quite a mistake to suppose the anthropological grade of a criminal bears any fixed relation to the alarming or odious nature of his offenses. We have seen already that many Born Criminals are mere misdemeanants. On the other hand probably a majority of murderers are only Occasional, or in the next higher grade (Impulsive,†) and would never repeat their crime.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

* The inconsistencies, not verbal but substantial, which swarm in penological literature, are like those of the Ptolemaic astronomers in the fifteenth century. They betray the hopeless problem of reconciling a false theory with facts, and portend the arrival of the Anarchist Copernicus. Thus in one place Ellis says, we cannot catch our criminals too young. In another, he gives the confession of some philanthropic gentlemen after visiting a reform school, that they had all in their boyhood done just such things as sent the young convicts there; and that if they had been sent to the "reform" school instead of to Oxford or Cambridge, they would now doubtless be adorning the hulks instead of the Senate. Praise is lavished on institutions like Elmira for making apparently good Philistines out of savages born too late, and—we read in the same chapter the conclusion of Emile Gautier and Michael Davitt that "the *bondetenu*" (in English penologists' slang "the trusty" convict) "soon becomes under this régime as incapable of resisting his comrades, instinctive criminals or professional evil-doers, as the wardens, and as little refractory to temptation, to unwholesome stimulus, to the attraction of illicit gain, or to the contagion of bad example, as to discipline. He can only obey—no matter whom!" When will it be understood that to make virtuous character out of a mechanical conformity to routine is just like making a square out of a circle? When the intelligent class becomes Anarchists—which may not be so very long a time hence.

† Our real knowledge of crime and criminals is much indebted to those who have been in prison for their virtues. Kropotkin, Gautier, Davitt, are among penologists' chief authorities. The last named, says, "The really hardened irreclaimable criminal will never commit a murder." Miss Carpenter, ("Female Life in Prison"), also testifies that murderers are usually tractable—it is the female thieves and accomplices of robbers who are "less easy to tame than the creatures of the jungle." Robbers in all countries where there are enough of them to study, as Italy, India, Arabia, consider that murder "is not business," "does not pay"; so they never shed blood except in fair fight, which, besides, they will avoid if possible, plundering or blackmailing only the unarmed. Some few murders, it must be allowed, are committed by Born Criminals; a few (by green hands) for a purse, or in some countries for a bribe, a few, mostly by poison, for an inheritance; but the great majority of deliberate, planned, intentional murders, where there is no class of professional assassins, spring from hate; and the hate from previous feelings by no means those of an habitually criminal character.

— O —
Shame is no evidence of decency.—*I'icus*.

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CHICAGO.—The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday evening at 72 Adams St., 8 p. m. sharp. Free admission. All strangers are invited to take part in the discussions. March 29, Geo. Schilling will speak on "The Next Step in Social Progress."

The Workmen's Educational Club meets at 278 Blue Island Ave., 8 p. m.
CLEVELAND.—Liberty Association meets every Sunday at 2:30 p. m., in Forester's Hall, 223 Champlain St. Free discussion.

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

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