



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

VOL. X. NO. 1.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 4, 1903. *complete* WHOLE NO. 395.**"Axiom."**

(From "Songs of the Army of the Night.")

Let him who toils, enjoy
Fruit of his toiling.
Let him whom sweats annoy
No more be spoiling.

For we would have it be
That, weak or stronger,
Not he who works, but he
Who works not hunger!

—Francis Adams.

Municipal Socialism.

In the early beginnings of *Freedom*, some sixteen years ago, there was in our paper an article, entitled "Local Action," which attracted at that time a good deal of attention in Socialist circles. Till then, the workers had been told that the socialization of the factories, the mines and so on, could only be accomplished by the State, by an act of parliament. However, the Paris Commune had commenced, since 1871, a new era of communal revolutions. It had indicated to us that, in all probability, the Social Revolution would begin in many points of every territory at once. A number of communes would start it themselves, on their own account; and they would socialize their dwelling houses and their riches, without expecting that all the nation should be ready to do the same thing; they would rely on the force of example for convincing the citizens of other cities that their action was reasonable. And, of course, they would federate as soon as they had broken the capitalist yoke in their own city.

Starting from this idea, so popular with the Latin nations, our writer indicated the absolute necessity of *local action* since the very beginnings of the revolution. Without local action the revolution of the twelfth century would never have taken place. Without the *local* expropriation of the land in the village communes of eastern France, and without the *local* revolt of so many French cities in 1789, the great French Revolution also would not have taken place. Destroy the monopolies first. Make a new start in your own place; and then only can you see how much and how far the others will be ready to follow you. This is how the Social Revolution will proceed in Latin countries.

English workingmen also liked the idea. In fact, it was evident to the workingman reader that if Bristol, Glasgow, Leicester,

Manchester and so on would begin to socialize wealth—without waiting for orders from Westminster—the chances of a Social Revolution would be immensely increased. The best intentioned revolutionary convention would find its task wonderfully simplified if many cities started the expropriation and took possession—here of the docks, there of the city lands, there again of the mines, and so on.

Sixteen years ago, English workers and even the leaders dared and liked to talk of the Social Revolution. However, owing to many reasons, the revolutionary wave, which ran high in 1886, fell flat; and we have since entered a period of trifling, partial improvements, and of prudent experiments, which have only a certain educational value. Amongst these experiments the so-called municipal Socialism—that is, the municipal supply of various commodities—occupies the most prominent place. It has taken lately a quite unexpected extension in all countries, and every year it widens its sphere of action. We have now municipal gas, water and electricity; the municipal supply of motive power; municipal farming—Torquay, for instance, keeps its rabbit farm and its dairy farm; we have municipal ownership of docks, at no smaller a port than Liverpool. Besides, municipal ownership and working of coal mines is coming: thus the Manchester corporation, which supplies electric motive power to a very great number of factories and workshops, had to pay lately so much for coal, that the question of buying coal mines for the town is already a mere matter of time and of a favorable opportunity. And, finally, we have in addition to town libraries and schools, municipal dwelling-houses, which will necessarily lead to the distribution of hot water, and open the way to municipal catering—probably in connection with cooperative stores. In fact, the feeding of the children in the day schools is already done by several municipalities in France.

Of course all these are mere experiments, and no city has yet gone beyond the experimental stage; but they are interesting for us in that they do so well confirm the Anarchist conception of how the Social Revolution will probably proceed. One of our main points is that each city will have to, itself,

take the initiative of Socialistic expropriation and that the first duty of every revolted city will be to organize the *supply*, by the commune, of all the first necessities of life: dwellings, food, and essential clothing. Not to start with the organization of labor, as Louis Blanc said in 1848, because that would lead to an unavoidable failure; but to start with the organization of supply. Satisfy, first, everyone's primary needs, so that nobody should be compelled to sell his forces to a boss, and then organize production in accordance with the needs. This is the only means to really break the yoke of the capitalist system. Socialized consumption of goods will be the distinctive feature of the new non-capitalist society, and socialized production will be its necessary outcome,—but not the reverse. Go straight for Communism—at least in all essential primary needs—this is what we shall have to do in order to secure success.

And this is also the lesson which the development of the last sixteen years gives us. The only object-lesson worth speaking of which we got for the last sixteen years from those who undertook to render Revolution useless—this one lesson was given by the cities, not by the States. The cities have shown us that the rational way to proceed is just the one that we indicated; namely, to satisfy the needs of the population—some of them, at least—and this will inevitably bring them to the necessity of starting municipal production: to have, for instance, mines, and to work them in order to supply coal, and motive power at cost price.

Of course, no reasonable man will expect that municipal Socialism, any more than cooperation, could solve to any extent the social problem. What is being done, and this is all that can be done, is mere experiment, mere object lessons on a small scale.

Indeed, it is evident that every step in so-called municipal Socialism renders the following steps more and more difficult. The days are not far off when all such attempts will run against a dead wall of landlordism which will have to be broken by force. It has been already pointed out in these columns how the fact of Woolwich having a successful cooperative society and an enterprising town council contributes to steadily raise the price of land; so that the landlord pockets the

best of what cooperation and municipal enterprise permit the worker to economize. "Buy land in Woolrich," the land-agents advertise on their posters. "Splendid opportunities for building workmen's cottages: a good Cooperative Society, cheap tramways and a free ferry, plenty of municipal Socialism, and strong trade unions to secure good wages!" Cooperators, municipal Socialists and even fierce trade unionists—all are thus made to work for the landlord; he grows richer every day.

And then come in the sharks. Thus, a certain home-made Pierpont Morgan, who only just begins to fatten, learns that there are schemes afloat of municipal and cooperative house-building at Woolwich. Without loss of time he buys just the land which both the town and the co-operators will want to-morrow, and now he will not sell for a thousand pounds the acre for which he yesterday paid three hundred pounds.

In short, every lamp post planted by a municipality, every foot of municipal tramway, every free library, every gardening school and every cooperative shop raise the value of the land. The price rises so rapidly that very soon all schemes of municipal enterprise will have to be given up—unless the British workers tell the landlords that they have enough of these drones and take back from them their own land—the land of the British nation.

After all—we need not grumble. Will it not be a nice bit of useful work to begin the Social Revolution in this way? Especially if the claim against the landlords and the like be supported by a general strike, such as those foreign fools propose to us to do one of these days?

This is probably why the ruling middle-classes, seeing whereto we are going, begin to think that it is high time to stop all this "municipal enterprise." It is self-evident that they will not let themselves be expropriated without opposing resistance. They may favor municipal enterprise for a time; but the moment they see that it really begins to reduce the number of paupers in the towns or gives them regular employment, and consequently threatens to reduce the profits of the exploiters, they will soon put an end to it. The recent campaign undertaken by the *Times* against municipal Socialism, in the interest of various electrical Anglo-American companies, shows what the middle classes are capable of doing the moment they see that the so-called municipal Socialism is a real danger to their pockets, and menaces the profits they now get from the unpaid labor of the poor.

So far as object lessons go, we are certainly in full sympathy with all that is being done to widen the attributes of city life and to introduce communistic conceptions into it. But it is only through a social revolution, made by the workers themselves, that the present exploitation of Labor by Capital can be altered. The revolution will have to be made in every city for itself, either on its own initiative, or to follow the initiative of

other nations or communes, but always by its own inhabitants; and, in making the revolution, the first work must be the organization of the consumption of goods on Communistic principles.

This is the lesson which we can borrow from the experiments that have been made up till now in so many Continental, British and American cities.—*Freedom, London.*

The Safety of Society.

While I was in Georgia a few months ago a prisoner made his escape in a daring manner from the new federal prison at Atlanta. Descriptions of the man were at once telegraphed all over the country, and in them he was designated as a "desperate character." And what do you suppose was the occupation which had been assigned to this "desperate character" in the prison? He had been appointed barber, and as there is a good deal of enforced barbarism in such institutions he had been accustomed from morning till night to wield a sharpened razor upon the throats of his fellows. He had been trusted to this extent—and could trust go farther?—and he had fully justified the trust reposed in him. The story was a lesson to me in penology. It showed me that the safety of the community rests upon the good will of our fellows far more than upon the threatening arm of the law, and that the kindness even of ruffians is one of the bulwarks of society.

Men in prison differ very little from those outside. Ask any humane and sympathetic warden, and he will tell you that a small proportion of the prisoners in his charge have the criminal head, and seem to have been predestined to a life of crime. Is it not rather hard to punish men for the shape of their skulls? An asylum would be the proper place for them. And then the rest of the prisoners, he would tell you are very, very much like you and me. So that, barring the small class of defectives, if all the prisons were emptied today, and you and I and our friends put in instead, the world would go on very much the same. Mankind is not divided into good and bad people, but each individual has his good half and his bad half, and the best of all discipline is that which is exercised by the saint in a man over the sinner in him. This is the only real self-government, and the education which tends toward it is worth more for the public safety than all our penal institutions put together.

And how ineffectual those institutions are! Over ten thousand homicides are committed in this country every year, and probably not ten per cent of the perpetrators are punished. The other ninety per cent are at large—not only of last year, but of the preceding years—and yet we are not afraid. Then we know that all men who will commit next year's murders are free today, and the murderer of the immediately succeeding years as well, and that nothing can prevent it; and yet we go on living in tranquility, not relying evidently upon the power of the law so much as upon the good will toward us of the human beings among whom we are placed.

Then when the law does intervene how far does it protect us? It usually imprisons the

criminal. A life imprisonment is rarely served out to the end, and we may practically consider imprisonment as a temporary punishment. We take a "desperate character," put him in prison, keep him there under harsh and forbidding circumstances for five or ten years, and then release him absolutely. Is it likely that he will come out with greater feeling of consideration for his fellows than when he went in? Is he not perfectly sure to be a more "desperate character" than he was at the beginning? And can such a policy be considered to any great extent protective of society?

Our penal laws have only one legitimate object, and that is to make better men. Crime is the result of lovelessness, when it is not a disease, and the true field of reformatory activity is to produce a spark of love in human souls. How little our prisons are adapted to this end is sufficiently evident. As for capital punishment, it is a acceleration of our duty. What right have we to make a sort of Botany Bay of the world to come, and send our hardest cases there without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants? Nurses in hospitals fight over the most desperate cases, and prefer them to all others; and so the true penologist should long to exercise his healing influence upon the most advanced, and consequently the most interesting, cases of wickedness.

Whether we ever arrive at such a conception of the police powers of the government or not—and there are not wanting indications that society is headed in that direction—it is, at any rate, a pleasure to find that we owe most of our security not to gibbets and dungeons and the resulting cowardice and fear, but rather to the natural kindness of our fellow-creatures, an atmosphere which is conducive not only to safety, but to happiness.—*Ernest Crosby, in Brandur Magazine.*

A Five Minutes' Criticism.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The subject of the lecture is a good one for general discussion. Questions of belief admit of a wide range of opinion, and furnish the mind a broad field in which to wander; a field in which that useful power invariably gets lost if unguided by sound reason.

The lecturer has told us of the origin of the witch doctor among primitive men. The savage dreamt. From his dreams he postulated supernatural powers as good and bad, and gave them form in his mind; that form invariably resembling his own. When he became sick the bad spirit was angry. Being purchasable himself, the evil spirit or devil might also be bought. But how was he to approach the bad one? There arose the need of a middleman. The priesthood was born. The wise men of the tribe saw their opportunity; grasped it, and established the prosperous industry of mediumship between the visible and invisible—between man and the disease devils that afflicted him.

Later the priests turned his attention toward purchasing favors from the good spirits, who were always more powerful than the bad ones. Christian Science is the modern representative of this phase of priesthood. This the lecturer has shown us. He

has shown us too that mankind, outside the circle of liberals, is extremely credulous, full of superstitions and beliefs, and ready to purchase any and every kind of charm and lucky box from every faker that comes along.

I have no comment to make upon all this. I don't dispute the testimony. I am convinced. Mankind is not beyond its intellectual childhood. It is easier to roam at will in the clouds creating imaginary heavens with fantastic surroundings, all most charmingly suited to the requirements of our wearied souls, than to stay upon the earth and grapple with the great problems of life that won't change their forms nor reveal their secrets at the caprice of our flighty imaginations. It is easier to build a heaven in the sky, furnish it with palaces and pave its streets with golden bricks, than to build a hut down here below.

The vagaries of mankind are laughable. It creates a world for the future abode of its problematical soul before it develops sense enough to build here a decent habitation for its body. The science of astronomy is further advanced than the science of sociology. We know more about the association of the distant planets than we do about the association of the sexes. We are more deeply interested in the solution of the problem of Mars than we are in the problem of earth.

We all have our creeds. Even the liberalism of liberals is limited. I question if there are more than a few members of this liberal club in whom a half hour's conversation would not unearth from one to a dozen superstitions. How many of us could, metaphorically speaking, stand erect without a crutch or leaning post, and say truthfully, "I am I?"

That scholarly old gentleman who was the first critic, and who has a military past of which he is evidently proud, furnished us with additional proof of the mental weakness of mankind. This comes not alone as the result of his learning; he added his own confession of faith; he says he is a Christian. As a soldier he was major or colonel So-and-So, and no doubt has had a distinguished career; but now he is a Christian. Why not be a Mohamedan, or Buddhist? Why not be *yourself*, my brave soldier, why not be *yourself*?

The lady who followed assured us in the beginning that she was not a Christian Scientist; but it afterwards developed that she was so closely akin to one as not to be distinguishable from such. She is a Universalist. All followers of beliefs hope to see them universal one day. For proof, ask the first "Scientist" you meet. The lady says a Universalist must not be narrow. No, the Universe is broad. But the lady does keep herself to the universe. If she did her thought might be clearer. She says there is not a form in the universe but first existed in the ideal. How does the lady know that? Why did she not outline the process of reason by which she arrived at that conclusion? Is the conclusion so obvious to a Universalist as not to need our explanation? Are universalists so in the habit of taking things for granted as to think that the mere assertion of such an extraordinary proposition will be sufficient to convince? Did the lady rea-

son it out herself or did she just dream it?

Next came a young man who has read the classics and who is constantly endeavoring to keep the speakers rooted in first principles. Surely now, I thought, we are going to have a feast of pure reason. But no, the young man also had a confession of faith. He believes in the social organism. The social organism! What manner of myth is that? I have not seen mention of it in the histories. The "social organism" is a new spook invented by the modern "materialistic" philosophers, the priests of science, who are gradually displacing the other priests. All creeds have their catch phrases. The Democrat has his "free silver" and "free trade." The Republican his "full dinner pail," etc. The trouble with us is we are unable to distinguish between the real and the unreal. Once let us get a false idea into our minds and it is hard to remove it. We don't like to be disturbed in our belief. We think it real. We can't be fooled. We have given up the God of our fathers, also their political economy. We have studied materialism and are secure in our opinions. So secure indeed that our feeling of security lulls us to sleep, and in that sleep what dreams we dream! I won't press the young man further on the "social organism." I trust these few remarks will cause him to to examine his conception in the light of minute analysis. Then if he finds the analogy correct he will be better able to defend it when it comes up for discussion before the club. If he finds it false then I trust he will have the courage to discard it.

But now in conclusion I ask you, is it any wonder the charm seller has so many customers? Why, he could ply his trade here in this club if he only gave his wares the right names. He could sell one of us a charm by calling it a social organism, another will take one as a Christian code of morality, altho he has discarded the Bible and dethroned Christ. Another will buy one if you name it majority-rule. Another, if you call it constancy in love and individual possession of the loved ones each by other. But my time is up, and I want to ask the lecturer if, after all, the savages were so far behind us of today, especially in the matter of disease devils, since modern science has actually discovered the devils and named them anew, giving them the title of disease germs?

New York, 67 Ave. D.

JAY FOX.

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One Criticism.

F. Cambensy thinks I "write much too phraseological to make plenty of converts,"—whatever that means. Bad English, notwithstanding its boasted plainness, is quite as capable of being unintelligible to anyone as good, which may require a little previous information, to the unlearned. For example, if I were to say that that necessity for some government on which Mr. Cambensy enlarges was one of what Bacon called the Idols of the Forum, he might not be able to understand me without having read Bacon. But if I induced him in that or some other way to read Bacon, I should have done him quite a service; and if he wanted to know what Idols of the Forum are without taking that trouble he could easily find some one to tell him. On the

other hand, the devil himself can't tell what is meant by this obvious necessity for government; in which respect it resembles the other cants described by Bacon as Idols of the Forum. Lumping together self-government, family government, and civil government—Divine ought to have been added—is using the same word in senses not even compatible with one another; and it is exactly such confused thought which makes confused grammar. Surely, in this case I am not to blame. If "every man do as he d—n please" is "not plain English," I give up the attempt to learn that language. Yet, Mr. Cambensy doesn't understand me; because he has not been accustomed to think, but only to echo the phrases of "the forum." Thinking, I can witness personally, is indeed hard work, for tired heads. But there is no royal road to liberty, any more than knowledge. The Movement in Favor of Ignorance is a fraud under all its phases; and the moment you catch in any alleged liberal writing an insinuation that "it's better not to know so much"—stamp on it—it is the pope's big toe. C. L. JAMES.

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In Reply to a Comment.

Comrade Wm. Holmes's comment on my article, "The Chicago Martyrs—and After," in FREE SOCIETY for December 21, could elicit no reply from me, were there not the two misconstructions of my meaning which furnish the text for comment #1 and 4.

I am quite abashed that my little flight of rhetoric about that "certain narrow platform," the scaffold, should have called forth an animadversion against "philosophical Anarchists." Nor do I infer that Kate Austin's article on Czolgosz was written to commemorate the anniversary of the martyrs' death. I referred, in the plainest of language, to what I consider the folly of associating two such anniversaries.

There is also something of misunderstanding about my reference to the revolutionary preaching of the Chicago Anarchists. That they preached revolution I do not deny, but the resort to arms was preached by their enemies, the newspapers of Chicago, rather than by the Anarchists.

As for the rest of the comment, I need say nothing. The article itself and Comrade Holmes' reply represent divergences which are irreconcilable. I should only repeat what I have already said; and then, no doubt, Comrade Holmes would reiterate his remarks. So let them stand, for the third person to make of them what he will.

HELEN TUFTS.

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Publications Received.

- "History of the French Revolution." By C. L. James. Abe Isaak Jr., Chicago. Price, \$1.
- "Love's Coming of Age" By Edward Carpenter. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill. Price, \$1.
- "One Free Life at a Time." By C. A. Strickland, author and publisher. Salt Lake City, Utah. Price, 25c.
- "War and Worship; a Poem." By Henry Bedlow. The Truth Seeker Co., New York. Price, \$1.25.
- "Economic Tangles." By Judson Grenell. Purdy Publishing Co., Chicago. Price, \$1.
- "Walt Whitman." By Milla Tupper Maynard. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price, \$1.
- "The New Life." By Leroy Berrier. Davenport, Ia. Price, \$1.
- "The Natural, Man." By J. W. Lloyd. Benedict Prieth, Newark, N. J. Price, \$1.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 4, 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.

An Entertainment and Ball will be given for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY, Saturday, January 3, 1903, 8 p. m., at the Libuse Hall, 936 W. 12th St. Boul., near Robey St. All comrades and friends are cordially invited to assist us in making the entertainment a success. Russian songs are in the program. Tickets in advance, 15 cents, at the door 25 cents.

Comrades who have tickets on hand are kindly requested to attend the meeting held on Friday evening, January 2, 8 p. m., at 331 Walnut St. PROGRESSIVE CLUB.

Notes.

According to the latest news Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre's condition is improving.

Attention is again called to C. L. James' "History of the French Revolution." It is an excellent book for every social student, and no one should delay in placing it in his library at once. See advertisement on eighth page.

Comrade A. Lopatiner will visit the delinquent subscribers in New York, and we hope the readers will not let him spend time and carfare in vain.

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.

We have been requested to announce that a workmen's association is to be formed under the name of "Modern Craft." The aim is to organize the workers all over the country on liberal lines. For particulars write to W. P. Deardorff, Richardson, Calif. Send self addressed stamped envelope.

BOSTON.—The Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 4 p. m. at 724 Washington St., room 9. Free forum for all sociological

FREE SOCIETY

topics. Anarchist literature for sale. Subject for January 11, "The Economic Teaching of John Ruskin."

BROOKLYN.—The Social Science Club meets every Friday evening at Central Hall, 410 Stone Ave. Discussion free to all.

CHICAGO.—The Progressive Club will hold a meeting every Friday evening at 331 Walnut St.

The Tolstoy Club meets every Saturday evening at the home of Dr. Mary R. Carey, 837 W. Adams St. Tolstoy readings and discussions.

The Workmen's Educational Club meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., 278 Blue Island Av.

NEW YORK.—The Radical Reading Room, 180 Forsyth St. Meeting every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and free discussions. Every Thursday evening L. Rosenzweig gives lessons in "Physics." Sunday, January 4, Jay Fox will speak on "Monopoly."

Philadelphia.—Social Science Club holds weekly meetings Friday evenings in Bricklayers' Hall, 707 N. Broad St.

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Outpost Echoes.

No liberty, no life.

Some liberty, some life.

Full liberty, a full life.

Man does not live by coal alone.

The full dinner pail feeds the body.

Man is still something beside a stomach.

Venezuela may yet cost us more of our liberty.

Enemies are among the most expensive of luxuries.

Thanksgiving and Christmas are both lies. Plenty for a day!

State Socialism promises liberty to make us content with slavery.

All schemes to create human happiness by ruling humankind have failed.

The man who throws bombs makes the world as unreasonable as if it had been "blown up."

He who stands for liberty has faith in mankind and himself; all others are to be pitied.

The Bucklin tax amendment in Colorado was defeated by corruption. But corruption (authority) instigated it.

Libertarians who are afraid of the sex question would do well to look into their libertarian pretensions.

We must be free in order to learn to use our freedom rightly; a slave cannot develop the reasonable spirit of a freeman.

A new year that dawns on social shame and universal dehumanization is not an affair to ring the bells and blow the whistles over.

When a trust is a breach of trust, and a combination is a conspiracy, then it is time to look for other lies dressed in the garb of truth.

Tolstoy has protested against newspaper reports of his failing physical health. The sage does not know what he is worth a column as a "sensation."

Doctors of physical, as well as doctors of spiritual medicine are appealing to the courts to silence their rivals. They know the value of "good" laws.

As long as what you think of yourself depends upon what others think of you you will not go far toward the land of self-respect and personal worth.

The roots of life are sunk deep down into the ground of self-preservation, the trunk and branches are of the growth of fellowship, and the leaf and blossom of the tree are of love.

Patriotism in America means "love and service of your country," but patriotism in the Philippines, the Filipino's love of his country, means "rebellion"; and his patriotic action is "treason."

The way to keep human beings satisfied with government and authority is to show them how "bad" they are; the best way to make them unsatisfied with these usurpations is to show them how good they are.

The Single Taxer is one who wishes to increase our liberty a little and let evolution do the rest; the libertarian is one who wishes to take control of evolution by increasing our liberty to the utmost.

Let those who prate of "natural law" ponder this: as man realizes the need of fullness of life, as his faculties develop and his horizon widens, the struggle for liberty presses upon the barriers erected by authority.

Those who go to the Century Dictionary for a definition of Anarchism, will, if they are not Anarchists, have one of their cherished delusions shattered to nonsense. Moral: do not seek the truth where you are prejudiced.

Anarchism is just as far away as we make it and no farther. Those who say that liberty will not come this long while, are themselves among the causes of reason for its delay. Liberty will arrive when we effectively demand it. Only slaves despair of effort.

"Free love" is a term of reproach among "the virtues"; that is its glory. There is only one other love, or counterfeit of love, than free love, and that is love that is not free; slave love. Can love be enslaved? No; but sex can. Free love is pure love.

The newspapers have made a slip; they said that Voltairine de Cleyre was true to the spirit of Anarchism in refusing to denounce her assailant. How now, gentlemen? Have you forgotten your cry for blood and vengeance so soon? Back; back, to your words of Buffalo!

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

Since the German princesses united in a society to "promote morality among the lower classes," Princess Louise has upset their plans by eloping with a man she loved. It is said the "princesses" will now sweep before their own doors first; but I will suggest that morality would be promoted best if these parasites—princesses and princes and other vermin, in this country called "captains of industry"—would get off the backs of the people.

"Bread is freedom" is a favorite saying of some radicals, which is a lie, however. Louise, the queen of Saxony, had all the bread and comforts she desired, yet she was an abject slave in a golden cage. Even a servant girl enjoys greater freedom in many respects; she can at least with impunity read Tolstoy, Zola, and Nietzsche, and on Sundays take a bicycle ride—things for which the queen was punished and reprimanded. "Freedom is bread," would be a more applicable proverb.

According to Teddy and the daily press, God has afflicted the country with prosperity, for which all creation—excepting the turkeys—ought to be particularly grateful. Yet our dailies do not seem to realize the irony and ridiculousness of their own boast when they inform their readers how many thousands were fed and warmed by the benevolent Salvation Army on Christmas day. What a humiliation when thousands of "prosperous" people—"shivering from cold"—are fed by mendicants!

Over a century ago the American colonists rebelled against a tax on tea which was a mere trifle in comparison with the direct and indirect taxes that are imposed upon their posterity by "the freest government on the globe." According to the *Boston Traveler*, the New England people pay at least \$20,000,000 taxes on coal used for domestic purposes alone. Thus every family pays at least \$20 for the privilege of using coal in its house. Truly, the more the people are hypnotized into the belief that they are governing themselves, the easier may they be enslaved—by their "servants." Oh, what fools these voters be!

A Christmas baby was born in Chicago on the street and left there naked on a snowbank. Great indignation, curses for the cruel mother, and revengeful vituperations are echoing all over the city. But none of the hypocrites stop to reflect that they themselves are the cruel murderers of the innocent babe. What agony must a mother go thru before she leaves her naked baby on the snowbanks! Her child, begotten in the same manner as was Christ, according to the legend, in love, without being sanctioned by Church and State, the mother knew her fate—condemnation and ostracism—and being herself imbued with perverted notions of morality, she became a brutal murderess—the natural offspring of our society. Will ye hypocrites dare say that such acts would occur if a woman was free to associate with a man she loved without being "disgraced"?

"Nothing but suffering and breaking up of families is the result of this free love business," said an Anarchist woman indignantly the other day. "Yes," replied her opponent, "freedom is always born with pain and suffering. So long as neither the man nor the woman assert their individuality, they are getting along nicely. When the Negroes in the south began to clamor for freedom, suffering was the result. The slave-holder bewailed his loss in property, and the lady of the house fell into hysterics because the col-

ored girls were running away, and she had to dress herself. Indeed, freedom is a bad thing all around. For decades the exploited live in perfect harmony, until the agitator comes along and talks about freedom—and strife and suffering are the consequence. Down with freedom! Let us embrace the Catholic faith, and things will run smoothly again."

"I detest a man who leaves his wife and children—I would not listen to him." This is the spirit which erected the gallows and the stake. The excuse that we would not punish the people we detest, does not mitigate the attitude. It is only a matter of degree, not of kind. The trouble with these well-meaning people is—they do not want freedom. "Yes," they reply, "freedom to do right." But freedom allows no such provisions. If I am free to do only what you think is right, I am a slave. It was this kind of freedom that prompted the girl to abandon her innocent babe on the snowbank—because people with perverted notions of morality "detested her and would have nothing to do with her." In short, hatred or detestation are conducive elements for the promotion of nobility.

Frank G. Carpenter, correspondent for American dailies, writes from Switzerland, among other things:

Some of the saddest scenes here are the women at work. You see them going over the roads with great loads on their backs, and in the Alps you may meet them toiling along with baskets full of manure strapped to them. The manure comes from the barns, and is being carried up to be spread over the pastures on the sides of the hills. I have seen women pushing carts, harnessed up with dogs, and I frequently see them sawing wood in the streets.

This is the country, in which, according to Mr. Pomeroy, the advocate of the initiative and referendum, the people are "prosperous and happy." Why do people resort to lies to boom their hobbies?

Here and There.

In Benicia, Cal., the tanners are on strike, and the judges of the Supreme Court issued an injunction, restraining the union men from intimidating the scabs—imported Greeks. These "heroes," as Prof. Elliott of Harvard University calls the scabs, were supplied with revolvers and ammunition, amusing themselves on Sunday, December 14, by shooting indiscriminately at pedestrians, and one, Jacob Jensen, was instantly killed. But no injunction against these "heroes" has been issued so far.

RUSSIA.—In spite of the flogging, imprisonment, and Siberia, the revolutionary spirit among the Russian people is steadily increasing. Proclamations are distributed broadcast, riots occur constantly, and some factories and estates can be exploited only when troops are stationed there, and even among the latter proclamations and revolutionary pamphlets are circulated. And this activity is not confined to the working population. The university students are making common cause with the city workers and peasants. Even the Social Democrats, who until recently ignored the peasants because "scientific economic determinism" had figured out that they must lose their land before they could enter the revolutionary movement, have changed their

tactics. *Revolutsioanya Rossiya* ("Revolutionary Russia") congratulates the Social Democrats on this change, and reprints the following excerpts from a recent proclamation:

"All Toilers—the Peasants and Workers,—and all honest people, we call to the bloody battle against the czar. The doom of the czar's power—is our first aim. But what is the cause of our animosity? Listen brethren! There was a time when the land was in the hands of the peasants; but with cunning, robbery and violence, the nobles have grabbed the people's land, and enriched themselves at the expense of the toilers. Almost three hundred years have passed; but the Russian people have not forgotten their former free life. Often they have risen suddenly and with such a power, that the czars and lords were horrified. 'Freedom! Freedom!' was the groaning and anxious voice all over the land. 'Freedom! Freedom!' was the ejaculation of a suffering and tortured mankind. When Alexander II realized that the people would never be content until freedom, of which they have been robbed, was restored, he 'liberated' the peasants. Not because he loved the peasants, not because he felt sorry to hear the groan of the toilers, but from cowardice did he free the serfs. Yet right here he robbed and deceived them; he did not give them complete freedom, nor did he restore all the land to them, but gave them only a trifling part for an exorbitant price. The peasants rapidly went to their ruin and are suffering starvation. To escape starvation, the peasants flock to the cities and factories. But are they any better off there? No, there the same fate awaits them: the same drudgery and the same starvation. From the cutting bones of the landlords they fall into the paws of the manufacturer."

After a characterization of the cruel methods which the government employs against the workers who are struggling for better conditions, the proclamation continues.

"It is for these reasons that we Socialists so unceasingly and passionately struggle against the czar. But the czar is not the only one. No! At the same time we battle with all the enemies of the toilers,—the spoilers of labor. The bread which ripens in the field, the wealth in the cities,—all this we have created—the peasants and the workers—with our toil and blood, and it is ours, and we are forced to restore our goods by violence. We demand that the land and the factories be given back to all the Russian people, to all toiling mankind."

According to *Revolutionary Russia*, the above is the first proclamation of the Social Democrats in Russia, in which appeal to all toilers, the peasants included, is made.

It is reported that Leo Tolstoy, whose health is fully re-established, has determined to devote the remainder of his life to editing a series of school books, principally graded reading books.

SWITZERLAND.—The trade unions and other liberal organizations are protesting against the court martial of the soldiers who refused to shoot their fellow laborers. The trades unions of this country have not shown as much sense in the outrage perpetrated by the Paterson court upon Grossmann and Macqueen.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

I

The following arguments are modelled on a Course of Reading for Anarchists, which I planned two or three years ago; and which attracted some attention. It was among criticisms made upon the Course, that few of the books referred to were written by Anarchists. This was part of my program. Anarchists must needs be cited for the doctrines of Anarchism itself. But my thesis is that Anarchism should be regarded as a product of the modern scientific method, or the inductive Baconian philosophy. This I propose to show by proving the several propositions of Anarchism out of the works of authorities who themselves, for the most part, are not Anarchistic at all, so that they will not be suspected of partiality; while they are recognized specialists in their different branches of learning. It may be added that some Anarchists—Kropotkin, for example, Wallace (A. R.), and Reclus—are authority thus recognized on other questions than what Anarchism means.

Inquiring into the origin of anything is not a bad way to open an inductive inquiry into its merits. For tho much speculative truth and many practically useful arrangements have been, as it were, blundered on, there is a rational presumption against what can be shown to have sprung from ignorance, passion, greed, or superstition; while, on the other hand, there is always an irrational, but commonly a very powerful prejudice in favor of everything established. In stating, therefore, the case against Law and Government, I usually begin by asking the person addressed what he takes to be the origin of these institutions?

The most probable reply is that they sprang from a "social contract," by which men, perceiving that some were inclined to violate the claims of others, established a common law-giver and judge of controversies, whose authority they agreed to support, thus "sacrificing a part of their rights under the law of nature, lest they should lose the whole." There have, however, been other answers. In opposition to this democratic theory, a very grave assembly has condemned the proposition that "all civil power, jurisdiction, and authority, were first derived from the people and disordered multitude, or either is (sic) originally in them, or else is deduced by their consent naturally from them; and is not God's ordinance originally descending from him and depending upon him." It also is, or was, a familiar theory that "the natural authority of the father" rendered the patriarchs rulers of the earliest communities, their wisdom the laws which they bequeathed to posterity, and which include the fundamental organic law of all States, whether monarchical or republican. And again, some have made a sort of compromise between this doctrine and that of the "social contract," both which taken, separately, they perceived to be fictions. The first men, they say, were "solitary savages." But when one of them caught a wife, a society was founded, in which he was the government and his will the law. Laws thus founded on the will of a savage and a ravisher, were, they admit, subject to some criticism from a modern standpoint. But "of course, they were bet-

ter than complete Anarchy": "they were well suited to the governed," and on the whole had "the consent of the governed"; so that, when families grew or coalesced into nations, they became the basis of the Common Law.

I will say for all these explanations that there appears to be a modicum of truth in them. But I also assert that comparative sociology shows them to be as far from the very truth as is usually the case with speculations founded on inner consciousness rather than actual study of facts.

Comparative sociology teaches that the "solitary savage" is as fictitious as the "social contract." There are somewhat considerable populations which have no governments;* there are also some which have no such institution as marriage;† but excepting individuals, not usually savages, who have been separated from their kind by crime, accident, or superstition, all men live in societies. And such also is the state of those animals, their nearest congeners, which, according to that theory now in favor, descend from the same ancestors as they. We may infer, therefore, that men, with only some individual exceptions, have lived in society ever since they began to be men.‡ The form of those existing civil societies which have no government or marriage is, of course, not patriarchal but tribal. All such societies are what is called primitive, resembling very much as regards structure those troops in which apes are wont to associate, and differing from the more developed in the same way if not quite to the same extent. But a further and more important reason for calling them primitive is that comparative sociology enables us, as will presently be shown, to prove, without raising the interminable controversy about whether the first men were barbarous or civilized, that, as a matter of fact, marriage and government originated in communities of this kind wherever such institutions now exist.

This inductive view of man's earliest condition, while widely differing from, allows some truth in, the patriarchal theory. For there are tribes, chiefly in countries where constant migration for the purpose of feed-

* Alfred Russell Wallace, "Malay Archipelago." See also the article "Eskimo" in Encyclopedia Britannica. † McLennan, "Primitive Marriage"; Bachofen, "Mutterrecht"; Sir John Lubbock, "Origin of Civilization." Authorities referred to by them—Galton, "South Africa"; Muller, "Nations de l'Empire de Russie"; Charlevoix, "Paraguay," Trans Ethn. Soc., Vol VII, p. 276; VI, 25;—and a great many more. See Lubbock's notes.

‡ Westermarck, whose book, now rather popular, may be described as an attempt to defend existing institutions by evolutionary arguments, disputes this general view for reasons which seem to me exceedingly fallacious. Thus he questions the possibility of men's having originally lived in hordes, on the ground that they could not have found means to live—forgetting that the life of a naked Negro in Central Africa is as cheap as an ape's, and that apes do live in hordes numbering at one place three or four thousands (Jobson), sixty (Tavernier), "beyond description" (Desfontaines), fifteen to thirty (Dampier), enough to cross a river by joining their bodies into a bridge from tree to tree (Ulloa); these great differences depending on the species. Again, he doubts the sexual promiscuity of savages, so much insisted on by McLennan, Bachofen, and Lubbock, because some apes live in families. The answer is simple. These writers were perfectly aware that some simia do, among them being the wandeos of Ceylon (Lubbock). But others do not, neither do the lowest savages. See preceding note.

ing cattle is necessary, which really do appear to have expanded, ever since they adopted that mode of life, from a few individuals united by the strong tie of a family. The patriarchal view is merely an exaggerated generalization of this fact, too readily received because our great religious text book sprang from the genius of a nomadic race, and because, for reasons hereafter to be stated, those tribes which had no common ancestor usually claim a fabulous one. So, too, the providential theory, tho false in the main, is true to this extent that it properly recognizes the dependence of institutions on causes above the caprice of individuals—also that the individuals who had most to do with founding institutions were necessarily men of ability, revered by their people as heroes, prophets, or even gods. And finally, there is this much truth in the social contract theory, that every primitive horde has its peculiar customs, which are regarded as its bond of union, and most religiously observed.*

In the absence of government, however, these customs by no means amount to laws. "Law is a rule of action imposed by a superior power."† In the absence of government, there is no power to make laws. If the customs of a tribe did not suit an individual member, he left it, to seek one which pleased him better. If his ways did not suit the tribe, they were little likely to do more than show him that this would be his wisest course. Thus, by a merely natural process, like found like; and the peculiarities of each horde, without any need of laws to enforce them, became more inveterate. But as soon as tribes acquired governments they began to have laws, whose development from their previous customs we have still to trace.

Comparative sociology teaches that those tribes which have no law or government are isolated tribes, which, generally speaking, have no wars.‡ We may also reason *a priori*

* There cannot be a greater error in sociology than to suppose that forms and ceremonies increase with civilization. Devotion to them is always the mark of barbarism, constantly increasing downwards. See Lubbock, and for authorities cited by him, Sir G. Gray, "Australia"; M. Mahon, "The Gold Chersonese"; Sir J. B. Phear, "Aryan Villages" (of India); Schweinfurth, "Heart of Africa"; and others without number, whose language on this matter of personal observation is always extremely strong. Far, to be sure, are we from having entirely shaken off hereditary bondage to fashion. It is justly said by Herbert Spencer that if we take all the items into fair account, we may conclude the tyranny of Mrs. Grundy is in fact the most mischievous and oppressive of all tyrannies which afflict mankind. But Mrs. Grundy would be no tyrant if it were always perfectly easy to get away from her. Her despotism, like that of others, began when each tribe, in the manner after stated, became a close corporation.

† On this familiar maxim see Encyclopedia Britannica, Article "Law"; and Austin's "Province of Jurisprudence," there referred to so much. It was Austin's merit to discard the ineffable jumble of "divine law," natural "law," and local law, made by older writers, like Blackstone, and to show that Law, in the only true sense, that is human law, has no other foundation than the fiat of a government.

* Wallace, "Malay Archipelago." (He gives an Arctian picture of primitive Anarchy.) The traditions of the Eskimo indicate hostilities with the earlier Scandinavian settlers, whom they seem to have subdued soon after 1348 (the year of the Black Death, which almost depopulated Iceland). These legends also mention cannibalism (now extinct), whence we might perhaps infer the Eskimo have had wars with each other. But the scale was not sufficiently extensive to result in permanent institutions of the governmental kind.

that as long as a horde had no neighbor near enough to quarrel with, the easy remedy of secession would suffice for all internal difficulties, except in case of such an isolated community; where that process of mutual assimilation which, even in civilized society, makes members of every school, ship's company, regiment, or other minor aggregate, so like each other, might prevent such difficulties from occurring: but, when neighboring hordes became rivals for the possession of a hunting, fishing, or pasture ground, wars would arise between them; chiefs would assume the prerogatives of a king and aristocracy; secession would be checked, as a weakening of the horde and strengthening of its enemies; the old customs, somewhat modified thru the individual genius of rulers, would be enforced by new sanctions;—in short, law and government would spring from accursed War.

That this was actually how law and government originated is further shown, as follows. Early in the history of every nation, comparative sociology shows it to consist of minor aggregates, called in Scotland clans, in Ireland septs, in Greece gentes, among the Romans sodalities, etc. One of these names guides us to the origin of such organizations. *Sodales* means a club—it is a title denoting a purely voluntary association, like the primitive horde. Before the beginning of history, however, the clans, to use their best known title, had ceased being merely voluntary. They had their separate laws, a compromise among which gave rise to those of the nation, as they coalesced; their separate chiefs; their religions—that is their peculiar rites, analogous to infant baptism and confirmation, of marriage, of burial; * usually, as has been said, an (evidently fabulous) common ancestor for each. In the familiar case of the Scotch Highlands two centuries ago, we also see an intermediate stage—the clans, tho all Celts, widely different from, and generally hostile to, their Saxon neighbors, had not coalesced at all, but were habitually engaged in war with each other. While in Greece, the gentes, before the historic period, had coalesced, so that the principal modern historian of that most important among ancient countries, was at a loss to explain the origin of their striking differences. A wider induction teaches us now that these were the differences of their customs in the period preceding coalescence, which came about as follows.

One of the most important practises of primitive war is mutual capture of women. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that this forms the subject of the *Iliad*. Its consequences may be traced, not by an appeal to inner consciousness, but to very broad and general facts, thru the ensuing stages. First—the little property of primitive men belongs not to individuals but the tribe. †

* Grote, "History of Greece," Part II, Vol. III, Ch. X, on "gentilism." The Roman clans were the *Ramines*, *Luceres*, and *Titites* (*sodales Titii*, etc.). See Index to Mommsen's "Rome"; and Anthon, "Dictionary of Antiquities," sub. tit. "*Patricii, Sodalitium*."

† The usual miscellaneous evidence from all countries bearing on this point, will be found in Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization," Ch. XI. It refers mostly to property in land. But the right of eminent domain is evidently a relic of the primeval communism; and that extends to everything, even the person, which can be pressed for public service. Naturally, the lower the social state, the more absolute is this right.

Female captives were therefore claimed by all the warriors in common. But, secondly, we may be sure they were mostly taken, as in Homer's poems,—at least this would sometimes happen—by great chiefs, of whom the common men were a good deal afraid. The origin of private property was obviously peculiar powers, to produce or acquire it—the maker of weapons could not well be forced to make them, as everyone wished he should, without pay proportioned to the work he did. This principle would assert itself now. Achilles, as far as he could, insisted on his right to the captive of his bow and spear. Thersites, as far as he dared, asserted the communism of his ancestors. The result was a compromise so shocking that I gladly avoid expatiation on an exhausted subject; but of which I may say that it prevailed among our hostile Indians very lately; as it does among the brigands in Italy and elsewhere,—also that customs derived from it (kissing the bride, the treat which the groom is required to stand, etc.) bear witness everywhere to its former universality. So far, the captive, when the tribe's claim had been bought out, was only the slave of her captor, as in the *Iliad*. * But a third change came about by degrees. So irrational a practise, so inconvenient, so injurious, is War, that even savage tribes, living very near each other, grew tired of it, and sought to gratify reciprocal desires in more sensible ways. Purchase of women superseded capture. † Such purchases were always made outside the tribe; ‡ for within, the primitive custom of sexual communism continued. § They evidently, however, could not be made from tribes so far off that there was no negotiation. The neighboring tribes thus coalesced, becoming the clans of a single nation, in which it is always the early rule that such unions must be extra-tribal (the law of exogamy); while, as concerns more distant and still hostile tribes, it was early and generally enacted, or rather it followed

* The origin of marriage in capture is proved by an immense analysis of perfectly ubiquitous customs, evidently relics, and covering every point touched here, in McLennan's "Primitive Marriage." See also Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization." The very point of Achilles and Thersites here made, it now strikes me is contained in a legend of what they call the Epic Cycle. Achilles, having slain the Amazon Penthesileia, was moved to melting over her body; and when Thersites offered an insult to the remains, Achilles killed him with a blow of his fist. For this he has to do penance. Grote, "History of Greece," Part I, Vol. I, p. 298. (Harper's ed., 1875).

† We find them everywhere mentioned at an early period, e. g. Genesis, XXXIV, 12. In Greece, the price of the bride was called *heudna*; in the dog-Latin of medieval jurists, *mundium*. There is an interesting discussion in Lecky, "History of Morals," of how the jointure sprang from the *mundium*, and its relation to the dowry, a word often used incorrectly even by legal writers, Ch. V.

‡ McLennan, Bachofen, and Lubbock, *cit*.

§ Hence the honor paid to courtesans in many antiquated communities, on which also see Lubbock; the fact that in India these women are an hereditary caste, honored in itself, but which a stranger becomes infamous by joining ("People of India," Watson and Kaye) that is a tribe which has retained a primitive custom convenient to others; but above all the leniency with which the unchastity of girls (who are still under native tribe law) is regarded by comparison with that of married women or widows (who have adopted another). On the wide prevalence of this feeling, there is also much evidence in "Origin of Civilization"; but the conclusive proof is its being far from extinct anywhere, of which a man who knows the world may easily convince himself.

from the nature of the situation * that their women, if bought at all, were only slaves, while those purchased from clans of the same nation had become something better (law of endogamy). † The establishment of these two laws distinguished marriage, which thus became an institution, from female slavery and concubinage. The spirit of both laws evidently exists among ourselves. Many American States have laws against miscegenation. This is endogamy. And the extreme capriciousness of the laws about kindred and affinity shows they have nothing to do with the physiological objections to consanguineous marriage, but are merely relics of "exogamy." C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

* Bachofen's "Mutterrecht," which I find to be read a good deal, gives far too exalted an idea of women's position in somewhat primitive social states; but it brings into prominence a fact, also recognized with due qualification by Lubbock, that among such communities property very commonly descends in the female line. This is because primitive law supposes the father be unknown, as a familiar proverb still does—the son, even of a married woman, belongs to her clan and has a share in its land, but not in that of his (probable) father's clan, which is not her's.

† Sir John Lubbock, having had the advantage to write after McLennan and Bachofen, has corrected their mistakes. But he is prejudiced against their views. Because McLennan framed an exaggerated and circuitous theory of endogamy, Lubbock will not believe that such a law exists, except in a small way and under peculiar conditions. My own researches satisfy me that it is equally universal with exogamy, which the reader will perceive, it does not exclude, but supplements.

— o —

The Efficacy of Lies.

How are people overcome; how are they overruled? By lies—always by lies. It is so in business, it is so in politics, it is so in religion, it is so in government. Everybody lies! Lies! Lies! All lie! If people really understood and appreciated the truth, they would not tolerate their kings and masters even for a day. But they are ever ready to believe a lie, and that makes them submissive and tractable. That is the kind of people that ambitious and designing men prefer. They like a peaceful, easy-going people, those who never resist, never protest, no matter what happens.

Speaking about lies again, nobody is content to appear as he really is. Nothing could induce him to come out in public in his pristine nakedness, and that is the reason why every man wears clothes. He exposes his hands and face, but that is a matter of necessity. Kings wear more clothes than people ordinarily do. Even savages paint and adorn themselves, in order to make themselves appear either more terrible or more beautiful than they really are. Bear in mind there is generally a lie, a deception, at the bottom of all that men do.

J. WILSON.

— o —

A laborer out of employment applied for outdoor relief for himself and his wife at the North Dublin Union. "Well, my good fellow, we must have evidence that you are legally married," said the chairman of the Relief Committee. "Begor, sir, I've the best proof in the wuruld," said the applicant, and, bending his head, he displayed a scar on his skull. "Does yer honner think," he added, "I'd be after takin' that abuse from anywan but a wife?"—Ex.

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