



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JULY 12, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 422.

Out Of—

Out of the East a ripple runs,
Lifting the edge of the iron sky:
After the star-gleams come the suns
And the blazing days then tell us why.

Out of the darkness dawn-fire comes;
Out of the furnace flows the gold;
Honey prepares where the sting-bee hums;
Woman's womb kicks the man-child bold.

Over and over the wheel returns,
While the iron axel runs us thru;
The fire, extinguished, kindling burns;
And the question answers its question true.

Life has everything, it and all;
Out of the worst the best is born;
Nothing shall hinder that shall befall,
And its mid-spot peace has no cyclone torn.

J. WILLIAM LLOYD.

Libertarians and Liberty.

Only the glad are strong.

The sad, the melancholy, the bitter, the hopeless, may do things which make the world rejoice, or tremble; but their deeds are most often single and exceptional, most often the draining of all the powers of the doer in one supreme moment; deeds beautiful or noble indeed, but not the natural flowering of hope, of faith, which are like immortality, and ever plenteous and fertile. The sad, the despairing, accomplish in a supreme moment the deliverance of a great idea, the consummation of a noble deed, but in the one act, in the one utterance they generally exhaust themselves and are available no more.

In a world where liberty is struggling for its own, in a world where there are so many things against the great soul and the noble hope, the individual who will accomplish most, other things being equal, the individual who will be loved most and remembered longest and best, will be a splendid and puissant soul whom nothing can make forget the beauty of life, the splendor of nature, the comradeship of the happy and free; the worth of existence as it is. Liberty is not a tearful and red-eyed maiden, inconsolable and begging for where to lay her head, nor is she a savage and misanthropic spirit which can see nothing but misery in life as it is; Liberty is rather a spirit so full of the joy of things as the best of things are now, so full of that appetite for pleasure which grows up even today in the glad, that she makes demand of the whole of life, of everything, to bring joy to the world; that she makes demand of misery, of discontent, of crime, of extortion, of slavery, that they cease from off the earth and be no more.

The love of liberty must result from the

love of life, or be of slight avail; and the love of life results from the enjoyment of life, even under present conditions. Only those who can keep up a spirit of joy while they condemn the things which are against joy, work to fullest purpose and to amplest results. Only those who can be happy and so store up strength for effort, can continuously work for emancipation, and so leave an effective impress upon their time and the race.

One deed, one song, one battle, is not enough: the great soul, the glad soul, lives a full life; a life which has many songs; which knows many deeds; whose battles roar thru all the years of three-score-and-ten.

There are those in advanced movements who come into them with enthusiasm, and continue full of high hopes and fertile energy for a time, only at last to become despairing and chilling misanthropes, or suicides; men and women who thru seeing, nay seeking to see, only the dark side of things, come in time to be mere *negations* or denials. Such are those who say that life is not worth living, there is so much misery in it; such are those who live on their sorrows till they starve; such are those who will not enjoy anything because everyone cannot at the same moment enjoy that thing; such are those who, with nothing to live for but work for a future which they will not see, despair, and broken in the end, die.

The rest, those whose songs, whose deeds, are like an inexhaustible stream; who make the world glad while they make it eager for better things and best, are affirmative in life as in thought: they speak the truth of evil things, but are yet full of the memory of good things held in the lap of nature, and offered to all the world: things which injustice has not yet taken away from man, and which will never be taken away. We see them preaching, practising liberty, we see them encouraging emancipating teachings or acts, we see them developing the spirit of comradeship, and encouraging the search for truth; and all with sunny natures, with indomitable hope, with exhaustless faith in man and his possibilities.

The secret of this spirit, which carries all before it, like mountain waves, is twofold: its great energy comes from its great capacity for enjoyment (a power to avail itself of things as they are) and its great reasonableness and patience from a knowledge of nature; among whose myriad evils mixed with her beauty and good, economic and social evils are a part. When we know the source of that which we abhor, when we know

that nature, who has her diseases, her storms, her tidal waves, her earthquakes, her cyclones, her piercing winds, her deadly serpents and animals, her freezing winters and her burning summers, has also, nay, is the cause of, man and all his works, his errors and hates as well as his wisdom and love, when we know this, we are not the less strenuous for liberty, and are not the less effective in word and in deed, but are stronger, braver; and ceasing to hate the individual or hold him responsible, fuller of hope and of love. Then we turn to look for that which can console us in a battle which we feel must be long and difficult; then, with understanding of the truth of things, we draw to us all that can make us glad: the common joys, friends, those whom love has given it to make us happy, the pleasures of the senses, the pleasures of the mind; everything which can compensate us in any measure for what we are deprived of. Then we are glad; then we can be strong. We realize then the opportunities, the responsibilities, the greatness of life; then we realize our true places as men and women, and take them gladly.

The nature which will see only evil in life is already dead; the nature which sees more evil than good in life does not see the whole of good; but the man who does see the whole of good, is neither appalled nor made to despair by the evil around him; with much to rejoice over, he works for the great day of man. *He works because he lives.*

There is a pose in the refusal to see any good anywhere; there is a pose in the attitude of confirmed despair. It is as tho the spirit, eager for the days of joy, had grown so conscious of the misery of the present, and so conscious of the world's unconsciousness of that misery that it had given itself up to a mock-mourning, the more surely to attract and influence that lightness and irresponsibility which sit upon the faces and show in the deeds of the thoughtless mass of humanity. But it only avails to repel, while he who in health, in hope, in joy, in strength can speak of the larger life, of the nobler way, of the finer effort, is heard, and is not forgotten.

Libertarians who *live* are the salt of the earth of liberty; libertarians who will not wear a gloomy face, libertarians who because they have tasted a part of the good of life would taste the whole, libertarians whom no happenings can depress below the hope and faith that man will conquer sla-

very sooner or later, libertarians who sing in defeat, and who celebrate in success the sweetness of their added joys, are alone effective libertarians. Glad to live, even as life is, they are glad to strive for better and more life; and strong because they are glad, they win the way step by step toward freedom; where all the world follows them, wondering; yet trusting in those who have spontaneous strength and youthful spirit.

W. F. BARNARD.

The Labor Movement in Spain.

PART III

The movement for emancipation among the Spanish laboring classes was viewed with much displeasure by the bourgeois, who endeavored in every way possible to check it, either by turning it from its natural channel to one of their own liking, or by villifying its most prominent leaders.

The Republicans desired at all hazards to retain their control of the laborers, from whom they expected aid as agitators in the country and voters in the committees. The non-Anarchists and reactionists of all kinds invoked patriotic and religious traditions as most suitable for flattering the imagination and confusing the intelligence to the end of retaining the workmen in their chains of servitude.

In spite of all this scheming, a never fluctuating constancy and firm faith came forth triumphant after many struggles and great difficulties, and today we have reached the point where the Anarchistic laborer constitutes an indestructible force.

One of our first great difficulties consisted in the duality which was manifest at the beginning of the International, and personified in the two great figures of Marx and Bakunin; the former represented the remnants of authority, upon which he wished to base the essential conditions of triumph; the latter represented the simplicity of the principle of freedom, the inviolability of the aspiration, the honor of the standard.

Bear in mind that the proletarian revolution found adherents in Spain, as I stated before, on account of its Anarchistic elements, and the logic of its solutions took a firm hold of our intellects. The Anarchistic standard then, being the most prominent among us, the Marxian authoritativeness remained as a useful resource for the desperate and restless, those who always throng to any gathering for the excitement of personal opposition, and become so carried away with their own bandying of words that they turn enemies of the very thing they at first defended, while continuing to feel friendly to it.

Such was the character of the group which came to bear the name of Socialist Labor Union, and this character has persisted, becoming more and more reactionary in point of doctrine and degenerating in dignity until acts have been committed which merit general censure.

The Anarchistic current being predominant, has been the one to give the true character to the labor movement, the one to which the more calm-minded laborers have turned, because they recognized the absolute good faith and impartiality of its apostles, while, in the teachers of spurious

Socialism they saw only hauteur, selfishness and the shackles of authority clapped on at every step; and finally they realized that the labor organization was being used only as a tool to elevate the leaders.

This duality has continued, and in spite of the harm it has caused by depriving the revolutionary movement of members, material and intellectual aid, it has done this service; it has furnished a point of comparison and stimulation to progress by means of which conscience has been purified and determination secured.

It might be said that the Marxian Socialism has represented the blackness which by contrast brings out the light and brilliancy of the picture of life and progressive virtues which form Anarchism.

Such, briefly, is the character up to the present time of this proletariat, which thru being exploited among an ignorant bourgeoisie and condemned under cruel governors, suffers more than that of any other country and is now worthy of greater commendation for maintaining its ground.

Just now a ferment of rebelliousness extends from one end to the other of the national territory: it shows itself in the great commercial centers, in the maritime towns and rural districts, in mines, on railways, and in mercantile affairs, agitating the bourgeoisie in authority, in industry and commerce, in the temple and barracks and thru meetings, pamphlets, and the press producing criticism of the present state of society—also the assertion of ideals, the fire of enthusiasm and revolutionary passion. All this produces the consoling hope, which I even dare to formulate in a sure promise, that when the international proletariat succeed in planning a definite campaign against the usurpers of social wealth, Spanish proletarians, far from remaining in the background, will obtain the honorable distinction of a place in the front ranks.

ANSELMO LORENZO.

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Traubel on Voltairine de Cleyre's "Crime and Punishment."

The more we study crime the less we see the criminal. When we entirely understand crime the criminal will have disappeared. Modern mercy is severe with man's folly but gentle with man. Crime is not handled with physical weapons. It is handled with philosophy. The best sermons that ever were preached are in the stones of prison walls. Every prison is a rebuke. A rebuke so much to its inmates and so much more to the world outside. If man knew enough to be just to man, and if he knew justice when he saw it and was willing to realize it in the flesh, how much need would we have for the prison? The prison is a confession of weakness. When the medicine man is puzzled he administers drugs. When society is puzzled by the presence of an economic disease it administers the prison. As knowledge grows the prison gets superfluous. Our economic regime needs the prison. Making crime inevitable it makes the prison necessary. Giving man no sort of chance to live right it stands ready with manacles for him when he lives wrong. You cannot get rid of the prison by going inside and preaching sermons to the prisoners or

by drawing sharp lines between the criminal and the other fellow. The criminal is a fiction. Crime is a fact. When our social order succeeds in skaking poverty off the list of its characteristic maladies crime will go with it. All recent economic thought of whatever school busies itself largely with this item of misadventure. The study of De Cleyre is of course from the point of view of philosophic Anarchism. It is strong, eloquent and compassionate. It is the ripe deliverance of a woman whose life has been practically lived within close call of a brilliant mind. This is the way she breaks loose at one moment in the press of her sympathetic appeal:

Have you ever watched it coming in—the sea? When the wind comes roaring out of the mist and a great bellowing thunders up from the water? Have you watched the white lions chasing each other towards the walls and leaping up with foaming anger as they strike, and turn and chase each other along the black bars of their cage in rage to devour each other? And tear back? And leap in again? Have you ever wondered in the midst of it all which particular drops of water would strike the wall? If one could know all the factors one might calculate even that. But who can know them all? Of one thing only we are sure: some must strike it. They are criminals, those drops of water pitching against that silly wall and broken. Just why it was these particular ones we cannot know, but some had to go. Do not curse them; you have cursed them enough. Let the people free.

If we devoted half the time we spend in degenerate moral speculation to discovering the fundamental reasons for the existence of what we call the criminal class we would soon reach a stage upon which the distinction of good and bad, of sinner and saint, of law and crime, would largely have disappeared. Men are not a bit as evil as their deeds make them. Society credits itself with a man's virtues. Why should it not charge itself with a man's crimes? Jails are not made for the big rascals. We put the big rascals in palaces. We build monuments to them. We get a few sneak-thieves and street scufflers and drunks and such into jail. But the big scamp goes scot free, wears broadcloth, deacons the church and doles out salvation to the regenerated. Such things turns prisons into question marks, anomalies. Sometimes a church might change places with a prison to advantage. Honors are easy.—*From The Conserver.*

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Setting the Matter Right.

The New York Times Saturday Review of Books.—It is to be hoped that your London correspondent, Mr. Alden, has a few less prejudices and a little more information concerning current literature than he appears to possess in regard to Sociology. His allusion to "the Anarchist as a peculiarly vicious type of mad dog, concerning whom the rest of us will not care to read anything except his dying speech," is peculiarly amusing in view of the fact that on another page of the Review appears a two column review of Peter Kropotkin's book "Mutual Aid." It so happens that . . . [The foregoing, which explains why some of the rest of the letter was written, the Times omitted. But it published the rest, which is something to be thankful for in these days of plutocratic journalism. I did not use the word prince, however. And considering the object for which the letter was written, I hope my An-

archist Communist friends will not be too critical of my definitions. A/C. P.]

"Prince Kropotkin is recognized by the Communist Anarchists as the highest type of adherent to, and leading exponent of, their beliefs. It also happens that Kropotkin is recognized by scientists to be such an authority in his branch that a few years ago he represented the British Geographical Society in the International Congress in Canada. This should be a warning to those who indulge in vituperative generalizations. The writer of your review of 'Mutual Aid' twice alludes to Kropotkin as a Socialist. It is true that some of the Anarchist-Communists claim to be the only 'scientific' Socialists, on the ground that their belief is in accord with economic and historic evolution. But these call themselves, as Kropotkin may have called himself at times, 'Anarchist-Socialists.' In the original sense of the term anyone who seeks to change the social order so as to benefit all persons is a 'Socialist.' But this meaning has been departed from long since, and by the average reader, and in most reform literature, Socialist is understood to mean State Socialist—that is, one who advocates government ownership of means of production. Kropotkin's beliefs are the antipodes of those held by the State Socialists of the present day. They are based upon diametrically opposite views of the relation of the individual to society. The Anarchist believes society to be merely an aggregate of individuals having no right superior to the right of any individual composing it. The Socialist believes the individual to be only an atom of the social organism and to have no inherent rights.

"Aside from this one inaccuracy, the sympathetic review of Kropotkin's work was an excellent presentation of the subject. Authoritarian pseudo scientists, who claim to be evolutionists, while ignoring social evolution, misinterpret the theory of the survival of the fittest, and use it to justify brutality and exploitation. Kropotkin has done more than anyone to show that the doctrine of evolution not only is not antagonistic to kindness and to sympathy, but furnishes a materialist basis for human relations, which teaches that the greatest happiness comes to those social groups which regard an injury to one as an injury to all.

ARTHUR C. PLEYDELL."

"52 William St., New York."

Liberty and Variety Again.

Americus has solved the sex question (for himself at least) and tells us he believes in sexual variety (comment in 419 FREE SOCIETY, page 3,) while in the same place he says that in his previous article he did not mention variety, but wrote of "The Sex Question and Liberty." The sex question when solved correctly (from his standpoint) will settle in a sexual variety, otherwise he would have no implicit faith in it (variety) as a purifier (?) of sex relationships; and yet he claims that I mistook his vindication of liberty for a vindication of variety. (1)

Americus says: "But so vital is the problem involved, so essential is its illumination and settlement, so important a place has the sex life, that its present status, its prob-

able development, and its condition under liberty, are matters for the most serious consideration." (2)

So the main thing is liberty. Let us have liberty; and when we have it we may not have a sex question; there is no use of putting the wagon before the horse; we have all kinds of questions now, such as the silver question, the tariff question, the sex question, and many more. In fact everything the people bump against, they call a question; but we libertarians and thinkers know that when we once have liberty all the questions will be solved by the mere fact of the presence of liberty. Why the sex question? (3)

We were told by the advocates of the gold standard at the time of the agitation of the silver question, that the whole agitation was brought about by the silver mine owners for selfish purposes; is it not possible that this great sex question, with its ready solution (sexual variety), is a fabrication of some people for selfish purposes? (4) * And really, who will guarantee that it is not so? (5)

There is no question about liberty; every one wants it, even the czar of Russia wants liberty—for himself. Of course we libertarians want it for everybody; on this we agree, and leave all "questions" for parliamentarians to settle. (6) A. MEDWEDEFF.

COMMENT.

1. It is a fact that my critic did mistake my "vindication of liberty" in the article "The Sex Question and Liberty," for a vindication of variety, and this restatement, I hope, will convince him that he did mistake me. When I have written of variety and not till then, will it be in order for him to criticise me as a varietist. *One thing at a time.*

2. Yes, the problem is a "vital" one, and liberty will settle it. The question whether there will be single or multiple loves in freedom is a question which one need not ask in determining whether freedom is necessary; for that matter, under sexual liberty, I have no doubt that there will be single as well as multiple loves. The main thing is to get liberty, in sex, as in other things. But liberty will never come, save as a result of free discussion of all its phases, for superstition would lock the door upon the truth, were discussion not to set that door wide open.

3. "The main thing is liberty," that is true; but my critic should know that to have liberty means to have sex liberty, moral liberty, religious liberty, and all the other liberties. To say that economic liberty will, or should come first, is to ignore vital facts: viz. that all types of oppression tend to break down simultaneously and that the varied forms of oppression tend to perpetuate and support each other. No manifestation of liberty has a right of priority, nor are we called upon to seek such first according to a program.

* I may state here that in future all communications of disputants casting reflections upon the character of their opponents will be flatly refused. The cause of a critic must be weak indeed if he has to resort to such methods in lieu of argument. The readers will also notice that Comrade Medwedeff merely repeats here what he said a few weeks ago, which alone would have been sufficient reason for rejecting the article, but in order to head off the accusation of being partial in this discussion I decided to publish it.

4. Are the advocates of monogamy actuated by "selfish purposes?" Do not lower, do not beg the question.

2. This question carries with it a reflection upon the character of those who believe that liberty will bring about variety; but I would remind my critic that it will not do to form an opinion of a man or of men until one knows how he or they act or live.

6. We want liberty. But are we to leave the "questions" which the application of liberty in all respects involves "for parliamentarians to settle"? My friend Medwedeff may do this, but a libertarian certainly would not.

AMERICUS.

The Two Sides of the Question.

"ANARCHY."

(As seen by *The Comrade* of New York.)

"The rich men living indolently well,
Pleased with their food; champagne, and jeweled
whores,
While round their marble halls the city roars
Its ceaseless drama of the human hell;
The rich fools satiated; idle, they
Fill up the leisure of their years with lies,
While round their luxury, still starvation cries,
And want despairing groups its hungry way.
Speak not of Justice, or of Government,
Of Kings, of Constitutions or of Laws;
Speak not of Parliaments; breathe not the fame
Of Priests or Churches, they were surely sent
To be a mockery without a cause,
Amid this Anarchy in all but name."

* * *

What we Socialists wish to do is to make Wall Street our Washington; to make Mr. Morgan, Mr. Vanderbilt and Mr. Rockefeller hold election offices—
Wilshire's Magazine for March.

* * *

"SOCIALISM."

How will it be when rich men are the State?
Will there be less "champagne, and jewelled
whores"?
When "marble halls" have stilled "the city roars"—
When system feeds the poor, and wants abate?
"The rich fools satiated," then will they
No longer seek to lead the poor with lies?
Will Paternalism hush "starvation's cries"—
And absolute dependence point the way?
They praise of Justice and of Liberty
While weaving webs of Socialistic State.
Pray! will their schemes the selfish mind effect—
Or change to human love, satiety?
Will concentrated power its rule abate—
Authority its love of sway reject?

A. LE ROY LOUBAL.

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LETTER-BOX.

B. R., New York.—You "hope that 'A Vindication of Anarchism' will appear in book form," but so far the prospects are not encouraging. Unless some enterprising radicals establish a publishing house, our propaganda will be constantly hampered by lack of means and appropriate literature.

E. F. R., St. Louis Mo.—You may do as you please and combine with a political party, if you like to wade in the mire of corruption and compromise; but we do not enjoy the stench. Your assertion that "the majority always rules" only shows that you have profited very little by studying "nature and its laws."

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All those who have subscribed in advance for Comrade Kropotkin's new book "Modern Science and Anarchism" can receive their copy by calling at the quarters of FREE SOCIETY.

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Erratum—The first line of the poem, "An Ocean Prayer," in No. 23 of FREE SOCIETY, should read: "I pray to thee, Ocean, salt and grand," instead of "I pray to the Ocean," etc.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

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ANARCHY—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal, absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JULY 12, 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.

NOTICE FOR CHICAGO.

The Summer-Night Picnic in the interest of FREE SOCIETY, which was to have been held on July Fourth, was postponed on account of rain, and will be held in the same place on this Sunday, July 12. All come in the morning and spend the day and evening.

Those living near Western Avenue or Robey Street, can transfer to Elston Avenue cars, from which transfers can be taken for Irving Park Ave. cars going east. Others can take Lincoln Avenue cars, transfer to Irving Park or Bowmanville cars. The first brings you near the grove, and the second to Bertreau Avenue, from which walk up to Campbell west of Western Avenue.

ATTENTION!

In a few days the publisher of FREE SOCIETY will make a short trip to the east, and while there would like to meet as many comrades as possible. He will make a point of visiting all the centers where there are groups, such as Boston, New York and surroundings, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Pittsburg and Allegheny, Cleveland and perhaps other places. He would like to hear from the comrades everywhere, so that he can be present when they hold their gatherings or picnics, in order to meet as many friends as possible. He is urged by his friends at the same time to get after the delinquent subscribers (of whom there are again a considerable number) with a sharp stick; but as he is naturally of a lenient disposition, they may meet him without fear. Let all who are desirous of getting acquainted write at once, and state where they can be found.

Attention.

Comrade Emma Goldman has agreed to make a propaganda tour in the West and the Pacific Coast during the months of July and August, if the money necessary for the trip can be raised. Now we ask all comrades who are interested in the tour to mail all contributions and communications either to my address or to Comrade Emma Goldman, 50 First St., New York. ROSE FRITZ.

San Francisco, Calif., 421 Castro St.

FREE SOCIETY

Outpost Echoes.

Fireworks change no facts.

A revolution cannot be ignored.

Liberty is beaten, but never conquered.

The czar is living down to his reputation.

No man is either as good or as bad as he seems.

Some men are too dead to know that they are dead.

Talk not of rights; it is enough to know your needs.

"Compulsory arbitration" is a contradiction in terms.

The individual is the cause of which society is the effect.

The wheels of progress crush those who stand in the way.

Those who live on dreams would starve were they to awaken.

When individuals are great then we shall have a "great people."

One Chicago alderman is to be arrested. Justice is triumphant at last!

The science of conservatism consists either in hiding or denying the facts.

The Negroes will petition the czar to interfere in their behalf in America. Irony!

The future laughs at the past, and that makes the present feel slightly timid and doubtful.

Water has leaked out of stocks lately till rich widows and orphans are fearing a financial drouth.

Roosevelt investigations are made with the lights turned low so that the facts will not all be conspicuous enough to be seen.

The futility of "law and order" is becoming apparent to the press at large thru the crimes against Negroes. But it still pays to say nothing.

Canadian legislators are trying to keep imported labor agitators out of Canada, fearing the powers of trade unionism if it be unchecked. Workmen know whom to vote for!

Carnegie wants to help "the swimming tenth" not the submerged tenth; which means that he believes it a good thing to chase men into the water and then throw in an occasional life preserver for those who have not sunk.

At a recent Salvation Army meeting Mark

Hanna declared that if he had time he would like to preach. As commercial conditions are at present the "great" Ohioan deems it a much surer thing to work for Mammon than for God.

Clarence Darrow is being taken to task on all hands because of his attitude respecting trades unions. Samuel Gompers is his latest assailant; but he fails to rebut Darrow's main argument, to the effect that the increasing of wages does not solve the labor problem.

Some of the trusts are suffering from a mild attack of fear on account of doubt about their legal status and because of the restlessness of labor; and Chas. M. Schwab, of the steel trust, has been forced to virtually retire from activity to recuperate. The symptoms indicate social upheaval.

The author of "Marriage the Suicide of Love" seems to know a great deal about it, and realizes that the hearts of the married soon turn away from the legal ties to pleasanter paths of passionate dalliance; but she lacks the perfect knowledge which would help her to look hopefully forward to sexual freedom as the solution of love's problem.

St. Louis policemen are to be given training so that they may escape the rotundity which seems fatally to fall to the lot of "guardians of the peace." Is there so little crime to guard against and prevent, that these porcine parasites must learn to run, turn, and skin the cat? Such are the penalties which come to those who work hard all day doing nothing.

"Holier than thou" attitudes never sit well, either upon an individual or a people; and least of all do they befit the American people, who are holding up their hands in horror at the government of the czar and at the name Kishineff as an equivalent to unparalleled devastation, rapine, and crime. Are the American people trying to forget their own record of blood in raging against Russia?

The parsons are beginning to defend lynching; a Chicago preacher, one Bartlet, having joined others in egging on those who are indulging in a carnival of Negro blood spilling. Poor parsons! In breathlessly running after popularity and parishes they perform most wonderful, if undignified antics; even doing summersaults occasionally to attract the attention of a religiously satiated people.

The Social Democrats, by dint of compromising with capitalism, polled forty-three per cent of the popular vote in the recent German elections, and now hold second place in the Reichstag. They could do no better service to the cause of liberty than they have done in securing this dearly won victory, for they have proven that political success is built on opportunism, double dealing, and trickery, and have given a lesson to all the world, which many of the masses will take to heart, and which the

thoughtful will use in opposing their schemes in America.

New York is to have a city hall and office building, so the papers tell us, which will stand forty-five stories high, and upon which fifty million dollars will be spent. The passion for drawing revenue from the air can now go on until buildings a hundred stories in height stand as monuments to ugliness and greed and the streets have to be lighted by electricity at noonday. Commercialism evolves into rapacity, and from thence thru slavery on into chaos.

Servia's new king is reported to stand in great fear of assassination, but it is probable that he will be given respite enough to get used to the abuse of power. Peter, knowing that he came into the throne thru murder, and that his only right to it consists in his power to hold it, shows that he is no fool in fearing sudden death for himself; he knows that what put him up high may put another in his place, and that what he has regarded complaisantly as the fate of another he must contemplate as a possible one for himself, and all without complaining. Kings are to be pitied indeed.

Even Benj. R. Tucker nods. In *Liberty* for July he says of Edward Osgood Brown, who was elected as a judge in Illinois recently, that by this "election to a judgeship of the circuit court *liberty has gained more than it lost by Captain Black's defeat*" (Italics mine), and that "he should serve the cause of justice as effectively as Judge Gaylor is serving it in the East." A few years ago in a controversy with Victor Yarros, Tucker emphatically opposed the contention that it might be advisable for an Anarchist to vote provided that someone was nominated who would oppose certain governmental acts. Now we find him glad that Edward Osgood Brown was elected. Why this wobbling.

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

"While the much vexed and tortured users of our national wealth, being tormented by strikes and the demands of labor," says a contemporary, "were with their spouses and scions on the look-out for the most fashionable and most expensive summer resorts, over two hundred miners were killed thru an explosion deep under the surface of the earth, leaving their families behind in want and destitution. The best of all possible worlds indeed! Still the bourgeois economists keep on lamenting that the capitalists are risking their money while the toiler throws only a miserable life into the scales."

That American capitalism is murdering more men than "Russian barbarism and despotism" is verified daily. Aside from the fact that railroads are killing people wholesale simply because the reparations made are commonly less expensive than precautionary measures would be, the "disaster" in the Wyoming mine forcibly illustrates this truth. Again the labor press urges "strong laws" against "negligent mine owners," forgetting that the most pertinent thing to do is to en-

lighten the miners on the social problem and awake a spirit of independence in them, so that they will refuse to enter a mine which is not perfectly safe.

Admitting that there is a tendency toward collapse in popular government, *The Public* thinks "the reason is that as it exists it is unscientifically constructed," which is nothing less than a piece of gross quibbling. There is no inherent prerogative in any form of government, excepting the right of brute force represented by the rifle of military power, the police club, and the infallible judiciary, and to claim that these elements of violence are bad alone because their power is not "scientifically constructed" is an absurdity, and I challenge Louis F. Post to point out a single instance of science making tolerable the power of a club or that of majority rule.

Altho "the postoffice scandal" has not yet been eliminated by the whitewashing brush, the capitalist press clamors for "the abolition of the corrupted walking delegate of trades unionism," as the only remedy for the abuse of his office, tho the press is not willing to apply the same remedy to government offices. The incentives to corruption, both in the officials of government and trades unionism are money and power, and there is no final remedy unless these elements are eliminated from among mankind; yet trade unions can easily put a damper upon their "leaders" by taking away all executive power from them, leaving all questions to be settled by the body of the union, the officials being only a means of communication between the different unions and employers.

INTERLOPER.

Among Ourselves.

James F. Morton, Jr., *Lopez, Wash.*—I am off on a short trip. On my return, I shall take up work on my long intended book on Comstockism. Please ask the readers of FREE SOCIETY to send me any data or suggestions which would tend to make such a work more complete and valuable. Address all communications to Home, Wash.

H. H., *Victor, Colo.*—Enclosed find clipping stating that the late king slayers in Servia are to be promoted and pensioned. That is indeed edifying. The world does move. But why have not working people been pensioned in these many years for killing each other, and why not a pension for killing kings as they are neither useful nor ornamental?

[Working people are often pensioned "for killing each other," if the killing is committed in behalf and at the command of those in power.

A. I.]

H. W., *Fitzgerald, Ga.*—Hit the Socialist party hard, and any other that upholds the use of money and property. If the Socialist party should ever get into power it would only change the devil's instrument to ruin men's souls from one hand into another,—shift it from one party to another, to be used for man's enslavement. Man, like the beings beneath him in the scale of life, can-

not resist the temptation to grab and accumulate, even beyond his wants. There is a more or less "dog-in-the-manger" disposition in him, to gain at the expense of others. Money and its equivalent, property, upheld by law, affords him these opportunities, and so long as power and monopoly exist he will be under their corrupting influence.

History proves this assertion. There is not a single instance known in which a party, nation or religion did not finally succumb, after it had come into power, to the corrupting influence of money. It is that which finally destroyed them. All were in their incipency as innocent as babes, inspired, perhaps, by the purest of motives, but all yielded to the corrupting influence of power and money—the canker which will devour all that is noble in humanity. The Socialist party contains the same seeds of strife, the same elements of corruption, the same opportunities for one man or set of men to get on top of each other, and would therefore prove as dismal a failure, in so far as the betterment of social conditions is concerned, as have all of its predecessors. Only the utter abolishment of all opportunities for power and acquisition can establish relative peace and happiness on earth. The Socialist party does not strike the evil at the root!

— o —

Within the memory of the trade of governing has always been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most rascally individuals of mankind!—*Thomas Paine.*

What kind of society is it which is based upon inequality and injustice to such an extent as this? Would it not be well to take the whole thing by the four corners and fling pell-mell up to the ceiling the cloth, the feast and the orgy, the gluttony and the drunkenness and the guests; those who have their two elbows on the table, and those who are on all-fours under it, to spew the whole lot in God's face and to fling the whole world at heaven.

... The Hell of the Poor makes the Paradise of the Rich.—*Victor Hugo.*

He who would give the name of robbery or parricide to the iniquitous invention of interest would not be very far from the truth. What, indeed, does it signify if you have made yourselves masters of the wealth of another by scaling walls or by killing passers-by, or if you have acquired what belongs to you by the merciless method of the loan? ... —*St. Gregory.*

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Publications Received.

We have received the following books in the Russian language: "What Shall We Do Then?" by Leo Tolstoy. "The Psychology of Militarism," by A. Hamon. Translated from the French by P. Birukoff. "My Confession," by Leo Tolstoy. "Life and Death of Evdocius Droschim," by E. P. Popoff, with an "Appendix" by Leo Tolstoy. "Problems of Life," by F. A. Strachoff.

These books are published by A. Tchertkoff, Christchurch, Hants, England. For sale in this country: M. Maisel, 194 E. Broadway, New York.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

IX (continued.)

With such a flaw in the foundation of an argument, we should expect to find many in the superstructure; and we do. Capital is not falling into the hands of a constantly diminishing number.* It is being distributed, as it increases, among a constantly increasing number. Over production of food is impossible, so long as there exists a class of laborers to whom cheapening of food would be one of those happy accidents which facilitate increase without necessarily lowering real wages.† But while there is no over production of food in sight, there is no possibility of general glut—capital turns from overstocked lines to understocked; and farming is a resource continually open. Accordingly, this reserved opportunity shows no sensible tendency to pass into corporate hands. The various food-trusts rob the citizen, but to prevent multiplication of farms, villages, and at last towns, is quite beyond their power. So, too, bonanza farming, which it was once thought must displace private agricultural enterprise, has

* The thousand times repeated assertion that the big capitalists are eating up the smaller, was treated by bourgeois critics as transparently inconsistent with the facts more than seventy years ago. "England," wrote Macaulay in 1830, "is the richest country in Europe, the most commercial country, and the country in which manufactures flourish most. Russia and Poland are the poorest countries in Europe. They have scarcely any trade, and none but the rudest manufactures. Is wealth more diffused in Russia and Poland than in England? There are individuals in Russia and Poland whose incomes are probably equal to those of our richest countrymen. It may be doubted whether there are not, in those countries, as many fortunes of eighty thousand a year as here. But are there as many fortunes of two thousand a year, or of one thousand a year? There are parishes in England which contain more people of between three hundred and three thousand a year than could be found in all the dominions of the Emperor Nicholas." The recent publication "Pages of Socialist History," by W. Tcherkesoff, chapters V and VI, contains the most signal and undeniable proofs that the number of persons living on their incomes is rapidly increasing. It is indeed true that only five per cent of those who engage in business escape bankruptcy, and only three per cent escape failure of their first enterprise. Ninety-seven per cent of the "plants" employed in productive or commercial enterprises are therefore devoured by three per cent. But as savings are constantly being invested in new enterprises, it remains quite possible for this three per cent to represent an increase in the actual number of such capitals. The increase is further promoted in another way. Distanced competitors in the commercial race escape bankruptcy by becoming agents for others, sleeping partners, shareholders, annuitants, investors in government bonds or savings banks. The assertion about big capitalists' devouring small is given plausibility by refusing to class these retired pensioners as capitalists, a fallacy founded on the incorrect definition of capital as wealth employed to produce more wealth, whose *reductio ad absurdum* is its requiring us to say that a Rothschild is not a capitalist! Only in productive or commercial industries, if there, is it true that the number of exploiters decreases; and it is not their number but that of all the idle annuitants State Socialism needs to estimate before it concludes that with ten thousand it can fight a parliamentary battle against him who comes against it with twenty thousand.

† Malthus attributed improvement in the condition of laborers to lucky accidents, such as the rise of wages after the Black Death, which permanently raised the standard of comfort, because, as he knew the laborers well enough to understand, they are very tenacious of a gain once made in that. Cheapening of food is an accident which always enables the number of laborers to increase. But if their food is only cheapened, without being made better (as by the introduction of the potato into Ireland), the standard of comfort is not raised and real wages will remain stationary or fall.

proved powerful only against competitors in peculiar lines, from which capital, according to its nature, turned towards less exploitable enterprises, like market gardening. In short, the commercial battle, instead of approaching an end, bids fair to go on, with increasing magnitude and complexity, indeed, forever.

To criticisms of this sort, the Marxian would reply that the critic did not grasp the great principle, and was carping at mere variations from a type. But that is just what all *a priori* reasoning says of the induction which finds it one-sided and dogmatic. Induction teaches that all reasoning is from particulars to particulars. The interpolation of general principles is a convenient, nay necessary, process of periodically taking stock, and starting from a balanced ledger; but they add nothing to the evidence of the particulars; and if these will not all go into the general principle, it is not adequate. What Marx really discovered, and all he personally claimed to have discovered, is not the economic Law, but an economic Tendency. All capital must be sooner or later concentrated in a single cooperation—unless something hinders. Yes, and the earth must fall into the sun, but that it is prevented from doing so by something called the centrifugal force! In virtue of the centrifugal force, it must fly away from the sun like a comet; but that the sun's attraction pulls it back! There is something exquisitely comic in statements of tendency which propose to disregard such large counter-tendencies as these—something suggestive of Guy Faukes' "tendency" to come into London by the way of Vauxhall Bridge.

"That is—he would have come that way
To perpetrate his guilt, Sir;
But a little thing prevented him;
The bridge it wasn't built, Sir."

Such statements are made mostly by followers of the man who discovered a tendency, seductive on account of the perspicacity shown in demonstrating it—Engels is to Marx what MacCulloch was to Malthus. The value of Marx's discovery of a tendency consists in showing, not that the physical condition of laborers is growing worse—I do not believe it is—; not that the number of exploiters is growing less and therefore more liable to attack—it is growing larger and therefore they are growing stronger; but that the old opening of escape into the rank of capitalist is being narrowed by concentration, as Comte's and "Felix Holt's" opening into the rank of skilled laborer is being closed by machinery.

The proletariat's former objects of ambition are being taken from him, just as that education which inspires his ambition is becoming more general; and these undoubtedly are conditions which do forebode a crisis. But that the result should be the laborer's emancipation, it is of the highest importance he should rightly understand what the nature of the impending crisis is. The fallacy in the Marx-Engels statement of its nature begins at the assertion that we have passed from a military to a commercial strife. We have done no such thing. The last Louis d'or is a great advantage in war; but so it always was. It is not so decisive an advantage but what the little

Transvaal dares to fight for her liberties against the British Empire basely assisted by the United States; nor but what, in spite of her disaster, a social scientist like Lombroso can pronounce the *ultimate success of the Boers inevitable*. Such a circumstance as that the Boers increase faster than the English, a circumstance of which a "scientific Socialist" would take no account but of which a Lombroso does, is enough to illustrate the truth that the result of war at present depends, as it always did, upon an indefinite number of conditions, among which the last Louis d'or is only one; and while that is the case there is no ground in modern industrial inequality for saying men will cease to fight. That there is none in the instincts of the stronger, any more than in the fears of the weaker nations, we have seen already. Nations fight as they always did, from a mixture of motives indeed, but principally to exploit each other. Once they fought to get men to eat; then the principal prize was slaves; after that it was territory; and now it is "a market." But the progress in knowledge has shown milder modern methods of exploitation to be more profitable than bloody ancient methods, the motive for conquest—to live upon others—still is what it always was. And now again we may see illustrated the shallowness of that pig-philosophy which assumes that all human instincts are translatable into swill. The corporate motives of great masses are indeed always the lowest existing among their units; and while merchants engage in war for money, statesmen do so for power, and the rabble from thirst of blood (called patriotism)—just as they always did. But is it true that with negligible exceptions each individual is trying to get rich by underselling competitors, or at all? It is true that without any exception each individual is trying to gratify his desires at the least cost. It is true that an income independent of labor is what will do that for him so far as his desires are for purchaseable commodities. But every man desires some things which cannot be bought. One of these is Liberty. A capital reason for not seeking to be rich, with those in whom the desire for liberty predominates, is that the sleek dog had to be chained up at night, and that the ass which carried the gold was heavier laden than the ass which only carried the hay. This lean-wolf and refractory-ass element is by no means small enough to be negligible. It never was, and has not become so lately. Sir Thomas More, in his Utopia, says that not over a fifth of his contemporaries were engaged in productive industry. The census shows that somewhat less than half the males of the working age are so employed at present. The proportion is thus very near what it was three hundred and fifty years ago. I need not say, but few of the non-producers are either millionaires or beggars. In More's time those who, as the bourgeois say, "would not work," were mostly monks or "clerks" of some sort. They are now professional men of some kind—lawyers, doctors, clergymen, authors, artists, journalists, "Bohemians"—mostly poor enough, for all these lines are heavily overstocked, always proud enough, for poverty, tho it tempts to many disgraceful

things, is not itself disgraceful; and the world has always judged, with more justice than charity, that to be a slave, however pampered, is! I speak with some feeling; as the reader may perceive; and perhaps he can divine the reason.

"E di questi cotai son io medesimo."

"I am one of them," as Virgil said to Dante. It therefore becomes me entirely to blow their bugle; which no one outside their own ranks is like to do. That the wage-slaves are sinking into actual starvation is not true. They are better fed than they ever were before. That the social buffer of small independent fortunes is growing weaker is not true. It is growing stronger. That the war of competing capitalists approaches the end of universal consolidation is by no means certain. That the class of really free laborers—carpenters, smiths, cobblers, etc., are being extinguished by machinery is true only to this extent that their relative number and importance is being decreased by machinery. Absolutely, I am much inclined to think their number increases. The following propositions, however, are beyond all dispute—that the dependence of the proletariat upon capital is in all the concentrated industries becoming more thoro as machinery terminates demand for skill; that in like proportion the position of the proletariat becomes less tolerable to men of free spirit; that the quasi-rebel class of free brain laborers increases, consequently, in importance; while, with advance of the merely money-getting spirit, it decreases in social prestige; finally, that the proletariat thus enslaved, to which the revolutionary tendency of those who "command not, nor obey" must address itself, increases in intelligence at the very time it decreases in freedom. In this tremendously explosive situation, the class I represent hold the fatal lever, to press or raise, as they judge wiser. Let no one think the boast an idle one, who recalls the sixteenth century! As out of cloister and parsonage came Tindale, and Luther, and Zwingle, and Calvin, and Socinus; so out of "Bohemia" came Proudhon, and Blanc, and Blanqui, and George, and Bellamy, and the scientific Marx himself. In one case as in the other, the appearance of the reformers is preceded by the accumulation of a mass far too large and too combustible not to attract a spark. But in one case as in the other, the efficient cause of the purifying explosion is in the spark, not the powder. In one case, as in the other, too, there are great differences of view among the agitators whose work converges to a common result.

We have traced the evolution of the Marx-Engels theory, and those criticisms upon it which come equally well from dissenters of all kinds—perhaps, if more fitly from those of any kind than those of another, then best from the "optimistic" school of bourgeois. But the Anarchist has a special ground. Marx's argument begins with the assertion that we have passed from a military to an industrial state of competition. He should rather have said we have added commercial competition to military. But let us go a little further back and ask for what we are competing? The answer is obvious. We are competing for power. "The

struggle for existence" ceased among human beings when they ceased to be cannibals. What they have been struggling for ever since is to exist without work, that is on the labor of others; and, since no man of that temper will work for others if he can help it, this means they have been struggling to enslave each other. For that purpose they require governments, which divert the force of one nation against another as the force of a single man. But the members of these governments by no means propose to divide the spoil equally with those they govern. They and their creatures got the slaves when there were any. Then they got the land. Now they get the charters of monopoly in which consists the powers of incorporated capital to exploit labor. And thus, tho, at each stage in this progress, slavery becomes milder, *the proletariat of the conquering nation always were, as at present they are, no less slaves to all intent than the proletariat of the conquered.* Nor is anything else consistent with the nature of government. If the nation should own the trusts and the land, nature, turned out with a pitchfork, would find her way of getting back—enormous salaries for administrators, margins for general lessees, and jobbery in distribution of places, would be the new ways whereby a few would live on the labor of the many—the many, who, unless increase of population were adequately checked (which can be done only by emancipation of women) would remain as poor as they are! It follows that the proletariat, without whose support the government could not exist, are very foolish to support it. The notion which makes them do so is in general, as we have seen, a superstition. In detail, it is the opinion that government is necessary for this purpose or for that. No other one opinion of the kind is so influential as belief that government is necessary to prevent crime. But this superstition, once impugned, which it already is, must soon go the way of other superstitions under the same circumstances. Before long, every person of ordinary intelligence will know that government does not prevent crime but increases it. Those who still do not know this truth will then be ashamed to say they doubt it; and government, like witchcraft, will soon be laughed out of existence.

The question whether the Anarchist's recipe be feasible is now answered. The question whether it would be efficacious remains. The Marx-Engels school accuse the Anarchists of not knowing, or not admitting, that economic laws require progressive concentration of capital, which the proletariat must therefore either own, thru the government, or be enslaved by, as at present. I would not claim too much for Anarchy. Nothing but a humbug ever announces itself as an absolute panacea for all human ills. It is, to my thinking, one of the recommendations of Anarchism that it does not do that. Let us be careful that our words are translatable into things. The proletariat are enslaved by concentration of capital now. But before that they were enslaved by the feudal system; before that in chattel slavery; at all times by government. If they cease to support government, which would be killing it, what is there left to en-

slave them? The Marxian says the concentration of capital enslaves them. But according to his own theory this concentration of capital is created by the demand for cheapness. Now cheapness is a very good thing, and its promotion is an excellent feature of the present industrial system; but only competing capitalists consider it the economic *summum bonum*. "Cheap and nasty" is a modern phrase, repeated daily, with many a muttered curse, by the CONSUMER, for whom all production is carried on, and who therefore supplies the standpoint of Anarchistic theory, tho no other has sufficiently overcome the Original Sin of Political Economy to take his ground. The curses may to some extent be unjust. I have little doubt that good old-fashioned work can still be had—at good old fashioned prices; nay, somewhat cheaper than a hundred years ago. If most people prefer shoddy, that is because most people are poor. And what keeps them so? Not the advance of the manufacturing system. That is certainly making them rich, tho not as fast as the exploiters. What keeps them poor is exploitation, which existed before the concentration of capital, and therefore *to say the concentration of capital enslaves them*, unless the words are used, as I lately used them, in a very loose popular sense, *is to confound the relations of cause and effect.* The concentration of capital has given the proletariat a new, and in most respects a better, set of masters. But the proletariat were enslaved before there was any such concentration; and what enslaved them was then, as it is now, the government. In the absence of government, I see no way in which the concentration of capital could enslave them. For, first, the mania for cheapness which principally causes the concentration, would cease with removal of its own cause. With free land must come rising wages, with rising wages demand for good work, with the demand for good work the fall of shoddy. In the famous manifesto of 1848, the Marxian school itself pointed out adulteration, not as the saving virtue of the bourgeois system; but as one of those inherent vices which must ultimately destroy it. Given good quality, however, cheapness is a boon; and concentration of effort, which involves that of material, is a good thing; and there is no reason why, under the system of Anarchy, it should either cease or enslave the proletariat. There is a reason why the annuitant class should regard the advent of Anarchy with alarm. But they are not strong enough to prevent it if belief in government should come to be generally regarded as an exploded superstition; and the last difficulty about them is removed by the consideration that, tho annuitants are mere parasites, they are not a class of parasites whom it would be any serious inconvenience for a society advancing in wealth, to keep until they die off and their possessions escheat or divide infinitesimally.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

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The criminal's law; but are you better, then, when you slay? He took another's liberty; and is the right way, therefore, for you to take his? Violence is no answer to violence.—*Tolstoy.*

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