



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 431.

The Dawn of Peace.

Put off, put off your mail, O kings,
And beat your brands to dust!
— Your hands must learn a surer grasp,
Your hearts a better trust.

Oh, bend aback the lance's point,
And break the helmet bar;
A noise is in the morning wind,
But not the note of war.

Upon the grassy mountain paths
The glittering hosts increase—
They come! They come! How fair their feet!
They come who publish peace.

And victory, fair victory,
Our enemies are ours!
For all the clouds are clasped in light,
And all the earth with flowers.

Aye, still depressed and dim with dew!
But wait a little while,
And with radiant deathless rose
The wilderness shall smile.

And every tender, living thing
Shall feed by streams of rest;
Nor lamb shall from the flock be lost,
Nor nestling from the nest.

—John Ruskin.

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Life's Wasteful Struggle.

There is before us the valley of the future bathed in the sunrays of joy and exultation, resounding with harmonious songs, telling us of life's victory. Around us are the weeping-willows of death: a world replete with strife and bloody struggles, trifling intrigues, puerility, and little bravery. What a glaring contrast between the prevailing reality, and the ideal of the future, and yet it is entirely within man's power to conquer the radiant regions visible on the horizon!

Verily, if there be a devil, his cunning and malice could not have invented more execrable institutions than those emerging from our present society. How humiliating they are to men who fervently crave for freedom! How degrading is most of the work we are compelled to perform! If we listen to a speaker who tells us of better, more rational social arrangements, we are prone to look upon him as a dreamer. We are so accustomed to misery, insult, and servility. They appear to us so indispensable that we view the contrary as a whim, nay, as utopian, deserving pity and ridicule, but not serious consideration.

Man is enervated. The storm and fury of life raging all around him, lasting till death, have left their trail. The tenacity with which he combats all odds in life is the only gift he has gained in the struggle for existence. The sense for great and beautiful things, the enthusiasm for freedom, he has lost. Is

it not a shameful, fainthearted skirmishing that holds man and his power completely in custody and robs him of the desire and time to trouble himself about a more ideal life? The answer is plain: It is the struggle for his bare existence, the drudgery to satisfy his bodily wants, the system of slavery which affect man's nature. Labor, instead of being a healthy and invigorating exercise after mental relaxation, is only a total exhaustion of the individual. Like wild beasts men fight each other. One hates his brother, another his father, the latter his own flesh and blood. It is the life-struggle for material goods which pushes man forward and often haunts him to death. Thus labor has become the scourging rod for the mass of toilers, while the few rich, sitting on the throne of sublimity, indulge in wanton revelry, and like vampires suck the life-blood of their slaves.

But hark! A rumbling uproar. Is it perhaps the herald of peace, repose and rest, which shall make mankind happier? Not at all! The "great and powerful" have arranged a game for the people, in order to prevent them from thinking, to divert their attention from ideal aims and deliberations. It is merely the vain boasting of politicians who raise the noise before election time, chasing and racing for the pie, which always ends in strengthening the source of evil—authority. Those in power throw out the seeds of hatred among those they oppress, and these in turn waste their last energy in pulling chestnuts from the fire for their masters. This is called politics. But away upon the heights, is the adorned and ostentatious rostrum of life, where the rich reign, and laughingly amuse themselves over the game going on down below.

Dissolute struggles constitute life at present: the struggle for a piece of bread and the struggle to tighten the yoke of slavery; and it is no wonder when the craving for an ideal is wanting. Those whom pinching poverty daily stares in the face are apt to forget all about the conception of freedom. This is perhaps one of the reasons why it is so hard to inspire the toiler with an ideal, why he cannot realize that he might free himself if he would. There are but few men in whom the desire for freedom rages so frantically, so absorbingly and passionately, that they obstinately tear down all barriers and foolhardily take up the battle with a superior force—in which they perish. Most of us have preserved very little glimmering love for freedom under the big heap of slum-

bering ashes,—and even this is very often suffocated by the strenuousness of life.

Our task is to kindle this glimmering love for freedom. Let those alone who are enervated and have no aspirations for any ideal. It was always only a small minority who since the memory of man swayed human development. Let us enlist recruits from the ranks of those who still have aspirations, and our harvest will be abundant. To fan the glowing spark of love for liberty into a blazing, destructive fire, which will consume the old and the present, and to embellish the aspirations thru a revolutionary struggle against strife and slavery,—that is our task in the labor movement and among the people in general.

That of which no general, no Napoleon, not the most powerful despot, no exploiter can boast—we possess this jewel, and we rejoice. We have the certainty of victory! This inspires us with hope and untiring activity. The present battle is hard and bitter, but the sonorous songs of mutual joy can be heard already, and nearer and nearer resounds the melody of victory of the new—that which is to be: a condition in which poverty and slavery shall be unknown,—a peaceful and genuine civilization.—*Free translation by Interloper from the Fackel, for FREE SOCIETY.*

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A Little Journey.

II

While crossing the ferry from Weehawken to New York, all new comers were casting glances at the Goddess of Liberty. Not reverently and proudly, but clandestinely and doubtfully, as tho all realized the mockery of it all. And indeed, why should Bartholdi's statue stand in the harbor of a country where money and arrogance triumph and liberty and intelligence are strangled? But it has ever been thus. Monuments are erected to the dead, and liberty in this country died in its infancy. And it should be remembered that the artist, Bartholdi, once a soldier of freedom, modelled the goddess after he had been seized by the jingoism of modern republics and learned to cater to the God Mammon. And it was an excellent idea of the "French nation," to furnish a mask to American plutocracy, the barefacedness of which had become too transparent.

New York makes a rather favorable impression upon the Chicagoan, who is accustomed to dirty streets, gloomy hovels, and the crude "hold-ups" in the street and city

hall. Here the huge tenement houses have a rather bright appearance, the streets are clean, and legal and illegal fleecing of the people is carried on in a more refined manner. But do not penetrate the shining surface, for underneath you find the fruits of "civilization" rampant. Revelry and idleness in the palaces, and poverty and never-ceasing drudgery in the bee-hives called tenement houses.

There are many comrades of different nationalities in the city; but owing to the various languages they find it difficult to work in unison, altho they always cooperate on special occasions. The Radical Reading Room and Arbeiter-Lesezimmer (Workers' Reading Room) are the most prominent centers for the diffusion of Anarchist literature, the arrangements of meetings, and the support of the different Anarchist periodicals.

The former is conducted by the Jewish comrades, and located at 180 Forsyth St., in the district called the Ghetto. It consists of two large rooms, one of them being devoted to reading purposes, and the other to business meetings or the gathering of members and friends for social chats. The reading room is frequented mostly by the Jewish youth arriving from Russia, some of whom are soon drawn into the Anarchist movement; and it is principally this influx of new material that invigorates the propaganda in New York. For it is here like everywhere else: the entering of a connubial bond, success in business, lucrative employment or profession, is in the majority of cases the cause for re-creating from their activity in the movement, and confining themselves to material support when appeals are made.

As a digression I cannot refrain from observing an interesting phenomenon, even at the risk of being accused of "patriotism"—a disease from which I never suffered, however. But I feel induced to mention the fact that the Jewish Anarchist and Socialist movements in New York, as elsewhere, are carried on by Russian Jews. It is the Russian who does not lose his integrity and aspirations in this country, and who cannot be blended by would be "free institutions"; while the Jews coming from Germany and Austria, with few exceptions, are soon carried away by the turbulence of business, and their only ambition is to acquire a fortune. That this is a mere contingency no sociological student will daresay, and I am inclined to attribute the phenomenon to the influence of the Slavic race, the literature of which now inspires the world with noble ideas and new hopes and aspirations. And one needs only enter the unique bookstore of Comrade M. Maisel, 194 E. Broadway, to find that the Russian authors, translated into different languages, and among whom Tolstoy and Gorky are the most prominent, are appreciated in this country. Another proclivity among the youth worthy of notice is the discrimination in choosing a profession. The Anarchists as a rule study medicine, engineering, etc., while the Socialists usually study law, which proves that ethics play a great part in their choice.

While the Radical Reading Room is more or less exclusively endeavoring to promote the propaganda, the Workingmen's Reading Room, the headquarters of the German comrades, 400 E. 76th St., is of a more social

character. There they cultivate song and music, have public lectures delivered, and have a separate room for sociability. Here some chat, others play chess or billiards, and still others are solving social problems off-hand. But the dissemination of radical ideas is not neglected, and not only do the members contribute their mite to the Anarchist press in this country, but also extend their generosity to the periodicals published in London and Germany.

American Anarchists there are not many in this cosmopolitan city, and it is perhaps largely due to the fact that the propaganda in the English language is limited to the distribution of pamphlets and the sessions of the Manhattan Liberal Club, where the Anarchists take part in the discussions following the lectures and occasionally deliver a speech. The club is virtually conducted by Anarchists, according to my information, but being of a fainthearted nature, they have endeavored to keep the Anarchists more or less in the background since the McKinley affair in Buffalo.

There are four Anarchist periodicals heralding the gospel of deliverance from slavery in this modern Babylon: the German *Freiheit* (freedom), the Jewish *Arbeiter-Stimme* (voice of labor), the Bohemian *Volne Listy* (free blade), and *Liberty*. The first has been published and edited for twenty-four years by the veteran rebel John Most—the terror of despots and their sycophants. Altho having suffered for ten years in prisons, his hatred of tyranny and slavery has only been invigorated by it. His iconoclasm seems to be immutable, a rare phenomenon among the harbingers of a better world. Many of the iconoclasts compromise with the evils they combat as they advance in years. The *Arbeiter-Stimme*, now edited by Comrade Janoffsky, had its ups and downs for many years, but thru the energetic perseverance of the managers and the growth of radical ideas among the population, it has reached the point of material security. Its circulation has increased considerably, and as a sequence has gained able and interesting writers. *Liberty*, edited by Benj. R. Tucker, is mostly read by *laissez-faire* people and is little known even among radicals in New York. Altho written in a literary and masterly style, its strict adherence to "cold logic" and so-called Individualism, which according to my humble opinion is not to be confounded with true Anarchism, seems to have little attraction for people with emotions and feelings, as well as minds. A. I.

(To be continued)

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Thoughts on Love and Marriage.

The alternative to free love is slave love. And how is a feeling to be held in bondage by means of legislative enactment? Such attempts are on a level with the declaration that one shall be damned because of unbelief. Belief depends upon the evidence before the mind, and is not an act of volition. So love flows from a perception of loveliness in another and not from an act of the will.

* * *

If love is the sanctification of marriage, as most people admit, what moral value has a marriage ceremony? The most legality can do is to render the union permanent, tho

love, the admitted cause and benefit of union, is absent. So long as a couple love and desire union they will voluntarily remain together. When either or both of them does not so desire, compulsion is an insult and injury to both the man and the woman.

* * *

Where harmony exists authority is not needed; where harmony is not, authority and vows can only perpetuate blunders and dishonest bargains.

* * *

"The sanction of society" is of no weight as a plea for conventional marriage. The ceremony is permitted and sanctioned alike for the suitable and the unsuitable match. Such discrimination as does occur is not often made on the grounds of natural unfitness, but is in obedience to arbitrary laws and customs, without any semblance of justice to the individual.

* * *

Those who class free love as "on the animal plane" should pause and consider whether there is another animal in such a sorry plight sexually as is the human being under the present marriage system and ideal. Joining human intelligence with the healthy and happy practise of the so-called lower animals might be an improvement on man's condition in this matter, as well as some others.

* * *

Marriage is no security for women, but rather a snare to them. If woman did not rely upon the institution to secure her rights she would not entrust herself to a man that required the force of law to insure or compel his good behavior toward her. She would be more self-respecting than to render or to receive slave love, and hence would command a higher respect from man. And if man were not responsible under the law he would show more sense of honor in fulfilling his obligations to woman and child.

* * *

It is but a poor expedient to endeavor to compel a man to support his child and its mother in return for a degrading servitude from the woman. Why not instead strive to abolish the commercial system, making woman independent and man with no incentive to desertion?

* * *

Assuming woman's constancy and man's fickleness, as is often thoughtlessly done, would men desert their old wives, or mates, for young and attractive women if the restraints of marriage were abolished? There is no great difference between the numbers of the opposite sexes. So if the elderly men successfully wooed the girls; that would leave the young men to the grandmothers! Is the law of affinity, if left free, likely to permit such a state of affairs? It is only under a system of artificial privileges that civilized man can acquire a harem or match licentious age with unloving youth. M. S.

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For San Francisco.

The Anarchist propaganda is now carried on every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at Knights of Red Branch Hall, 1133 Mission St. Discussion and free platform.

The Method of Tucker.

There was a time when the editor of *Liberty* struck out in good robust style, sparing neither friend nor foe. Whether with advancing years or "rotundity of paunch," that he tells us about, he is growing sentimental, or his good right hand has lost its cunning. I know not; but now he purrs, and if so poor a scribe may say so, the great man now argues by inference. Always in search of novelties for his readers, like the painstaking editor he is, Benj. R. Tucker furnishes us in the July issue of *Liberty* with an interesting if not entirely original method of dealing with an opponent who may be troublesome. The method is simple, so simple in fact that it is a wonder it is not universally adopted. Ignore the subject under discussion and insinuate—not openly, for that is not so effective—gently that the other fellow has misrepresented you, and the game is yours. This is the method Tucker adopts in disposing of Communists in general and me in particular—without saying so, mind you—in dealing with my remarks in *Freedom* about the case of Voltairine de Cleyre. He quotes part of that note and heads it "A Fair Sample of Communist Argument," and then adds: "At least I suppose I may call it such, since it appeared first in *Freedom* and then in *FREE SOCIETY*, perhaps the best two journals the Communists can offer in the English language." Perhaps is good, and of the fair sample we have heard before.

Now the quotation is accurate enough, but Tucker forgot to tell his readers what the subject under discussion really was; and the title would lead people to believe that he had been misrepresented—two very important items. This being the silly season, I would suggest that we start a discussion on how to conduct a debate. Shall it be Socratic, rough and tumble, *a la* Bernard Shaw, or shall it be by ignoring the subject and inferring that you have been misrepresented? The last is the best if we want a short debate; but let us appeal to the judicial minds of Judge Brown and Hugo Bilgram,* and see what they have to say.

If I have misrepresented Tucker, I am very sorry, but if he has not defended voluntary police forces,—with clubs I presume—voluntary prisons, houses of restraint or whatever he likes to call them, the right of mothers to throw their children into the fire, the enforcing of contracts made with drowning men, and numerous other things incompatible with liberty—unadorned please!—then I am another. To infer that a man has misrepresented you without either denying or affirming may be good clever dialectics; but the man who does it can hardly hope to get the white feather from the beautiful bird described by Olive Schreiner. As to criticising the methods of an argument without giving a hint as what the argument is about, perhaps some of the very distinguished readers of *Liberty* may read *FREE SOCIETY* or *Freedom* to find out, and thereby much good will be done. Referring to the expression, "A fair sample of communist-argu-

* This is due to Mr. Bilgram because of his well known capitalistic proclivities and his capacity to see things from the workman's point of view, and also for his scholarly contributions on the subject of boycotting in the June issue of *Liberty*.
H. M. K.

ment," it comes rather strange from one who in order to demonstrate the unsoundness of a particular social theory (Anarchist Communism) brought forth the argument—save the mark!—that certain men, who may or may not have been advocates of that theory, burned houses.

That sixty cent dinner question was a sore point with me, but I am more tolerant now. A man recently treated me to a two-dollar dinner at the Trocadero, and the world seems brighter ever since. Adopting the poetical method of inference, I must leave Tucker to find the moral.
H. M. K.

Whimsies.

The Department for Manufacture of Widows and Orphans—I beg pardon, the war department—is said to be preparing a unique exhibit for the St. Louis Exposition, with the object of showing the methods of civilized warfare in actual operation. Major-General Jacob Smith, retired, will be in charge, ably assisted by Major Glenn and Captain Brownell. The latter will give daily exhibitions of the water-cure, using only the most approved apparatus, and a native Filipino village will be imported,—houses, people and all,—affording at once the necessary objects for experiment and picturesque background. There will be a long series of international contests—one, for instance, in prisoner-shooting between a team of officers and men from the Kansas regiment under the personal direction of Brigadier-General Funston, U.S.A., and a similar team of Omdurman veterans, kindly lent by General Viscount Kitchener, who will also permit them to bring their own Soudanese prisoners with them. Sporting men are already betting on the results of the contests. It is generally admitted that the British army will carry off the prize for farm-burning. The statistics division will be specially interesting to the student, and prizes will be offered to the armies which are shown by the records to be in the lead. One of the Continental armies will undoubtedly carry off the prize for the number of suicides of privates resulting from maltreatment by officers, but the result of the competition for insanity and interesting diseases is very dubious.

General Funston and General Leonard Wood have both entered in the advertising contest, and their respective newspaper correspondents, if not in jail, will give a black-board exhibition of the prevailing method of making a reputation. General Funston, who is really doing more than his share, will also perform the life-saving act in a glass tank. He is taking swimming lessons for that purpose. Captain Hobson, U.S.N., will have full charge of the vaudeville section. Further details will be published as the plans of the department take shape.

The *Coming Nation* calls attention to the ominous militia act which has passed Congress. It creates a militia consisting of every male citizen between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, gives the president the power to call them out whenever he thinks that he cannot enforce the laws without them, and finally gives him the right to use any unappropriated money in the treasury for this purpose.

It is a measure of autocratic centralization with the open purse of the nation behind it. The war department has already been offering firearms adapted for mob use to the States under this law, which shows what kind of fighting this precious militia is intended to perform. Unluckily I am forty-six years old and can never have the pleasure of refusing to comply with this law and take up arms against my countrymen.—*The Whim*.

Literature.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT. By Voltairine de Cleyre. The Social Science Club, Philadelphia, Pa. Price, 10 cents.

Our comrade, Voltairine de Cleyre, a poet and essayist greatly appreciated in Anarchist circles, after an experience of pain and suffering which brought her near death, rose from her bed to deliver an eloquent lecture. In it she opposed the punishing of the man whose bullet had laid her low, and gave such evidence of large, generous and illuminating views on the kindred subjects of crime and punishment that the result was an inspiring one; leading naturally to the publication of the discourse in an attractive and well-printed pamphlet.

The lecture, which indicates wide reading, as well as power of thought, begins by considering what legend and custom have given us in the way of ideas on crime; its nature, causes, and all the rest, and dwells upon those causes with discrimination. Theories of ethics, codes of law, teachings dogmatizing about free will, are all declared to be insufficient, and it is made clear that every act has had for antecedents facts and causes antedating and environing the actor. Conscience, too, is called to account, and man is shown without prejudice for or against his character.

Imaginatively then our comrade considers the forces of custom and prejudice which militate against the acceptance of views like those held by her, and abates not one jot of faith and hope in the future of the race; dealing with the facts with feeling and charm of language.

Society is found to be the source of crime, and society is examined then for the elements and originals of that, for the commission of which it punishes the individual. The facts of government and exploitation in general are dwelt upon in their relation to the conduct of the individual, and the hopelessness of reform schemes is made startlingly clear.

Then punishment is taken up and considered, and in eloquent phrase and sympathetic utterance its utter failure to prevent or cure crime is laid bare. The terrible record of revenge and repression is opened before us, and the alternative, forgiveness with social reconstruction, is presented with all the force of a poetic and thoughtful pen.

It is shown that there is a remedy for crime; that fundamental to it is the realization of the solidarity of the race and mutual responsibility.

This eloquent polemic is one of its gifted author's most significant utterances; and its autobiographical note gives to it a great and peculiar interest.
B.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

Published Weekly by.....A. ISAAK.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

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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, SEPTEMBER 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.

Notes.

Delinquent subscribers should remember, FREE SOCIETY cannot be issued on wind.

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.

Important for New York.

A Grand International Picnic for the benefit of Comrade John Turner's tour and FREE SOCIETY, will take place Saturday, September 12, in the afternoon and evening, at E. 133rd St. and Willis Ave., Brommel's Union Park. Admission 25 cents. Take Third Ave. electric car to 133rd St., then walk one block. All comrades and friends are cordially invited. Tickets can be procured at the following places: M. Maisel's book store, 194 E. B'way; Parnesa's Cafe, 167 E. B'way., Herrick's Cafe; Modest, 50 First St.; Arbeiter-Lerezimmer, 400 E. 76th St.; Blotti, 27 Sixth Ave.; and Emma Goldman, 50 First St., thru letters.

Comrade M. Maisel, 194 E. B'way, New York, has kindly volunteered to visit all the delinquent subscribers and collect money for us, and we hope that all those in arrears will aid him by leaving the money ready at their addresses, or seeing him at his bookstore, which would save him carfare and time.

For Chicago.

The Pioneer Aid and Support Association cordially invites all liberal societies and trade unions to send delegates to the meeting taking place Sunday, October 4, 10 a. m., where matters concerning the Eleventh of November celebration are to be discussed. On the other hand, the Pioneer Aid and Support Association has made it its object to keep the monument of our murdered comrades in good order, and as this often exceeds the means the association has on hand, it makes it desirable that all liberal societies join us in the effort to keep the judicial crime perpetrated in 1887 before the people.

ERNEST HUEBNER, Sec.

FREE SOCIETY

Outpost Echoes.

Liberty has no price.

Talk of needs, not of rights.

Individuality is the basis of society.

Authority is the mother of tyranny.

Highwaymen are all "practical" men.

Good comes not from evil but in spite of it.

Labor Day went off like any Thanksgiving Day.

Unreasoning love is as bad as unreasoning hate.

The greater the man the greater his faith in men.

Why should success for you mean failure for another?

To live without government is to live without thievery.

Man is an organism; society is an association of organisms.

Is it reasonable that man should be less sociable than brutes?

The search for truth is nothing without the search for beauty.

Friendship is a dream, of which human fellowship would be the reality.

Cooperative production would do away with grab by doing away with its cause.

The man who intoxicates himself with whiskey is not so badly off as one who intoxicates himself with lies.

The czar has executed one of his officers for treason. His treason will make men love him, for he bade soldiers not to shoot their brothers down.

The daily papers are making most of the fact that a walking delegate has been sent to Sing Sing. Will their editors tell us why they too are not in Sing Sing?

The most effective answer to any fool who proposes to change society is to point out that you and hundreds of others are perfectly satisfied with things as they are.

Anarchism may give those who profess it a bad name, but government gives those who unite in its conspiracies a bad character, which certainly leaves room for choice.

Admiral Dewey says that we need more warships: twenty or thirty of them. Whom does the admiral mean to designate when he uses the pronoun, "we"? I have not

heard that the people were preparing for any fights.

There is a man in jail in Rhode Island whose offense was a refusal to pay the poll tax. This man ought to have known enough to be rich, then his taxes would not bother him; for labor would have paid them for him and given thanks for the privilege afterward.

The "home" is a place where a man cultivates all that is worst in him, the desire to rule and suspicion of his fellow men, in the name of all that is best in him, and with the aid of the woman who has mistaken his feelings and her own for love, brings children up to do the same.

Tho he has many palaces and lodges, the kaiser, it is reported, is building himself a fortress, anticipating the day when the German people may feel like asking him to take himself off with his preposterous pretensions and mad moustaches. But let him build what he will, the truth must find its way to him.

Some men are persuaded out of their indifference to the fact that the life human beings live is really not life at all; to others, and they are many, nothing but the rude shock of capitalism's most unscrupulous deeds will suffice to secure an awakening. At what terrible cost they learn the facts! But learn at last they do.

Professor Wyman, of the Harvard Law School, recently lectured in Rockefeller's University, and praised the Standard Oil monopoly to the skies. His chief argument in favor of the octopus was that it was perfectly legal. There we have it: one of authority's supreme objects is to get things legalized, for well it opines that legality is the soul of "justice."

The Washington Post, following the lead of other metropolitan newspapers, comes forward to announce that the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, that declaring the equality of the Negro with other races and giving him the franchise, is dead as dead can be. What the Washington Post knows and should acknowledge is that the whole Constitution is dead and always has been.

The opposition to Anarchism because it would "destroy property" is of a piece with the opposition to irreligion because it would take away man's hope of immortality. As the yearning for immortality would probably be less insistent if man could find life well worth living here, so the longing for property would diminish as it was discovered that a man could get enough of creature comforts without becoming a miser.

George Macdonald gives utterance to an important truth when he says in the *Truth-Seeker*, echoing FREE SOCIETY, that "lynching is government gone wild," but he does not do quite as well in an accompanying definition of Anarchy, which he calls "government on trial for its crimes." Anarchy

is a state of society in which government is absent, its trial having already occurred, with the people for judges; the verdict upon it being, "Guilty!"

The British government has recently issued a blue book in which the facts about India are juggled in a new way to divert attention from the awful state of things in that unfortunate country. But starved India holds up her hands the while, and as she moans for pity, for a little relief, the old, old history of government can be seen reflected in her drawn face. Benevolent murder is the real name of those means which an "enlightened government" uses to "improve an inferior people."

Anarchism stands for peace; Anarchism stands for plenty; Anarchism stands for liberty, and in standing for liberty stands for individuality, and therefore for progress. In the present state of things we have no peace except the peace of despairing acquiescence in a silent struggle to the death; and while there is plenty, and to spare, we have it not, for our masters hoard it. As for liberty, it is a name heard and a thing not seen; a matter which writers are allowed to amuse themselves in speculating about. Individuality is a misdemeanor; and progress, crablike, shuffles backward.

According to information the accuracy of which the London *Times* vouches for, Russia is in the most strenuous throes of the most turbulent days of her recent history. The labor troubles thruout the country are giving the czar's government a very great strain, and the action of several army officers, including a well-known general, in opposing the use of force in dealing with strikers, is assisting the complication of difficulty. Strikes are occurring everywhere, and peaceable men have been shot down in tens and twenties on numerous occasions. Russia seems riper for revolution than ever before, and of course, with a rigorous censorship, as the *Times* says, the half is not told.

Three Socialist girls who prevented their father from voting in the recent German elections, tying him to his bed the night before so that he could not visit the polls, are to go to prison for the offense. These girls believed in authority, and not having the finesse to recognize that wholly artificial line which Socialist advocates draw between what authority may do and what it may not, acted on their convictions and indulged in a little majority rule. Believing Socialism to be right, of course they must believe it to be wrong to vote an opposition ballot: hence their action. Tho they suffer, their deed in its straightforwardness and simplicity, is illuminating; and libertarians may ponder it with profit.

AMERICUS.

For Chicago.

The Workingmen's Educational Club will meet every Saturday evening, 8 p. m. sharp, at Pordgess Hall, cor. Maxwell & Jefferson. September 12 Harry Gordon will speak on "Anarchism."

By the Wayside.

The editor of the Anarchist weekly *Neues Leben*, Berlin, Germany, has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for writing the truth. Rulers are not very apt to learn that clubs are poor arguments.

The agitation against militarism is bearing fruit in France. At a recent congress of college professors and public school teachers it was resolved to remove all war paintings and pictures from the school rooms. They are now being decried as "a menace to the republic" by the jingoistic press.

The resignation of the governor general of Kieff, Dragomiroff, the czar's favorite aide-de-camp, because he objected "to the continual employment of the army for the massacre of political malcontents," is worthy of consideration by those radicals who insist that today the workers are compelled to work at whatever job they can get. Dragomiroff has no wealth at his disposition, and "sacrificed" a salary of \$150,000.

The editor of the Chicago *Examiner* suggests that this city "needs another curative dose of public opinion," such as was exhibited "in the conviction of the inciters of the Haymarket riots." If this blackguard had read Governor Altgeld's reasons for pardoning Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe, he would perhaps have perceived that the hanging of the Anarchists was a dose of judicial murder of which every intelligent American is now ashamed.

"A case in which 'justice' triumphed and humanity was trampled upon," says the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, "has been made known in Vienna, Austria. A hard-working woman was brought into court. Three times she had been punished for begging, and was again arrested for the same crime. 'What am I to do? I have two children. The boy—whom she carried in her arms—is blind. Nobody wants to take him in board, and nothing is left (crying) but to drown myself and the child.'"

"She, who had violated the divine order of law, perhaps thought to make a favorable impression upon the representatives of justice with her tale of misery. But far from it. Law must be upheld even if reason and humanity have to be murdered. The court sentenced the unfortunate woman to four days' hard labor,—and none of the judges rose and declared the administration of law—the true hangman—had filled him with abhorrence and disgust." INTERLOPER.

Unexpected Anarchism.

History is repeating itself in England. The first taxes which include assessments under the new education act have been levied, and stout hearts among the Nonconformists are refusing to pay them, on the ground that the proceeds are to be used to teach the doctrines of the Established Church. It is the case of ship money over again. Hampden withheld his 20s. from King Charles on precisely the same grounds upon which one Lawson, an upholsterer and furnisher of Tonbridge, refuses 27s. for education. "I think," said the magistrate, "that the high-

est duty any Christian man can have is to obey the powers that be." "But if conscience," objected Lawson, "had not been somewhat stronger than the law, I don't know where the powers that be would have extended to!" This is true Village Hampden talk, and it is much easier for Mr. Lawson to talk it than for the magistrate to guess the answer.—New York *Times*.

Notes and Comments.

The union painters of Portland, Or., found they could not win their strike by refusing to work, so they have gone contracting, or scabbed, and gone back to their old bosses. The same is true of the carpenters.

The union laundry workers have leased a building, ordered machinery, and will run a laundry. They call it a cooperative laundry, but it is not, I am sorry to say.

Thus trades unionists are forced to learn that trades union methods are not all they are cracked up to be, and that self-help is better than trying to force bosses to a measly concession of a few cents more a day in wages. They cannot learn it too quick.

The article in FREE SOCIETY, Aug. 23, was a good one; but it strikes me that if the "trade union movement had in it a few men who possessed the proud spirit of the Colorado business men," and they undertook to propose radical measures on the floor of their union, they would be called down and told to take their seats. The "leaders," and those who wish to curry favor with the politicians, would find their propositions "unconstitutional," and that would settle it.

The Royal Commission of Canada, sent to British Columbia to investigate the labor troubles, reports that the Railway Trainmen's Union is a secret political organization, conspiring with other organizations whose chief officials live outside of the Dominion of Canada. It calls them foreign bodies, and advises that they be declared illegal and proceeded against. Thus away goes international trades unionism.

Will the workers ever learn to unite to do away with governments?

VAN DYKE BROWN.

Militarism is a cancer gnawing at the welfare of the nations, and yet it is kept in existence for the sake of the money-bag, which wields and rules and spends all, while the people, good enough to do the work from which everything is born, are permitted to see others enjoy—being destitute of all that ennobles and civilizes life and makes it agreeable. And all this for the sake of great capital, which absorbs everything and which uses kings and emperors, ministers and statesmen like puppets to do what the really powerful and mighty of our time (the misers or bankers and financiers) require. Everything is submitted to them; and so they are the monarchs and rulers of the world who, with millions of invisible threads, hold the fate of millions of people in their hands.—Nieuwenhuis.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

XI (concluded.)

Finally, I observed that, tho it is rather difficult to convict either a quack or a receiver, both commit so many crimes that they generally pull up in the penitentiary at last. In the case of the receiver, I am not aware that anyone has thought it worth while yet to represent the punishment as a martyrdom. But the quack who gets pinched is in the habit of posing as a martyr. He is enabled to do so with some effect thru that profound and general ignorance of sciences bearing on medical practise which involves ignorance of his crime's real character. This ignorance extends to a great many radicals, all of whom appear to have got thoroly indoctrinated with such errors as that the law prohibits not only medical practise without medical knowledge, but heresy—dissent from the methods of some supposed dogmatical orthodoxy in medicine; that the utility of vivisection and vaccination are parts of this orthodoxy; that (rather lame logic) neither vivisection nor vaccination are useful practises; in conclusion, that it is a duty, or a service to the cause of human liberty, to join in the quack's crusade against the methods of scientific physicians. I am very sorry that such things are so. They are disgraceful facts which I would conceal as a matter of policy, if those radicals of whom I speak would let me. But since the facts cannot be concealed, I will state the conclusion to which I have been led by these observations. There are, in connection with medical practise, two great evils which it concerns me, as an Anarchist, to denounce. The first—the cause of the other—is the existence of laws to punish quackery, bad tho quackery is. The other—an effect of this cause,—is that monstrous phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance represented by the words anti-vaccination and anti-vivisection.

I class these absurdities together because I have usually found them going together. And indeed there is this much logical connection that a man who will under no circumstances approve of vivisection can hardly approve of vaccination. It is possible for one who does not believe in vaccination to be sensible of the other advantages conferred upon the world by vivisection. Dr. Foote was. But nothing so warms this phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance into zeal, as the slanderous outcry made by its promoters against the alleged cruelty of vivisection; and accordingly, with very few exceptions, anti-vaccinators are anti-vivisectionists too. The connection, then, is clearly not logical but politic. As sensationalists, whose trade is working up feelings against medical science, they know on which side their bread is buttered. Their publications are worth reading. Miss Frances Power Cobbe's "Modern Rack" is typical. But it is easier, and from some points of view more profitable to read a magazine like the *Animal's Defender*. The condition of profiting by such study is that the student (whom I assume totally ignorant of the subject) should have a tolerably cool head. Otherwise he may only get infected with the writer's zeal. But supposing him to possess that faculty of criticising statements and arguments without which no reading is very use-

ful, there are certain things which can scarcely fail to strike him. We live in a world of cruelty to animals. Ladies trim their hats with humming birds. Egret feathers are obtained from nesting parents, whose young ones starve. Cod is scored alive to preserve the quality of the flesh. Calves are tortured and bled to death that veal may be white. Whalebone is obtained from an absolutely harmless mammal, which is slaughtered in a manner refinedly agonizing. Cats are kept to kill mice; which it is their nature to do very cruelly. Rats are destroyed by the million, with poisons whose effect is most excruciating. Furs are obtained principally by catching the animals that bear them, in a trap constructed to torture a limb but not to cause immediate death. Of domestic male animals the great majority are subjected to a very painful operation, which, until vivisection gave us anti toxin, was frequently followed by lockjaw. Calves, to which their mothers show great affection, sucking pigs, kittens, puppies, equally objects of love and pity, are slain on an enormous scale, some for table luxuries, some only to get rid of them. Old horses, in this country, are commonly turned out to perish. It will naturally occur to our student that a reformer whose zeal for humanity to animals was quite sincere, would select from among these cruelties for his principal point of attack (1) the most common, as poisoning, cat-keeping, trapping, eating young animals, drowning them indiscriminately, castration, or (2) the least necessary, as bird-killing, crimping cod, torturing calves, or (3) the most unpopular and easily discountenanced, such as starving old horses, which besides its barbarity, the subject centuries ago of a fable, is a very serious nuisance, or (4) those combining the three recommendations. What, in fact, will he find? The self-constituted defenders of animals put in an occasional plea for vegetarianism (which would not dispense with the necessity of killing animals to keep down their increase); and an occasional protest against the cruelty of some fashionable absurdities. I never saw a line in their publications against the whale or cod fishery, the torture of calves, the keeping of cats, the starving of horses, the use of poison, or castration; or a plea for the life of one kitten or puppy to a litter. On the other hand I speak within bounds to say that the bulk of every issue is devoted to attacks on vaccination and vivisection. That is, they select as special objects of their crusade, those cruelties (allowing them to be such) which are (1) the most limited in extent (2) the most important in object (3) the most firmly based upon the world's constantly increasing intelligence (4) and, therefore, in all respects the most unsuitable, if diminishing the sufferings of animals be the purpose. Ah, that if! Things were not always thus. The first agitators against cruelty to animals selected for their point of attack pastimes already abandoned to the vulgar; brutalities to working animals, so ill-judged that only an ignorant man would treat his cattle thus; and thoughtless barbarities prevalent chiefly among children; all which answer the condition of reasonable choice. Why is it different now? Because zoophilism has become a sufficiently profitable trade, in which suc-

cess depends not on lessening the woes of animals but on amusing that idle class whose restless consciences demand something to do which shall be apparently less frivolous than their daily round of follies. Observe, I by no means intend to say that all zoophilists are frauds. If their writings bear out my statements, I have proved that the active ones are. And would you have a fraud without a fool? That would be as useless as half a pair of pinchers. That money may be made at zoophilism, there must be a class who think it a benevolent work which costs them nothing much. That class cannot be touched on such a side as their kitchens or their hats. They can be influenced against vivisection, not because it is cruel, but because it is unfamiliar. To keep them from finding out the true character of the crusade on which they spend their children's moral pennies, they must needs, however, be well stuffed with lies. I will not attempt to marshal or refute the fictions of the anti-vivisection press; but I select one, as typical, because it fairly sums it up. An anti-vivisectionist editor had been taxed with the inconsistency of destroying superfluous dogs, cats, etc., as the zoophilists do at the "homes" they provide for these poor creatures, while objecting to experiments on a millionth part of them. "What," was his indignant reply, "is the comparison between killing an animal with little or no pain, and VIVISECTING it?" This use of such words as vivisection, a thousand times repeated in every number of a zoophilist journal, turns on and repeats as often as it occurs, an entirely false statement—that vivisection and vaccination as involving it necessarily means great pain; while the truth is that all the pain inflicted by vivisectionists since their spell brought down from heaven the angel of anesthesia, is less than stock-breeders cause every year by the one operation of gelding; and vaccination causes none beyond the sacrifice of about one calf in every ten thousand slain. As to anti-vaccination lies, I may recommend for a repertoire, the journal *Vaccination*, published at Terre Haute. But I will inflict upon the reader only one. A recent number mentioned the death of a child, which it attributed to lockjaw, and that to vaccination. The notice concluded, "This case was reported as kidney-complaint." It is clearly then no duty, nor is it judicious for an Anarchist, to assist the quacks against any practise of regular physicians, except their demand for laws against quackery; and in opposing that, the Anarchist needs be very careful that his motives are not confounded with the quack's. Very different sentiments from Anarchism may prompt hostility to a particular kind of penal legislation.

"No rogue e'er felt the halter draw,
—With good opinion of the law."

The more convinced I am that the law increases the number and aggravates the type of rogues, the more it concerns me to make clear that that, and not sympathy with rogues, is my own ground for having a bad opinion of the law. All the reasons above given why radicals should shun a refuter of Malthus, and why they should leave fighting the common school system for papists, are equally good reasons why they should have nothing to do with the quack's complaints. To be suspected of sympathy with the

quack is to discredit radicalism, waste time, expend labor to no purpose, divide the forces of reform, deprive ourselves of an argument, and in conclusion strengthen the hands of government. Among promoters of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance for any purpose outside hostility to law in general, not one is hostile to it. The Movement in Favor of Ignorance always wants "more laws." What kind of new legislation it wants, may be inferred from Note 18, Section VII. The laws are all of the moral reform type, whose invariable conclusion is blackmail. It must be a queer kind of Anarchist who can read with complacency what he may read any day, that the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, has, under plea of unfitness to labor, "confiscated" some poor man's beast, and shot it! But even this glaring example of petty tyranny, thinly masked by humanitarian hypocrisy, must seem white to one who really understands the anti-vivisection movement, always the meanest phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance; and, in view of recent surgical progress, the most absurd. I need scarcely say, but it is pertinent, that in this phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, unquestionable preeminence belongs to the clergy: Cardinal Manning was one of the most active among English leaders. It is also quite comical to observe how regularly the theological way of looking at things revives in Freethinkers who have taken up the same cause. Eliot Preston's marvelous verses in the *Truth Seeker* at the time this matter was discussed there, will serve for reference.

The remedy for the conditions which render possible a Movement in Favor of Ignorance, is indispensable to the success of Anarchism. In all countries, England, Germany, Russia, the United States, alike, the complaint of Anarchist agitators is that they find the people too ignorant to follow the Anarchistic demonstration; while, in all, the bourgeois quickly find out that Anarchists are too intelligent for the established system of education, which, accordingly, they aim in ways already hinted at to make more stupefying than it is at present. The remedy demanded by all this, is more general diffusion, not of scientific results or information, which without means to prove them are useless enough,* but of knowledge concerning scientific methods. It is by those methods, as we have seen, that the several propositions of Anarchism have been arrived at, not by any prepossession in favor of Anarchism, which few among their discoverers had. Then it is by the use of such methods

that Anarchism must be defended and propagated if at all. But only a small minority of the people, for which reason also only a small minority of Anarchists I am afraid, know enough about the methods to make any use of them, or, consequently, to do much in the way of defending or propagating Anarchism. No one who knew anything about them would make, in print, such an absolutely false assertion as that "statistics, the world over, show more deaths from vaccination than where there is none"; as a reader of *Lucifer* did about a year ago. On my citing a few figures which abundantly proved the contrary, I was informed by a gentleman of some learning (classical), whom I know to be an Anarchist, that my figures were not reliable, because they represented institutions (such as the English registrar general's office) controlled by the bourgeois, of whom all regular physicians were assumed to be representatives. I ventured again to ask what figures should be better? And so far I have been favored with none. But amidst a good deal of denunciation from that particular phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance which I had thus disclosed, I did have reference to a few alleged individual cases, plentifully interlarded with the phrase "it is said." No one, whatever his opinions on a point under discussion, would appeal in this way from the registrar general, whose statements are under certain rather obvious checks, to Mrs. Harris *apud* Gamp, if he knew anything about the methods by which scientific truth is ascertained.* I am, therefore, applying those methods when I reason that more general knowledge of them is what we want to prevent any liberally disposed person's being caught off his feet by any phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance. A brief view of them may be found in Sections VII and VIII. And because the demonstrations which these methods furnish is, to all who understand them, irresistible, while understanding them requires no particular gift, no general learning, but only training in the right use of that common sense on which they are founded, the conclusions to which they lead are certain of adoption. And because among these are the conclusions of Anarchism, the victory of Anarchism is certain. But how long it may be delayed depends inversely on how rapidly knowledge of inductive methods in sociology can be propagated.

NOTE TO SECTION XI.

A new phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance may be said, not indeed to have originated, but to have taken definite shape since I began to write this treatise. It did not originate so recently, for it is found (inchoate) in Eddyism, occultism, and various other practical schemes of imposture, which are old enough. But the axis about which it has, so to speak, crystallized lately is in

* Similarly, Henry George's refutation of Malthus, setting out with the observation that Malthus' "Essay on Population" was a reply to Godwin's "Political Justice," at once betrays the mind familiar with polemical but not scientific reasoning. Malthus' motives in writing have absolutely nothing to do with the question whether his law of population be a correct generalization from facts; and if it is a correct generalization then the question for a scientific person, however much inclined to Socialism, is not at all what can be said against it, but only what it proves.

the alleged result of investigations by the Society for Psychical Research; and the finished product can doubtless be found better stated than anywhere else in the works of Thomas Jay Hudson, L. L. D. The alleged results of investigations by the Society for Psychical Research, on which this new phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance rests, may be summarized as follows. The brain, or rather its organized part, is not, as has been supposed, the entire sensory apparatus of man. When it is in a state of suspended activity, as during the hypnotic trance, he sees without eyes, hears without ears, tastes what does not touch his tongue, smells what is not there, and reasons very rapidly and acutely, from premises furnished by memory or otherwise; tho, for want of normal contact with objects, he cannot (it is alleged) perform the process of induction. This is said to be notably true of a hypnotized person. But representatives of that phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance under consideration, extend it to all operations of the sensory apparatus except those performed thru the previously distinguished cerebral and sub-cerebral nerve-channels (as the Society for Psychical Research, by their mouthpiece, Frank Podmore, in his "Visions and Thought Transference," do not). This new portion of the sensory, they, and perhaps some investigators who should not be classed with them, designate by various names, as the Subjective Mind (the brain being the objective), the Subliminal Self, etc. That the subjective mind or subliminal self sometimes perceives real objects they cannot consistently deny; for that is a most important part of the data furnished them by the Society for Psychical Research's alleged discoveries. But they attribute all such perceptions to that power of "suggestion" whereby a hypnotized person is made think himself enveloped in flames, to smoke a candle for a cigar, or otherwise give evidence of perceiving objects which are not real. They identify the subliminal self with the Soul of traditional psychology, assert its immortality (from all which Mr. Podmore refrains), and maintain that "suggestions" are made to spirits only by spirits. Evidently the alleged discoveries of the Society for Psychical Research are quite different from the interpretation put upon them by this phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance. I am very far from meaning to express contempt for the former (or an opinion as to how far they are satisfactorily established or as to how much they prove). But I recognize in them genuine results of the inductive method. So far as proved, they are facts; anyway they are observations and experiments of unquestionable scientific interest. An hypothesis aiming to generalize them is not at all necessarily established by them; a "Theory of Things" founded on them (as on anything else) is suspicious; and an attempt to press them into the service of obsolete methods is a phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance. To this attempt we come then by regular steps, any one of which may serve as a halting place for a moderately cautious theorist. At such a place we should perhaps locate Mr. Myer's ponderous work.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

* Henry George somewhere tells about a girl of eight, "pretty well up in her school geography and astronomy," who was very much surprised to learn that the ground in her mother's back yard was the surface of the earth. This is a specimen of learning scientific names but not scientific methods. A scientific teacher would have taken order that the girl knew what the surface of the earth meant, before imparting such information as that it consisted of land and water. General truths, like these, can be applied only on condition they are received for summaries of many particular truths, such as that in some parts of the back yard the ground was bare, while others, lying lower, were covered by a duck pond: and original application tending to discovery depends on the habit of advancing from particular observations to general formulae, which, moreover, must be held amenable to the test of new observations.

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