



Times Danaos.

(From the ATLANTIC MONTHLY.)

Art proud, my country, that these mighty ones,
Wearing the jeweled splendor of old days!
Come bringing prodigality of praise
To thee amid thy light of westering suns;
Bidding their blaring trumpets and their guns
Salute thee, late into their crooked ways
Now fallen, to their sorrow and amaze,
Blood of whose hearts the ancient honor runs?
Nay, fear them rather, for they cry with glee,
„She has become as one of us, who gave
All that she had to set a people free:
She wears our image—she that loved the slave!”
Fear them, for their is blood upon their hands
And on their heads the curse of ruined lands.

—John White Chadwick.

Anarchism and the Trade Unionism.

Occasionally one sees in Anarchist papers some grumbling and fault finding about the methods of trade unionism. At times this spirit even goes so far as to hope for their defeat, and an implication that their complete dissolution would hasten the social change that is to give economic independence to the workpeople. All sorts of arbitrary acts on the part of unions toward individuals are trotted out to show the despotic character of these organizations. And if we could not go a little deeper, it might warp one's judgment of their utility or help toward greater individuality among their members. But there is frequent evidence that those who write thus, know very little either of Anarchism, or trade unionism. Now and then a writer appears, who is quite sound in his abstract theoretical Anarchy, but lamentably ignorant of the history, or the enormous field of activity covered by the trade unions. The sum total of his information is a superficial knowledge of a number of apparently wanton personal injuries inflicted without reason:—This is especially apt to be the impression of a middle class man, who has never worked with a big body of workpeople and felt the latent force of instinctive solidarity which runs thru them as a result of association. Even Herbert Spencer was thus quite unable to deal with the question of trade unionism. It was as tho he saw only the anatomy, but knew nothing of the biology of the subject.

Then too, this grumbling has sometimes appeared to be a slight swing of reaction against the turgid and sanguinary declamation indulged in by some, who seem to imagine that existing institutions, like the walls of Jericho, will fall if they only plow hard enough. Perhaps the trade union fault-finding

ing is only the counterpart to capitalist denunciation.

By this it is not meant that criticism of either should cease. Only by an honest attempt to arrive at the truth, may we hope to make progress. But mere grumbling and fault-finding or indulging in the easy luxury of declamation, will not help us much on the road! Let us try to examine the broad facts! What is a trade union? How is it constituted and what is its basis? Will it compare favorably with capitalist or State organizations? What is the moral difference?

First then, a trade union is an association of individuals engaged as wage earners in any particular trade or industry, for mutual help and protection; and to maintain and improve the conditions of employment. So it is constituted for mutual and protective purposes, while the basis of the organization is of a voluntary character. That it sometimes uses coercive and violent methods under special circumstances, does not vitiate this fact. If Anarchy took the place of government tomorrow as the basis of society, does anyone imagine violence would entirely disappear? Surely not! It would go, as a permanent organized factor in life; the causes that lead to its frequent manifestation in society would be reduced to a minimum; but it would undoubtedly show itself at times under certain special circumstances. To think otherwise is to expect the millennium! And remember, whatever its actions, the trade union is, after all, only striving to obtain a modicum of economic justice! It can never get more in wages than it produces, at least not permanently, and seldom but a fraction at a time, above what would have been obtained in a competitive labor market tempered by necessity.

But it may be urged, are not capitalist organizations also upon a voluntary basis? Yes; the very mainspring of capitalist enterprise has been its spontaneity; tho it has always turned to the government to secure it in the possession of its plunder: The reason for the existence of capitalist and government organizations, the latter based entirely on force, is, however, anything but social justice. They exist to obtain something for nothing, and are both very busy and very successful in securing it. Statute laws, the written expression of the predominant section of society at any given period, are but the rules of the game within which the exploitation of labor is carried on. The only essential function of government is to enforce the law! For this purpose it organizes permanently, and has at its

command, all the force and violence the resources of civilization can produce! Thus the government takes, by continuous taxation, from labor the very means which enables it to organize the forces to maintain existing property institutions. And it is these that enable the proprietors to exact eternal tribute from labor. Every other function that government fulfills to-day is extraneous; and could be better performed upon a foundation of voluntary cooperation.

This, then brings out into broad relief a big moral difference between the aspirations of the workers and their exploiters! Not only are the trade unionists in their struggle merely striving to protect themselves from injustice, but even if occasionally there is some slight declension from the voluntary principle under exceptional circumstances it is but as dust in the balance compared to the permanent organized violence always being exerted by the government on behalf of the employers! Surely there cannot be a moment's hesitation in mentally deciding which has the balance of right and justice on its side. And having decided which has the basis most consistent with Anarchist principles and moral right, must we therefore expect that all the individuals composing these organizations will suddenly become conscious of Anarchist tendencies, and act as consistently as if they were? To do so would be folly! Do the bulk of the trade unionists, even, know the principles upon which their organizations are based? That is could they give a rational and lucid explanation of them, or their reasons for joining? I doubt it! They feel their way into them largely. It is an instinctive sentiment for the most part. The same might be said of many of the privileged classes. It is a mistake to imagine they understand the system which enables them to live a parasitic life; or that they feel it is such. A few strong, intellectual ones among them, know the means by which it is maintained, and can coldly and deliberately calculate as to the most effective way to perpetuate those privileges. But both among the trade unionists, and the well-to-do, there is a solidarity of sympathy for their respective classes, which welds them together for defensive purposes,—the one to concert means whereby, on a voluntary and fraternal basis, it can secure justice; the other, how it can, with the aid of government, continue to exploit and manipulate the industrial forces in the country.

What, then, are the reasons, that occasionally union members commit acts of violence?

It is not when the relation between them and their employers are normal that they happen. Years often elapse without what one may describe as open hostilities; during the whole period of which, the union is carrying on a silent but continuous activity. Members unable to secure employment are assisted; those sick get their weekly benefit; when too old to work, if a member a certain number of years, superannuation. These are the unions which give benefit here referred to. But whether benefits are paid of this character or not, there is the constant negotiation and arrangements between the union and the employers as to the conditions of employment. Now during all this time, while the relations are amicable little or nothing is heard of acts of violence. But friction arises over something, and a strike or lock-out occurs. Then the trouble begins. The only power the worker has is to withhold the labor. All the surplus wealth his past work has created, over and above what has been paid him in wages, has legally passed into the possession of others—the employer or the shareholders if a company. If other workers, thru ignorance or indifference take his place, the only influence he could exert to improve his position is gone. Is it to be wondered at that he turns on the cause of his defeat, feeling toward him as one who has acted the traitor in time of war? And if violence is used, he is acting on the training he has received; only it is being applied to the industrial field instead of the military. Then how the press exaggerates and vilifies! What it would regard as monstrous in civil life, in time of war—treachery—it now defends with zeal! Who is the more logical, the trade unionist or the press?

And it is mostly isolated acts of this kind that are referred to as indicating governmental tendencies in the unions. All the broad principles of human solidarity which are working freely in long periods of ordinary conditions are ignored. The fact that the government is continually doing what is at most only occasionally done by a union, is apparently forgotten. It is this haste to join in the hue and cry of the capitalist press, just at critical moments in a labor struggle, that should be rigorously avoided. Remember that policy has to deal with details, and may often in making a flank movement, appear opposed to principle. But who, that takes a wide general survey, extending now over several generations in England at least, can for a moment doubt the enormous power wielded by the trade unions in strengthening and uplifting the character of the men employed in those industries where they are well organized? Compare the attitude and mien, to say nothing of the physical conditions of those workers who are strong in their unions, with the cringing, timid ways of those who remain isolated. It is from facts that extend over a wide area that we must draw our conclusions, and these in the case of trade unions will be found to favor first principles.

Our friend B. R. Tucker has taken "Pinkerton" civilization as an illustration of voluntary cooperation as against State rule; tho there is little hope of the capitalist ever abandoning the State for Pinkerton, however much he may employ him as an auxiliary!

Surely then, we as wage earning Anarchists can point to the trade unions, with their voluntary basis, as a proper place for our activity. And if we look at their wonderful capacity for mutual help; their common funds, their growing area, which is becoming more and more international in unity, as well as in outlook we have every reason to feel that here is a field for Anarchist propaganda. All of us must deplore the pettiness, the sectionalism, and the lack of imagination common among them. But even at that, they are the pick of the workpeople, and it is for us to teach them a broad solidarity and give them some conception of what they might be.

It has been said of imperialists that they think in continents; and we know that the capitalists calculate in billions; bringing the world under their survey. The Anarchist, while never neglecting detail, must be to the organized worker what the imperialist and the capitalist is to the wealthy class. Wherever possible the international organizations of the trade unions should be worked for; this will help to destroy frontiers. Instead of appealing for laws, let the thoro organization of labor and determined and constant initiative be the objective. Let nothing be too little or too large for attention. And it should not be difficult to show, that if they in association, can help one another, out of the meagre income they get, if they have brains enough to organize to protect themselves from the rapacity of their employers, it would not be so much more difficult for them to manage and control the very industry they are engaged in. As for the national territorial government, if the unions are already international there will be no place for it then! Like a lobster outgrowing its shell it will be left behind because it is useless. The basis of society in the future is the individual. Its grouping will largely be on the division of labor. Today governments enforce the law, Roman and slavish in origin; while modern nations are but medievalism grown big! The trade union is at least Anarchist in origin and ideas!

JOHN TURNER.

To be governed is to be watched, inspected, spied, directed, law-ridden, regulated, penned-up, indoctrinated, preached at, checked, appraised, seized, censured, commanded, by beings who have neither title nor knowledge nor virtue. To be governed is to have every operation, every transaction, every movement, noted, registered, counted, rated, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, refused, authorized, indorsed, admonished, prevented, reformed, redressed, corrected. To be governed is, under the pretext of public utility and in the name of the general interest, to be laid under contribution, drilled, fleeced, exploited, monopolized, extorted from, exhausted, hoaxed and robbed; then, upon the slightest resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, villified, annoyed, hunted down, pulled about, beaten, disarmed, bound, imprisoned, shot, mitrailleused, judged, condemned, banished, sacrificed, sold, betrayed, and, to crown all, ridiculed, derided, outraged, dishonored.—Proudhon.

Industrial Depressions.

Some time ago the Chicago Federation of Labor appointed a committee to inquire into the causes of industrial depression, as statements had been publicly made by Charles L. Hutchinson, a Chicago banker, and James J. Hill, a railway magnet, that the demands of organized labor were destined to bring about a financial panic in this country. The committee decided to put the question to the leaders of economic thought thruout the world, and get their views on the subject. Quite a number of men, prominent as writers and thinkers, have expressed themselves on the subject.

Moscow, Russia, Nov. 25, 1903.

T. P. Quinn, Chairman,—Chicago Federation of Labor Committee:

I am a little distressed at not being able to comply with your request for a special treatment of "Industrial Conditions in the United States of America," and will be compelled to forward to your body some old manuscripts which have a universal application, as economic panics are always general in their cause and effect.

All of the conditions under which—what some men call—wealth is produced under our present factory system are wrong; and however obviously unjust may be the assertion of the men of science, that the welfare of humanity must consist in the very thing that is profoundly repulsive to human feeling—in monotonous, enforced factory labor—the men of science were inevitably led to the necessity of making this obviously unjust assertion that slaves and their masters were creatures differing in kind, and that the inequality of this world would be compensated in the next.

The cause of this evidently unjust assertion is, that those who have formulated and who are formulating the laws of science belong to the well-to-do classes, and are so accustomed to the conditions, advantageous for themselves, among which they live, that they do not admit the thought that society could exist under other conditions.

The condition of life to which people of the well-to-do classes are accustomed is that of an abundant production of various articles necessary for their comfort and pleasure, and these things are obtained only thanks to the existence of factories and works organized as at present.

And, therefore, discussing the improvement of the workers' position, the men of science belonging to the well-to-do classes always have in view only such improvements as will not do away with the system of factory production and those conveniences of which they avail themselves.

Even the most advanced economists, the Socialists—who demand the complete control of the means of production for the workers—expect production of the same, or almost of the same, articles as are produced now to continue in the present, or in similar factories, with the present division of labor.

The difference, as they imagine it, will only be that in future not they alone, but all men, will make use of such conveniences as they alone now enjoy. They dimly picture to themselves that, with the communalization of the means of production, they, too—men of science, and, in general, the ruling classes—will do some work, but chiefly as managers,

designers, scientists or artists. To the questions, who will have to wear a muzzle and make white lead? Who will be stokers, miners, and cess-pool cleaners? they are either silent or foretell that all these things will be so improved and underground will afford pleasant occupation. That is how they represent to themselves future economic conditions, both in Utopias, such as that of Bellamy, and in scientific works.

According to their theories, the works will all be economically organized, and will cultivate solidarity among themselves, and participate in parliaments till they obtain possession of all the means of production, as well as the land, and then they will be so well fed, so well dressed, and enjoy such amusements on holidays, that they will prefer life in town, amid brick buildings and smoking chimneys, to free village life amid plants and domestic animals, and monotonous, bell-regulated machine work to be varied, healthy and free agricultural labor.

Tho this anticipation is as improbable as the anticipation of the theologians about a heaven to be enjoyed hereafter by workmen in compensation for their hard labor here, yet learned and educated people of our society believe this strange teaching, just as formerly wise and learned people believed in a heaven for workmen in the next world.

And learned men and their disciples, people of the well-to-do classes, believe this, because they must believe it. This dilemma stands before them; either they must see that all they make use of in their lives, from railways to lucifer matches and cigarettes, represents labor which costs the lives of their brother men, and that they, not sharing in that toil, but making use of it, are very dishonorable men, or they must believe that all that takes place, takes place for the general advantage, in accord with unalterable laws of economic science. *Therein lies the inner psychological cause.* Compelling men of science, men wise and educated, but not enlightened, to affirm positively and tenaciously such an obvious untruth as that the laborers, for their own well-being, should leave their happy and healthy life in touch with nature and go to ruin their bodies and souls in factories and workshops.

In what does economic slavery consist? What are the forces that make some men the slaves of others? If we ask all the workers in Russia, Europe, and in America, alike in the factories and in various situations in which they work for hire, in towns and villages, what has made them choose the position in which they are living, they will all reply that they have been brought to it, either because they had no land on which they could, and wished, to live and work, or that taxes, direct and indirect, were demanded of them, which they could only pay by selling their labor; or that they remain at factory work, ensnared by the more luxurious habits they have adopted, and which they can gratify only by selling their labor and their liberty.

The first two conditions, the lack of land and the taxes, drive men to compulsory labor; while the third, his increased and unsatisfied needs, decoy him to it and keep him at it. Then, when his surplus products can no longer be disposed of, the reaction comes, busi-

ness stagnation takes place, the workmen are brought to starvation conditions.

We can imagine that the land may be freed from the claims of private proprietors by Henry George's plan, and that, therefore, the first cause driving people into slavery—the lack of land—(besides the single tax plan) we may imagine the abolition of taxes, or that they should be transferred from the poor to the rich, as is being done now in some countries; but under the present economic organization one cannot imagine a position of things under which more and more luxurious, and often harmful habits of life should not, little by little, pass to those of the lower classes who are in contact with the rich as inevitably as water sinks into the ground, and that those habits should not become so necessary to the workers that, in order to be able to satisfy them, they will be ready to sell their freedom.

So that this third condition, tho it is a voluntary one—that is, it would seem that a man might resist the temptation—and tho science does not acknowledge it to be a cause of the miserable condition of the workers, is the firmest and most irremovable cause of slavery.

Three causes, as the workmen themselves explain, produce the slavery in which they live and all the miseries which follow in their trail; and the history of their enslavement and the facts of their position confirm the correctness of this explanation.

All the workers are brought to their present state and are kept in it by these three causes. These causes, acting on people from different sides, are such that none can escape from their enslavement. The agriculturist who has no land, or who has not enough, will always be obliged to go into perpetual or temporary slavery to the landowner in order to have the opportunity of feeding himself from the land. Should he in one way or the other obtain land, enough to be able to feed himself from it by his own labor, such taxes, direct or indirect, are demanded from him that, in order to pay them, he has again to go into slavery.

If, to escape from slavery on the land, he ceases to cultivate land, and living on some one else's land, begins to occupy himself with a handicraft, or to exchange his produce for the things he needs, then on the one hand, taxes, and on the other hand, the competition of capitalists producing similar articles to those he makes, but with better implements of production, compel him to go into temporary or perpetual slavery to a capitalist.

If working for a capitalist he might set up free relations with him, and not be obliged to sell his liberty, yet the new requirements which he assimilates deprive him of any such possibility. So that one way or another the laborer is always in slavery to those who control the taxes, the land, and the articles necessary to satisfy his requirements.

The condition of workmen results from three sets of laws—those about land, taxes and property. And, therefore, all the attempts of those who wish to improve the position of the workers are inevitably, tho unconsciously, directed against those three legislations.

One set of people repeal taxes weighing on the working classes and transfer them on to the rich; others propose to abolish the right of private property in land, and attempts are being made to put this in practise, both in New Zealand and one of your American States (the limitation of the landlord's rights in Ireland is a move in the right direction); a third set, the Socialists—propose to communalize the means of production, to tax incomes and inheritances, and to limit the rights of capitalists—employers. It would, therefore, seem as tho the legislative enactments which cause slavery were being repealed, and that we may, therefore, expect slavery to be abolished in this way. But we need not only to look more closely at the conditions under which the abolition of those legislative enactments are accomplished or proposed to be convinced that not only practical, but even the theoretical projects for the improvement of the workers' position are merely the substitution of one legislation producing slavery for another, establishing a newer form of slavery. Thus, for instance, those who abolish taxes and duties on the poor, first abolishing direct dues, and then, transferring the burden of taxation from the poor to the rich, necessarily have to retain, and do retain, the laws making private property on landed property means of production, and other articles, on which the whole burden of taxes is shifted. The retention of the laws concerning land and property keeps the workers in slavery to the landowners and the capitalists, even tho the workers are freed from taxes. Those who, like Henry George, and his partners, would abolish the laws making private property of land, propose new laws imposing an obligatory rent on land, and this obligatory land rent will necessarily create a new form of slavery, because a man compelled to pay rent, or the single-tax, may at any failure of the crops or other misfortune have to borrow money from a money lender, and he will again lapse into slavery. Those who, like the Socialists, in theory, wish to abolish the legislation of taxes, and must, moreover, inevitably introduce laws of compulsory labor—that is, they must reestablish slavery in its primitive form.

So that, this way, or that, all the practical and theoretical repeals of certain laws maintaining slavery in one form, have always and do always replace it in new legislation creating slavery in another and fresh form.

What happens is something like what a jailer might do who shifted a prisoner's chains from the neck to the arms, and from the arms to the legs, or took them off and substituted bolts and bars. All the improvements that have hitherto taken place in the position of the workers have been of this kind.

The laws giving a master the right to compel his slaves to do compulsory work were replaced by laws allowing the masters to own all the land. The laws allowing all the land to become the private property of the masters may be replaced by taxation laws, the control of the taxes being in the hands of the masters. The taxation laws are repealed by others defending the right of private property in articles of use and in the means of production.

(To be continued on page 7)

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NOTICE.

All mail intended for FREE SOCIETY, should in future be addressed to 230 East Fourth Street, New York City, N. Y., instead of 407 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill., as heretofore.

To Our Readers.

To explain briefly the purpose of our move to New York, let it suffice to say that it is thought to widen the field of the paper, and thereby increase its usefulness. While Chicago is a central position geographically, New York is nevertheless the centre of Anarchist propaganda and activity.

The move to New York has necessitated a new application to enter FREE SOCIETY at the second-class rate in the mails. The application is now pending in the department. A deposit of one cent a copy has to be made until a decision is reached. While our subscription list is perfectly legitimate within the requirements of the law, the greatest obstacle to a re-entry at the second-class rates was found in our delinquent subscribers. The department does not object to our extending credit to our subscribers, but we are required to prove that all our readers desire the paper. All those readers who are in arrears, and have not asked the paper to be continued to their addresses, have therefore been taken off the list, and unless they send in their renewals or request for credit, they will not receive the paper again.

The linotype project has been abandoned, as our move to New York has made it unnecessary and inexpedient. Those who contributed to this fund should let us know what they wish done with their contributions. Some have already assigned their donations to the expense of moving the paper or have had them applied on their subscriptions. All who contributed to this fund should let us hear from them, so that their money can either be devoted to some other purpose, or returned.

FREE SOCIETY

From the Lips of Liberty.

Government is war.

Elections are battles.

Strength settles the fight.

Ballots are deadly missiles.

Administration is spoilation.

Laws are mainly torture codes.

Taxes are tributes to conquerors.

Constitutions are prison regulations.

Judges are the agents of armed tyranny.

Law and order are contradictions in terms.

The "guardians of peace" are guardians of robbery.

Custom is the safeguard of all established evil.

In the absence of poverty unsocial acts would be exceptional.

Liberty is a condition basic to all real social good.

The free man will satisfy his desires without difficulty.

Force being absent, and man being social, order is a natural result.

Under conditions of voluntary life all faculties and powers of man would develop normally.

The State rests upon a supposed necessity; that of forcing man to seek his well-being.

It is the existence of exploitation which insures the existence of disorder.

Porto Rico is becoming suspicious of the United States government, but not of government itself.

The superstition which perpetuates the State is one which will fail the quicker as the State grows less scrupulous.

The Powers are hovering around the bloody scene of the Russo-Japanese war like a lot of foul carrion scented buzzards.

Those who believe that there is a fairer future before humanity are sustained by the knowledge that intelligence and experience are not forever fruitless.

Professor Triggs is out of the Chicago University. There is not room for an honest and outspoken critic of social slavery in a

school whose highest standard is the Standard Oil monopoly.

It is about time that Rudyard Kipling let off some versified fireworks showing that the "white man's burden" is the lawful extermination of races.

Anarchism is the death of rent, interest and profit; in the language of the State, then, "Down with Anarchism, the death of all that is good!"

The British navy is to be three times as large as that of any other State; and all in the name of the Christian religion, which "has lifted man up from barbarism."

There are many free lovers who are not Anarchists, tho they logically should be; but there are many Anarchists who do not believe in freedom in love. Are these logical either?

The House of Representatives refused to honor the memory of Washington, as is usually the practice, on his birthday. The heroes of today, men like Hanna, make Washington look small indeed.

Nature in her beauty makes man sigh for a life as beautiful: a life of fraternity and freedom; a life without force. But once back in the mart or factory, the influence of environment conquers man.

The German government expelled several Social Democrats who were said to be circulating Anarchist literature imported from Russia. Bebel and his colleagues ceased to object when the government explained its action.

Those who think that man would not wish to work if poverty were abolished, forget in their wisdom two things: that man needs to eat, and that nature will not supply food if man does not work. Poverty helps, not life, but death.

The Citizens' Industrial Association, which met at Indianapolis, February 22, had for its chief speaker David M. Parry, who almost wept over the fact that labor would not peacefully submit to be exploited; and vowed terrible vengeance. The clown was applauded.

Education today is a method of fitting man to live under existing conditions, and it is also a method of supplying him with enough ignorance of the variety called "practical sense," to enable him to deceive himself into the belief that whatever is is quite good enough as it is.

That national jack-in-the-box, Theodore Roosevelt, recently planted a tree in the White House grounds. At last the fuddled fellow has done a good deed; a deed which shines almost sole and singly among thousands of acts which are either the height of folly or the depth of unnamable infamy.

In our denunciation of the evil in the world let us not forget the good; for as life is made

possible by the good, so, to keep the good in mind as a source of strength and courage is the surest possible means of developing strength to denounce the evil and work for its complete overthrow finally.

* * *

A condition of chattel slavery exists in the Transvaal, which was to be improved thru British civilization. Thousands of imported Chinese coolies are at work in the mines for a pittance, and they live in a stockade when not at work; having bound themselves for a term of years. Thus are patriots enlightened at last.

* * *

The refusal to pay rent, the refusal to pay taxes, the refusal to work for exploiters (the general strike), the refusal to send children to be corrupted in State schools, and the refusal to accept the moral and religious standards of life which are current, are some practical Anarchistic acts.

* * *

Tolstoy has spoken to the listening world words telling plainly what his attitude toward the war is. He sympathizes with neither nation in the fight; but with the great body of the people of both nations, whose lives are being thrown away by two murderous States, he does sympathize, and deeply. Anarchism ends patriotism.

* * *

The object of liberty is to free the whole life of man from bondage. The carpers of this world persuade themselves that Anarchism is an impossible and ridiculous ideal which is based upon the stomach of an ignorant and vulgar boor. As a matter of fact the Anarchist position is the most advanced position known to sociology.

* * *

Panama is to have its canal; and an American official in a high place has stated that the excuse of the government for its attitude toward Colombia is that we need the canal. There you have it again: government can do no wrong; wrong is a quality existing alone in individual conduct. With standards of action like these where can evil end?

AMERICUS.

AMERICAN SOCIALISM. By O. D. Jones, Edina, Mo. Price, 25 cents. — This book has apparently been written in a fit of jealousy, for it is full of rage against so-called Marxian Socialism, which, according to the author, would "destroy the family and private property." He realizes that private property is essential to an "indecent home," that this home is one in which the "parentage of children on the fathers' side can be known," he proves by saying that "Christ taught that man and wife should be one flesh" and that this is "a natural law." But "natural laws" are very flimsy things according to the author's own logic. "The law of nature," he says, "is that which God, the sovereign of the universe, has prescribed to all men, not by any formal promulgation, but by the internal dictate of reason alone." Consequently Karl Marx's philosophy is based as much on "natural law" as that of Mr. Jones' "American Socialism," for Marx's writings were certainly dictated by reason. And the author of this wishy-washy American Socialism reveals neither great reasoning faculties nor deep study when he asserts that "the parasites are the Anarchists now, and always have been." And such an ignoramus poses as the interpreter of "natural law"! — A. I.

Elie Reclus.

We have lost one of our best friends—Elie Reclus. One or two years older than his brother Elisée, he succumbed to an infectious grippe on the morning of February 11, in Brussels, at the age of seventy-six.

The influence which Elie Reclus exercised upon all those who came in contact with him, is infinitely more profound than we can imagine, even if we restrict ourselves merely to a knowledge of his numerous works. Equipped with great intelligence and possessed of an intimate knowledge of everything connected with the study of humanity, he was at the same time endowed with infinite kindness and modesty. He was the type of an ancient savant, to whose philosophy he was deeply attached—a naturalist, and atheist. And if our society had the least appreciation for true knowledge and education, he would have been surrounded by disciples, to whom he would have preached and of whom he would have made men, thinkers and fighters,—all by opening to them the treasures of knowledge that concern anthropology, ethnography, the myths of the ancients, the life and evolution of the myth, thus making them understand the Christian myths, and at last the ancient arts. In all these branches Elie Reclus was more than a rich encyclopedia, because his knowledge was digested and systematized.

At the same time, with his kindness, his Socratic simplicity, his slightly mocking *esprit*—there is not a man in Europe who knows and understands the primitive people better than Elie Reclus did. His two books, "Primitive Folk" and "The Primitive Folk of Australia" (which comprises only two chapters of his immense ethnographic manuscripts that have never been published), are the very best works to bring about an understanding of primitive people. It is by no means exaggeration to assume that his book "Origin of Religions" is decidedly the best work ever written on this subject, much as there is still to be achieved. Several chapters of this book have been published by our French comrades in *La Société Nouvelle* and *L'Humanité Nouvelle*.

Elie Reclus was in his youth a devoted Fourierist. After the days of June, 1848, and the appearance of the adventurer Badinguet, he was forced to emigrate to England. Returning after the amnesty, shortly before 1870, he started a Fourieristic journal, which had the greatest success among the workingmen.

When the Commune was declared he at once devoted himself to her cause. He accepted the position as conservator of the National Library and the Louvre Museum. It is largely due to his love of science and art, and his practical circumspection, that the world has not to regret the loss of great treasures of art and science during the bombardment and the incendiaries. He put all the masterpieces of Greek and Roman art into the cellars of the Louvre to protect them against the bourgeoisie, and he took all measures to save the National Library during the Paris fire; while his courageous and brave comrade

with her young son in her arms organized the provisioning of the workless toilers.

It was only by chance that he escaped being shot to death by the defenders of "order," who condemned him to deportation. Again he lived in exile in Switzerland and England, until the amnesty allowed him to return.

However, this exile was not his last. After Vaillant had thrown his bomb, a most infamous persecution started, and, hunting for his son Paul, the police searched Elie Reclus' house from top to cellar. Unable to find the son they took vengeance on his father. The old man was dragged to the station house, his clothes torn off and measures taken by the Bertillon system. This was too much for Reclus, and he left his "fatherland."

In Brussels he gave lectures on the history of religion at the libertarian university; and it was in this city where he rendered his last sigh.—*Jean Grave*.

By the Wayside.

The second number of *The Petrel* shows great improvement. It is free from bombast and bluster, and confines itself to argument and "philosophy," for which it will be put under the ban by those who imagine that the world can be revolutionized by bombastic phrases.

The employers who recently gathered in Indianapolis to discuss ways and means to crush organized labor exhibited a spirit of courage and independence which is worthy of emulation. They will make no concessions; they will not even submit to arbitration, but defy every demand made by labor; and this is the only logical stand for them to take. And so long as the workers and other liberals recognize property rights in the means of production and distribution and the natural resources in general they are logically forced to concede to the owners the right to dispose of and manage their property as they see fit, if freedom has any meaning whatsoever. But once the toilers perceive that property rests merely upon "organized violence"—(government,)—and that they are entitled to all they produce, they will meet the encroachments of the employers with equal determination: "No concessions: no arbitration."

The American dailies have already many tales to tell about the cruelties perpetrated by the Russian soldiers during the war with Japan. But they seem to have forgotten all about the "water cure" and similar atrocities committed by American soldiers in the Philippines. Says the *San Francisco Star*:

The *Scientific American* tells how a dead Moro was punished by the United States forces. This Moro had killed a United States soldier, and had been himself immediately killed by a sentry. By order of General Bates, the dead Mohammedan was placed in a grave near the walls of the city. A pig was then suspended by the hind legs over the grave, and the throat of the animal cut. Soon the body lay immersed in gore, the direst calamity that could happen to a Moro, his religion teaching him that contact with a pig's blood means exclusion from heaven. A guard stood sentry over the grave until dusk, when the pig was lowered into the grave, which was then filled up with earth. An uprising of the Moros followed, and a number of them were killed in the disturbance.

The story of the making of the treaty with the chiefs of the different islands is retold. The general

first visited each of the islands and invited its chief on board the cruiser "Charleston," which had been placed at his disposal. There the guest was plied with drink, and incidentally presented with a great sack containing one thousand Mexican dollars, in bulk as much as two men could carry. The manner of the presentation was most dramatic. As the bearers dropped their burden, the mouth of the bag opened as if by accident, and the coin rolled forth at the feet of the recipient. Before leaving the ship the visitor was prevailed upon to sign the treaty. One chief refused to go aboard the ship. A bombardment of the rocks of the island was begun as a warning of the power confronting him, and he, also, was quickly persuaded to be bribed.

Is it any wonder that "the best government in the world," which "persuades" its subjects to consent to be governed by the roar of cannon, is afraid of John Turner, who persuades people by argument and logic not to slaughter each other for the aggrandizement of government and the enrichment of capitalists?

Aside from the many alliances, employers' associations, etc., whose purpose is to crush organized labor by all means available, there is now "The Corporations Auxiliary Company" in Cleveland, Ohio, which furnishes the employers with spies and other rascals who are capable of "combatting the fallacies of Socialism by calm argument." The following paragraphs from its circular letter are especially interesting:

Wherever our system has been in operation for a reasonable length of time, considering the purposes to be accomplished, the result has been that union membership has not increased if our clients wished otherwise. In many cases local union charters have been returned without publicity and a number of local unions have been disbanded.

Our experience has convinced us that the best way to control labor organizations is to lead and not to force them. We are also convinced that the conservative element in all unions will control when properly led and officered, which we are prepared to do.

We help eliminate the agitator and organizer quietly and with little or no friction, and further, thru the employment of our system, you will know at all times who among your employees are loyal and to be depended upon.

You will also be advised of any loss of time or material and be furnished such other information as will assist you to increase the efficiency of your working force and promote economy of operation.

The *Labor Clarion* admits that spies are active in labor unions, especially in the iron trades, and so far the officials "find it no easy task to devise an adequate remedy for the evil." There is only one efficient remedy to combat the blacklisting system and arrogant aggressiveness of the "captains of industry," Mr. Editor, and that is the enlightenment of the workers and the editors of their press. Once the toilers realize that nothing short of the abolition of the wage system will put an end to their struggle, it will awaken the spirit of fraternity wonderfully, and the spies will soon find it best to leave the camp. In short, intelligence is the only effective remedy.

INTERLOPER.

The master class are more afraid of the General Strike than any other weapon the workers possess, and the rapid progress the idea has made on the Continent has alarmed them in this country, hence their efforts to render strikes useless by making them illegal, and the encouragement given to the unions to adopt political action.—Liberty Bell.

[From Far]und] Near.

The world is moving. In Rockford, Ill., the girls employed in a corset factory are out on strike for shorter hours and higher wages, and the rich women of Chicago have decided to aid the girls in their struggle against the rapacious and arrogant employers.

* * *

From Spain comes the news that in Madrid demonstrations of the unemployed are the "order of the day," the workers marching under a white flag bearing the inscription, "We Want Work and Bread." They get neither, of course; yet our Spanish, English and other fellow slaves have one advantage over the "free-born American sovereigns"; namely, they are not clubbed off the streets for marching, as in this land of the "brave and the free."

* * *

A new kind of a rebellion against "law and order" bids fair to develop among the aristocracy in England. In the fox-hunting districts the "lords of the kennels" and patrons of the "grand meets" are up in arms against the law which compels them to pay damages for the ravages "Master Reinard" occasions by his nocturnal depredations (for he, too, loves sport) among the chicken coops of the farmers. Last year the lovers of the "grand chase" had to pay no less than \$250,000 for damage done to the farmers in this way. First the "lords" had a law passed forbidding the farmers to kill the foxes, but since the same has recoiled so heavily on their pocket books they have lost all respect for the law.

Wanderings.

"El Crepusculo de los Gauchos" (Twilight of the Native Argentinians), by Felix B. Basterra, recently published by The University Library of Montevideo, Uruguay, gives a clear insight into the actual political, judicial, social and economic state of affairs of that much vaunted republic of South America, Argentine.

The little volume will prove excellent reading for those intending to emigrate to "the most progressive country in the South," and will serve as an eye-opener to those who are misled by newspaper reports. The contents of the booklet may be summarized in the fact that, while Argentine has imitated all that is vicious in its big sister republic of the North, it has neither the enterprise, determination, facilities, nor resources of Yankee land. Besides, while its credit is almost nil at present, a population of four millions (one-half of them being illiterate) have to carry a foreign debt of \$410,000,000 on their shoulders, and the country is flooded with paper money to the extent of nearly \$300,000,000. The government policy is to meet these debts by making new ones, much after the style of our well-known Yankee "get-rich-quick" schemes. Thus, like all other bankrupt governments, the Argentine republic governs by "keeping up the lie," and by covering up the national stinkpot, as is revealed by the author; and it is no wonder he could not find a publisher in Argentine.

Like all crooked schemes, crooked governments, too, detest the critic, and invariably persecute him relentlessly wherever they can. Yet the critic, if just, is the only logical and true patriot. This applies in all countries. The earnest individual pleading for free speech while criticising official corruption and arrogance, or so-called violation of constitutional rights, is certainly a better patriot than the high government official, shouting "To hell with the Constitution," as is now done in Colorado and elsewhere. Suppression of free speech and the press is the greatest incentive for tyranny and corruption, and every liberty-loving soul ought to combat it. "Down with all and any attempt to abridge free speech!" should be their cry. The people are expected to obey the laws of the country, while the ex-ecutors of the laws are constantly violating the same. In Colorado the officials have boldly violated those distinct provisions of the Constitution, yet so far only the "under dog" has protested against it. Shades of its signers of one hundred and twenty years ago! Ah, but we did not have at that time the omnipresent, omnivorous, and apparently omnipotent monopolists or "trusts" with us. That hideous creature was begotten by special privilege. The next thing in order will be to hang those who insist upon their constitutional rights, not to speak of those who are imbued with higher aspirations. Everywhere attempts are made to suppress the aspiration toward freedom. Whether it be in Russia, the United States, or in the young and "progressive republic" of South America: "Plute" is king, and the worker and producer is the slave, as of yore. Why does not evolution hurry up and be doing something, you "learned" ones? What has it "evolved" in society in the last seven thousand years? I can hear but one echo in response to my query: "Master and slave!" Yet there is no resting place for our intelligence.

"Unslaked our thirst, unformed our boon,
The phantom lures us on,"

so—

"Let us ponder boldly—'tis a base
Abandonment of reason to resign
Our right of thought—our best and only place
Of refuge; this, at least, shall still be mine."

In spite of a big and fertile territory and ample natural resources, the Argentine Republic has been governed into bankruptcy. Business failures, strikes, lockouts, want of work, persecution, starvation, and all the other accompaniments of government have cast their shadows over this beautiful land, as they have in old Europe. Yet a steady stream of deluded immigrants flood the country—only to be deluded again.

F. CAMBENSY.

COMMENT.

Comrade Cambensy's pessimistic lamentations regarding evolution reminds me of an incident I witnessed in San Francisco. The Socialists had invited an intelligent and well-read millionaire to deliver a lecture for them, which he had given elsewhere, on the subject "The Advancement of Mankind."

The object of the Socialists was to "demolish" Mr. Millionaire and his contention, that man was slowly advancing to a higher

state. But he proved to be quite a match for his opponents, who had figures and facts ready to demonstrate the pitiable state of affairs prevalent in society today. There are five thousand children out of school in San Francisco, they told him, on account of poverty; there are so many thousand of men out of work, not able to sustain either themselves or their families; and last, but not least, Mr. Scott (the name of the speaker) was informed that he employed from five to six thousand men whom he robbed of much of the fruits of their labor by virtue of private property and class legislation. "Now, will Mr. Scott deny that these men are his slaves or uphold his contention that such conditions indicate social progress?" the last critic asked the speaker.

"I am indeed very much pleased with what I have heard here tonight," the millionaire replied in conclusion. "Everything that has been said by my critics only confirms my claim that mankind is advancing. It is certainly a sad state of affairs when thousands of children have to stay away from school simply because their parents are poor; but the very fact that you realize the necessity of education shows me that you are advancing. Yes, men who are compelled to work for others are certainly slaves, and I did not deny the existence of servitude; but here again you have confirmed me in the belief that evolution of mind is a fact. Twenty-five years ago you were not cognizant of your slavery. No, I do not deny that I am robbing labor. But what would you advise me to do? Would it solve the social problem if I disposed of my works by giving it to the workers? Are men fit for freedom if thousands of them submit to be robbed by one man? I don't think so. But exploitation will cease when the workers are advanced enough to refuse to be exploited."

A. I.

From Spain.

The trial by court martial of the twenty men and one woman, Teresa Munt, for "resisting the military," when the latter had fired upon a crowd of six hundred strikers without any provocation, was begun at Sevilla on Jan. 25, and concluded the next day (!), but the sentence, subject to approval by the captain-general, has not yet been made public. The trial took place in the prison, which was formerly the convent of "Our Lady of the People" (evolution!). No brother workman was permitted to be present, and soldiers with fixed bayonets guarded the doors. No private witnesses were admitted, only accusers from the military. The prosecutor, as well as the judges, were military officers. The Spanish law which permits the employment of private counsel to defend the accused in court martial trials was openly violated in this case. No proofs or arguments in favor of the prisoners were submitted. No wonder, then, that the twenty-one captains of the military, who had been appointed to defend the strikers, were moved by the farce to plead absolute innocence for the unfortunate workers. It is indeed a consolation to find now and then some sentimentality left in these men, tho the

heart be covered by the badge of militarism. One of these noble men, according to *Tierra y Libertad*, was himself subjected to torture in this case.

The accused themselves pleaded absolute innocence, accusing the Alcalde Gavilan of having provoked the massacre, in which one striker was killed and eighteen wounded, besides two of the military. As to their complaints regarding the horrible tortures that had been perpetrated upon them in the prison of Alcala by the military last August, the presiding judge told them that that would be made the object of a "special inquiry." Let us sincerely hope that this will be, but *Quien Sabe?*

One of the accused, Molero, affirmed in court that he was castrated as a part of the torture inflicted upon him. Even the capitalist dailies report that Molero can hardly walk. Finally the judge ordered an "examination" by military physicians, who reported that "the charge is not proved."

Imprisonment for life and long terms were asked by the military prosecutors for all the accused, also a money fine. Their idea must be to rob them also of the paltry sums they may "earn" at hard labor in prison.

Lord Byron was, indeed, right when he put man's depravity below that of a dog.

The captain defending the woman declared in court that the arrests in this case had been made at random (the day after the fracas), and among those known for their libertarian ideas. Some of the women arrested were beaten like the men. All this in the twentieth century in the country of Isabella the Catholic, for having peacefully assembled at an early hour at the outskirts of Alcala del Valle!

Nor is this all. From Paris comes the news that the French government plays the role of a bookblack to Spain in connection with this case, as Bebel declared the other day in the Reichstag that Germany did to Russia. Telegrams sent to Madrid reporting indignation meetings held in Paris, protesting against the outrage in Alcala, were suppressed by the French government, which evidently thinks that sympathy expressed for the oppressed is against "public policy."

F. CAMBENY.

The Turner Case.

The Supreme Court has admitted John Turner to unconditional bail in the sum of \$5,000, and the case has been advanced on the calendar to April 4, instead of October.

Coming events cast their shadows before them, and at present everything points to a gigantic struggle between capital and labor, both in America and in Spain in the very near future.

LOVERS.

SHE:—Now, and do you really love me?
HE:—Indeed I do!
SHE:—Will you always love me?
HE:—Always!
SHE:—Why not let us marry then?
HE:—Because—because I'm afraid I shall cease to love you when I don't need to court for your love with kindness and tender consideration. F. C.

(Continued from page 3)

The laws of right of private property in land and in articles of use and means of production, it is proposed to replace by the enactment of compulsory labor, thru the medium of compulsory arbitration.

So it is evident that the abolition of one form of legislation producing the present economic conditions, whether taxes, or land-owning, or property in articles of use or in the means of production, will not destroy slavery or prevent hard times, but will only repeal one of its forms, which will immediately be replaced by a new one, as was the case with the abolition of chattel slavery, of serfdom, and with the repeal of taxes. Even the repeal of all three groups of laws together will not abolish slavery, but evoke a new and, as yet, unknown form of it, which is now already beginning to show itself and to restrain the freedom of labor by legislation concerning the hours of work, the age and state of health of the workers, as well as by demanding obligatory attendance at schools, deductions for old-age insurance or accidents, by all the measures of factory inspection, the restrictions on cooperative societies, etc.

All this is nothing but the transference of legalization—preparing a new and, as yet, untried form of slavery.

So that it becomes evident that the essence of slavery lies, not in those three roots of legislation on which it now rests, and not even in such or such other legislative enactments, but in the fact that legislation exists; that there are people who have the power to decree laws profitable for themselves, and that as long as people have that power there will be slavery.

Formerly it was profitable for people to have chattel slaves, and they made laws about chattel slavery. Afterwards, it became profitable to own land, to take taxes, and to keep things one had acquired, and they made laws correspondingly.

Now it is profitable for people to maintain the existing direction and division of labor; and they are devising such laws as will compel people to work under the present apportionment and division of labor. Thus the fundamental cause of slavery and its attendant miseries is legislation, the fact that there are people who have the power to make laws.

It will give me much pleasure to feel that the above can be utilized for your present purpose.

Yours sincerely,

LEO TOLSTOY.

When a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce the people under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government.—*Declaration of Independence.*

I can but regard marriage as a mortgage on happiness; a mortgage which time may foreclose and leave us bound to only sadness or bitterness of disappointment.

APELINE CHAMPNEY.

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A dinner at which John Turner will be the guest will be given by the Free Speech League Monday, March 21, at Arlington Hall, St. Marks Place, 8th St., bet. 2nd and 3rd Aves. Tickets \$1.00. Tickets can be procured from Dr. E. B. Foote, 120 Lexington Ave.; M. Maisel, 194 East Broadway; FREE SOCIETY, 230 East Fourth St.; Radical Club, 168 W. 23rd St. (Wednesday evening), and Manhattan Liberal Club, 220 East 15th St. (Friday evening).

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