



Freedom.

Men! whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there breathe on earth a slave,
Are ye truly free and brave?
If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works a brother's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed,
Slaves unworthy to be freed?

Women! who shall one day bear
Sons to breathe New England air,
If ye hear without a blush
Deeds to make the roused blood rush
Like red lava thro' your veins,
For your sisters now in chains—
Answer! are ye fit to be
Mothers of the brave and free?

Is true freedom but to break
Fetters for our dear sake,
And with leathern hearts forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
No! true Freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And with heart and hand to be
Earnest to make others free!

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

—James Russell Lowell.

Historical About the General Strike.

As always, it was again the workers of the Latin countries, who, thru their ingenuity and ever vigilant revolutionary instinct, adopted this means of conflict on a large scale. Even now they stand on the apex of this movement, the purpose of which is the propagation and preparation of the universal strike, that is the only possible form of the revolution, one that naturally results from economic development.

At present nearly all trades unions in France, and all trades unions in Spain, as well as a large part in Holland and Belgium, stand on the basis of a general strike.

This idea was first brought forward at the Congress of the National Federation of Trade Unions and Co-operative Groups of France in 1888. It was accepted by the vast majority of the trade union congresses—in Marseilles, 1892; Paris, 1893; Nantes, 1894; Limoges, 1895; Tours, 1896; Toulouse, 1897; Rennes, 1898; Paris, 1900; and Lyons, 1901. In Hol-

land one of the first advocates of the general strike was F. Domela Nieuwenhuis. In Spain a trade union congress was held in Madrid, October, 1900, with 213 delegates, representing about 50,000 workers. A decision was here unanimously made to make the general strike the aim of the trade unions, and the means of liberating the toilers.

Pamphlets and papers in all languages sprang out of the ground, as it were, whose sole purpose was to spread the idea of the general strike, to explain it, and to show its unconquerableness as a means to effect the Social Revolution. For this sole purpose *La Voix du Peuple* (The Voice of the People) is issued in the "Bourse du Travail," in Paris, which is the official organ of the trade unions, and appears at present as a weekly, and will soon come out as a daily. In Spain *La Huelga General* (The General Strike) appears. In London, the French and Italian Anarchists publish a paper in both languages, under the title *La Grève Générale* and *La Sciopero Generale* (The General Strike).

Hundreds of songs in the different Latin languages, which celebrate the universal strike as a means of the coming victorious Social Revolution, go from mouth to mouth, infusing new enthusiasm and confidence of victory.

But Germany continues to sleep, and the German toilers, lulled to sleep by the sound of retreat made by the Socialist leaders, and have still the nightcaps pulled far over their ears and eyes, and will probably only awake, rubbing their eyes, when all around them in the old world will be tumbling, with crash and thunder, about their ears.

* * *

Like every great idea, the general strike has also received its baptism of blood, yes, more than one, and has already had its first struggles and skirmishes, of which it need not at all be ashamed. These were the first tests before the great decisive battle. As for every great idea, we find, therefore, also analogies in history, unconscious forebodings by the greatest thinkers and poets.

So we see already in old Rome, 494 years before the Christian era, the *secessio in montem sacrum*, the "emigration to the holy hill" of the plebeians, when they demanded equality with the patricians. This first general strike in history, the strike of the plebeians, was crowned in its results with complete victory. But back to the present. As to one of the first, undoubtedly unconscious, heralds of the

general strike, one can look upon Mirabeau, when he in 1789, in the national meeting of the Notables, threateningly thundered, "Beware! Do not bring in anger this people, which produces everything, and that, to infuse horror into you, has but to fold its arms!"

Fifty years later Max Stirner wrote in a book, "The Individual and His Own," these words: "The workers have the most enormous power in their hands, and if they once became fully conscious of it and make use of it, nothing could oppose them; they need only discontinue labor and consider the products as their own and enjoy them. This is the meaning of the labor troubles that bob up here and there."

That universally known strophe by George Herwegh, which is used as a motto for this pamphlet,

"Waken, laborer, to your right,
Learn at last to know your might!
All the wheels will cease to go
If your strong arm wants it so,"

could serve as the shibboleth of the general strike.

The great English poet, William Morris, narrates in his magnificent future-dream of a free and happy society, his "News from Nowhere," how the old society, thru the shocks administered by several general strikes following one after the other, crashed together and had to make room for the rising free society.

However, not only oratory, philosophy and poesy stand at the cradle of this idea, but also blood and tears.

When the American workers in the year 1886 were preparing to conquer the eight-hour day from capitalism, they did not think of the roundabout way of political action, but decided to make an attempt to achieve it directly in the whole United States thru the general strike, which was to take place on the 1st of May. While over 260,000 workers in the whole United States laid down their tools on the 1st of May, 40,000 of them in Chicago alone, this strike had to succumb, because the American proletariat still had the naive belief (an idea which has already long ago been abandoned by all followers of the general strike), that such a strike could really run its course peacefully, with folded arms, and without violence invited by the capitalist class.

When, after the brutal and assassin-like attack of the Chicago police on an orderly

labor demonstration, and later on a protest meeting, the workers as a matter of necessity answered the revolver shots with a bomb-throwing, this was a signal for arresting all speakers and propagandists for the general strike, who, after a wretched judicial comedy, were delivered over to the gallows by the American judicial murderers. So the Chicago martyrs, Parsons, Spies and comrades, expiated their propaganda for the idea of the general strike with death on the gallows. The *bourgeoisie* realized at once the awful significance of the general strike, and shrank from no repression.

And what is the international demonstration of the 1st of May? It is the daughter of the great general strike that broke out in America on May 1, 1886, to achieve the eight-hour day. The proposition to have labor in all lands rest on the 1st of May, to demonstrate for the eight-hour day, was taken up with enthusiasm at the International Socialist Congress in Paris in 1889.

Was not this resolve the first attempt at the international mobilization of the proletariat, an actual attempt, or at least the symbolizing, of the general strike? And is it not significant that the Social Democratic leaders, who always combat the idea of the strike, are unanimous in making use of this demonstration when they propose to make a specific demand on the ruling class, whether it is for the eight-hour day or the universal suffrage?

Was it not under the care, and only with the aid, of the general strike, that the Belgian workers won for themselves—even if only limited—a universal suffrage?

When, in 1893, in Austria, it was a question of conquering the suffrage, did not all the comrades cry and sing in meetings and the streets, that they wished to do "like the Belgians?"

In February, 1902, the proletariat of Barcelona rose under the call of the general strike, and for one week stood their ground against the military and gendarmerie. The Barcelona comrades had to give in finally, but in spite of that gave proof of the invincibility of the general strike. As Barcelona only was on strike, troops from the whole of Spain could be sent there, because in other parts of the country it was quiet. In spite of this the calling out of the reserves was advised; and all the papers were already talking about the imminent fall of the ministry. And all this on account of Barcelona alone. Could the general strike have been conquered, if it had taken place at the same time in the whole of Spain?

In April of the same year 350,000 workers in Belgium again laid down their work, to demand the full universal suffrage thru the general strike.

Everywhere the proletariat instinctively seize, often in spite of and without leaders, this sole practical revolutionary weapon—still the German dunce does not want to know any thing about it, so long as his leader has not recommended it to him.—From "The General Strike," by SIEGFRIED NACHT. Translated for FREE SOCIETY.

Behind the Scenes in Japan.

We read a great deal in these days of the devotion, patriotism, progressiveness, "Europeanization," and even heroism in Japan. Tourists generally are not investigating the shady sides of the countries that they visit. Thus, for instance, while Prince Henry of Prussia and other "official" guests, were enraptured about the portions of Michigan avenue or Jackson boulevard thru which the "distinguished" guests were "conducted" in Chicago, perhaps in the next street or alley the reeking (official and private) filth may be allowed to rot a foot in thickness, and befoul the air all the year round. Yet the majority have just voted for more of that kind of "municipal ownership" in Chicago!

Thus, concerning Japan, while we hear often about its progress, its increasing manufactures and its consequent prosperity (?), the fact is that nowhere on this globe can be found the abyss of abject poverty and misery so deep as in Japan, the "modernized." A London *bourgeois* correspondent, Stephen England, made it his mission last winter to investigate the slums of Tokio and Yokohama, and he comes to the conclusion that the proverbial poor of London are *bon-vivants* (high livers), and Gorky's Russian types of degraded poverty are fortunates as compared with the poor of the country ruled by the "Son of Heaven."

In Tokio there are at least 200,000 people that are not sure of the means of subsistence for the next day. Joy of any kind is simply an unknown and never experienced sensation among these "images of their gods." In the entire country the majority of the people are simply too poor to eat even common rice. Nearly all the rice of good quality produced on the islands is exported, while an inferior quality is imported for those who can afford to buy it. All this, according to an interviewed native sociologist, is the result of Japan assuming the modern role of a "world power," based on revenues of a most sordid and cruel industrialism at home. Progress! A large, costly modern navy on the one hand, and the common people denying themselves plain boiled rice on the other!

Let us hope that it was the intention of this modern gold-laced government to better these conditions when it launched into the present war with Russia. But—*quien sabe?*

In Tokio there are at present fifteen distinct slum districts, with their miles of miserable shacks called houses, with their broken windows, leaking roofs and crumbling sides. In the streets stands stagnant water, and the eyes only too often discern the other causes of the contaminated atmosphere. There is an aspect of desolation all around. The meanest of these shanties rent for from forty to fifty cents a month, and the better ones up to one dollar. Often several families unite to occupy one of the latter, and in the cold weather they all sit around one solitary charcoal fire to keep from freezing, and when fuel is exhausted they sit on old mats, huddled up in rags, and holding each other by the hands, trying to keep warm.

The cold in mid-winter is very penetrating in Tokio. Extra covering must be had for

the night; but as it is only in rare cases that the poor families can indulge in the ownership of such necessary coverture, the latter has to be "rented" by the day, the week or month, for which the loaner charges from one-half to four cents a night, invariably exacted in advance. They also rent "foot-warmers" for the bed, but such is only a rare luxury indulged in, for instance, at the nuptial night of a newly-married couple, "to put on style," as it were.

Imagine, therefore, a laborer, after a hard day's work, arriving home with twelve cents thus earned. For his "inner man" he buys a mysterious plate of stew called "miso" (stands evidently for "misery"), some oil and fuel, some tobacco (one-half cent's worth of each), perhaps a small fish that he eats raw with horse-radish, if he can afford it. As he is obliged to buy small quantities he pays, like elsewhere, an enormous price in the end. As this twelve cents were a good day's wage, perhaps he will indulge also in a cake as a desert. Thus his last penny spent, he will steer for the nearest public "story-teller," and eagerly listen to the praise of the glories of ancient "Dai Nippon." Whereas, if he has not earned enough on a certain day he will hasten to the nearest salary loan shark, where on ample security he can borrow a few cents for the moment. Not being "flush," he is content this time by investing his cash in fish-guts, offals of horseflesh or food-receptacle scrapings. On this he and his family will "fill up" and go to bed, praying to the "good God" to accord him a better journey tomorrow—an ideal optimist. As a result, the money-shark flourishes here better than in any other country, and anything above the value of ten cents can be pawned.

Nothing that at one time was an edible will ever be wasted by the poor in Tokio. Every morning hordes of them sally forth in search of any scraps of offal that can sustain life, and keep the pangs of hunger from them. They are the scavengers of the city (who says Japan is not progressing?), and they do it conscientiously. Tainted and rotten offal is their prop of life, no better and no worse than that of rats, which are their only competitors, tho the rats thank neither God nor sacrifice themselves for their "superiors" on the battle fields, nor do they drudge their lives away in factories and mines for some other rats. And yet the rats are also a "world power." Who will deny their supremacy on land or sea? And, scientifically speaking, there is more mutual aid and fraternity among the rats than among mankind. We are certainly "different" from the animals, but where we are "better" is not apparent. Compare also these "modern" Japanese toilers with the Indians, African savages, Australian bushmen, or Eskimos, and make your own deduction: is, proud "civilized" man!

And Japan has also all the other phenomena of a civilized nation: labor troubles, strikes, exploitations and the attempts to crush organized labor. "Might is right" is also the trade mark of Japanese commercialism, and will continue to be so until the toilers learn the cause of their misery. Conditions may

improve in Japan if the Japanese are victorious in the present war. That Russia should have a serious set-back (as the arch-fiend against all libertarianism) should be the pious wish of every revolutionist, including those of Russia.

Socialistic thought is spreading in Japan. It is propagated in the home, the street, the factory, and in secret print and meetings, and the authorities admit that they will have to reckon with it—hence their opposition.

Before the new commercial era there was no such suffering among the inhabitants in the "Kingdom of Blossoms," among whom the women and children are the greatest sufferers.

Let us spread the light—the most fruitful propaganda against the misery which afflicts the whole world. The ever-growing army of the discontented will do the rest. To-day, even in the slums of Japan, people discuss and read new social doctrines. Proudhon, Lasalle and other agitators have been translated and are circulated in this spot of Asia. "The darker the shadow, the nearer the dawn," altho it seems difficult to arouse the victims from their trance-like sleep, from the stupefying influence of the narcotic atmosphere—the social lie.

F. CAMBENSY.

In Marriage.

Maria L. Buxton, of Milford, Mass., as long ago as 1876, wrote in Heywood's paper, *The Word*: "I think that every person that is legally bound, should stop and reflect, they would very soon learn that liberty is the only true source of happiness. It is impossible to find every element in one person to satisfy a progressive mind! An interchange of thought and magnetism is what every thinking mind must have to grow physically and mentally. What is the cause of all the gossip about a class of people called free lovers? Do they infringe on the rights of any person? I have failed to find one of that class that has been accused of infringing on the rights of any person. If a man or woman have not the power within themselves, to keep the affections of their legal companions, and another person has the power to gain them, do they not belong to the one that has gained them? We are governed by magnetic attractions which are beyond our power to control, and who is to blame because that law exists? Must parties legally separate because attracted in another direction, and must their homes be broken up and their children—if they have any—go out into the world uncared for by one or both of their parents? No! be grand and magnanimous enough to all, live in the same family and love all that is lovable in each individual, and accept all that are congenial, kind, and willing to do their part to help and teach the younger members or children, who are not able to care for themselves.

"I wish you would talk a little about the naughty men that capture women to destroy them. It will be a long time before men and women (especially men) will be good enough to live up to the teachings of your book 'Cupid's Yokes'. We like the book, but we think it will be a long time before it will be appreciated and understood as you intend it to be."

This clipping is taken verbatim from the May number, 1876, of *The Word*, which I lately found among my papers, and which I hope you will publish in your paper for the benefit of your many readers, and to prove to them that our teachings are not as new as many seem to think.

But, in spite of all that has been done, these many years, to break down the barriers of conventionalism, we find few, oh! so few, who have the courage of their convictions, and dare proclaim them at all times.

However, the teachings of freedom in love are making progress, if slowly, but it is a question as to whether such progress is due in greater degree to our teachings, or the experience and example of those bound in wedlock.

From a statement recently compiled by Father Otten, for the *Catholic Messenger*, it appears that divorces in the United States have increased, in seven years, from 16,436 to over 70,000, which means an increase of more than four hundred per cent. Father Otten even claims that in one of the States there is one divorce in eight marriages, while in others it is one in nine, ten and eleven, and in the State of Massachusetts it is only one in twenty. Taking this country as a whole, we may figure one divorce to fourteen marriages, and when it has reached one in four or five, there will be few who will go to the trouble and expense of getting married at all, as marriage is now known. From that statement it also appears that this country, Japan, and France, have made the greatest progress in easy divorce, while England and Canada have made the least.

Let us hope that the next seven years will increase the ratio more than four hundred per cent.; but, let us also do our share towards bringing about such results.

C. H. WESSELER.

Ouray, Colo., April 14th, 1904.

Nations are possessed with an insane ambition to perpetuate the memory of themselves by the amount of hammered stone they leave. What if equal pains were taken to smooth and polish their manners? One piece of good sense would be more memorable than a mountain as high as the moon. There is a better use for stone than in a mausoleum; and as for the pyramids, there is nothing to wonder at in them so much as the fact that so many men could be found degraded enough to spend their lives constructing a tomb for some ambitious body, whom it would have been wiser and manlier to have drowned in the Nile, and then given his body to the dogs.—Thoreau.

"L'Anarchisme aux Etats-Unis" is the title of a book recently published in Paris by Ormond Collin. The author, Paul Ghio, occupies himself in one chapter with the causes of revolutionary activity in the United States, in another chapter with the "intellectual" Anarchists (so-called Individualists), and in a third he treats the revolutionary Anarchists.

An Open Letter to Bolton Hall.

Woman's newest champion, hail! Courageous defender of the feminine need to control and govern man, attention! You have asked us to "listen with both ears," while you unfolded your discovery; that man must be subject to woman; now I ask you to listen; not only with both ears, but also with any others which you can borrow; for I am anxious that what I shall say may reach your sensorium, and penetrate thence thru every avenue of your intellectual being. It is plain that, contrary to your belief that you have a piece of knowledge that the world stands in dire need of, you yourself, Bolton Hall, stand grievously in need. Give ear, then.

One woman is to dominate one man, you tell us, because a woman's "child needs" the point of view of both male and female parents. Human life is to be subordinated to the rearing of children then, is it? The life of a man, or the life of a woman is less than the life of a child, eh? Now, with all your ears: What a child needs by way of training is, among other things, the points of view, not particularly of two parents, but of two sexes; that of woman and that of man. The belief that a woman must have the power to coerce an individual of the other sex into spending his life with her and her child, is merely an echo of unreasoning monogamic conservatism.

Listen again. Reproduction is not the business of life, to which other things should be subordinated; *the business of life is to live*. Reproduction is incidental. When all men and all women, being free, live, then all men will be the fathers of all children, as all women will be their mothers, and children will get large "points of view" in place of the restricted ones to which you would confine them. The fathers and mothers who best help children to live will be fathers and mothers, who have done away with religious, ethical, and economic authority, and who have lived a large enough love life to find happiness rather than misery in the knowledge that those whom they love are making others happy, and are made happy by others.

Do not try to rehabilitate jealousy either, by showing that it is necessary to race preservation and development; and do not change its name while you keep the monstrous creature hugged in your arms; for as a woman I tell you that the desire on the part of a woman to control a man leads to infinite disaster to health, to peace of mind, to self-development, to childhood, to life as a whole. Experience proves it, thought tho not your thought, explains it. The only orderly life for men and women is a life in which all are free, and in which all social action arises from spontaneous desire.

Your way of looking at the matter is the natural way to one who, as a single-taxer, believes in the triumvirate of rent, interest, and profit; in your view of things the present family would have to be maintained as an economic necessity; but in a world of plenty for all, your apprehensions of harm to children whose fathers were not tied to their mothers, would be ridiculous.

ALICE STERLING.

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From the Watch Tower.

Anarchism ends wars.

* * *

Revenge ignores causes.

* * *

Real order is spontaneous.

* * *

Progress involves much disorder.

* * *

The Czar honors the dead. But the living!

* * *

The dream of freedom turns waking into
pain.

* * *

Liberty stands on a hill built of broken
crowns.

* * *

The State has a soft voice but it wears a
stony face.

* * *

"Heroes" generally build themselves monu-
ments of murder.

* * *

An anti-fool law, if enforced, would nearly
depopulate the earth.

* * *

He who would understand himself must
first live a free life.

* * *

It is better to maintain your independence
than your reputation.

* * *

Anarchist plots are now dipped out of any
journalistic ink bottle.

* * *

He who understands the law may safely
become a great criminal.

FREE SOCIETY

We barter our liberties for personal se-
curity; and then get neither.

* * *

The patriotism of the Mikado is proved by
the blood of his fellow-beings.

* * *

He who fights for liberty is hated; he who
fights for the State is praised.

* * *

The State is the heir-apparent of the gods;
and revolution is the greatest of sacrileges.

* * *

Captain Kissar Hobson, having failed to
get a nomination for congressman, is looking
for a new way to advertise himself.

* * *

New York bishops of the Episcopal
Church are uniting for another attack on
divorce. Flies sometimes attack elephants.

* * *

Why was the explosion on the Missouri so
appalling? Had a score of men been killed in
battle their end would have been "glorious."

* * *

As hunger for bread will make a man
"steal," so hunger for liberty will make the
starving take it, whatever the difficulties may
be.

* * *

What is Congress going to do about the
coal trust? Perhaps it is afraid that the great
trust will revenge itself if a puny Congress at-
tacks it.

* * *

People are forever complaining of the evils
which are common under government; but
government's promise to reform always brings
complaints to an end.

* * *

James Whitcomb Riley has published an
extravagant rhymed eulogy on the character
of Mark Hanna. But Riley began his career
as a writer of advertisements.

* * *

Regulation, regimentation, supervision, be-
cause they are the foes of spontaneity, are the
foes of life; and shrinking from them even un-
consciously, we prove our need of liberty.

* * *

A voting machine grab bill was defeated re-
cently in the New York legislature. The poli-
ticians came near making half a million dollars
spoils money out of a device designed to pre-
vent dishonesty.

* * *

The press censorships of Russia and Japan
would be almost unfelt in comparison with
the suppression of news by the authorities, and
the Associated Press, in Colorado. But as the
latter takes place at home, we ignore it.

* * *

Anarchists are not "calamity howlers," tho
they find much to complain of. That which
they know as possible and desirable makes
much that we have seen poor and unsatisfac-
tory to them; that is all. Anarchism is hope.

* * *

Secretary Cortelyou has recently visited El-
lis Island for the first time. If this adminis-
tration sycophant could be given all the com-
forts of a steel cage for a few days he might

conclude that the "accommodations" were not
quite modern.

* * *

The essential object of Anarchism is to se-
cure universal peace and well-being; not by
means of restrictive tariffs, and the building of
billion dollar navies to waste other billions in
"patriotic" wars; but by uniting races on a
basis of liberty and mutuality.

* * *

Andrew Carnegie has just given the sensa-
tion mongers a new shock by providing a fund
of \$5,000,000 with which to reward "heroes."
Five million dollars returned to those from
whom our merry Andrew has stolen it would
do more good, but Andrew wants advertise-
ment.

* * *

With Emerson, Thoreau, Ibsen, Tolstoy and
Kropotkin as Anarchists, and with Morgan,
Rockefeller, Rhodes, Rothschilds, and their
kind, as governmentals, the thoughtful ob-
server of affairs finds the lines clearly drawn
between liberty and authority, and may make
his choice of men.

* * *

It is understood that King Edward, of
Great Britain, is uniting with other rulers to
persuade the various States of the world to
seek peace. The reasons given for this un-
usual attitude are, that the people are rising
superior to wars, which are also proving very
expensive. The King's pocket suffers!

* * *

The natural tendency of the State is to ever
strengthen itself, not to grow weaker; those,
then, who look upon the State as a God, have
to prepare themselves for constant disappoint-
ment, as the State, desiring to grow strong,
does not scruple as to the means. A blind
patriotism helps them in this disappointment.

* * *

The last one of twelve jurymen, those who
tried the murdered men of the Haymarket af-
fair, has just died in an insane asylum, from
softening of the brain. Nearly everyone of
these men died under unusual circumstances;
and, without superstition, it may be affirmed
that their terrible act followed each and haun-
ted him unto death.

* * *

With the British government destroying the
people of Tibet, with the Belgian and German
governments spreading death around in dif-
ferent parts of Africa, and with the United
States government destroying life wholesale in
the Philippines, the world at large has an ex-
cellent opportunity to realize the benign char-
acter of authority. Without slaughter, we
should have terrible Anarchy!

* * *

In looking on beauty, why are we always
moved to noble emotions, and why does life
for the moment seem made for harmony and
delight? Do we perhaps, in such states of
feeling as are brought about by the sight of a
magnificent sunrise, or at the sound of glori-
ous music, feel the need of being ourselves a
harmony? Do we long for completeness?
Then we must wish to be free.

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

"The daily danger of those in high office is one of the penalties of freedom," says the *New York World*. "Not against stupid people do our high officials need protection, but against men of more brain than balance." A frank admission, indeed, for in plain English it means nothing else but that "high offices" are not compatible with freedom, and that assaults on executive officials are committed by intelligent men who are overcome with indignation aroused in them by the brazen violation of the traditional liberties by the government functionaries.

* * *

Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, and one of the foremost champions of so-called constitutional liberty, delivers himself of another absurdity. "Mr. Mercer is that rare bird, a leading lawyer who dares to defend free institutions against anarchistic official attacks," he says, in commenting upon the late outrage perpetrated by the Philadelphia police against free speech. Mr. Post is well aware of the fact that Anarchism renounces all arbitrary power, organized authority and officialdom of any kind, and to cater popular prejudice by calling police brutality "anarchistic official attacks" is beneath the dignity of a fair-minded man.

* * *

In speaking of the compromising program of the Socialistic parties, the editor of *The Comrade* frankly admits that opportunism is the inevitable fate of political action. "It seems to be impossible for a political party to make progress without such a program of palliative measures," he argues, "and it is not improbable that in the near future we shall be forced to add to it in order to make and maintain a position of real importance in national politics." What an eye-opener for the sovereign Socialistic voters if they were not purblind, for it could not be made plainer that the "progress" of the party, and its "position of real importance," implies the abandonment of Socialism.

* * *

It seems to me that the Anarchists of New York are making a mistake in not availing themselves of the movement against the increase of rent which the landlords try to impose upon the poor, for it furnishes the Anarchists an excellent opportunity for propaganda purposes. Besides, every movement which tends to cultivate the spirit of self-help should be encouraged by those who are convinced of the futility of political humbuggery. Already many of the landlords have come to terms as a result of the resistance of the tenants, which amply demonstrates the efficiency of direct action. We encourage industrial strikes as one of the best means of resisting the encroachments of capital, and strikes against landlordism are surely no less important than those in the industrial field.

* * *

"Now it may as well be understood first as last that there is no real liberty in America," says the *United Mine Workers' Journal*, in speaking of the outrages prevailing in Color-

ado. "There is a code of law and a constitution which defines and guarantees protection to life and liberty in America," the editor continues, "but they are what Rufus Choate defined them to be, a mass of glittering generalities." Learned Europeans who have studied our system of government, unite in saying that whenever there comes a man in power who has the audacity, the so-called rights and constitutional safe-guards will be trampled under foot, and there is no other resource left the people but revolution." The editor then concludes:

Weep over the wrongs of the Finns and Hebrews if you will, but there has been worse done to American citizens in Colorado. Every crime known, from murder down, has been enacted against them. You pass this over in silence because you harbor the delusion that you will escape because peace reigns in your vicinity. But what has been done in Colorado can be and will be done in Indiana, Illinois, New York, or any other State when a Peabody wishes. No person in official life in the States or in the nation seems willing to act in behalf of outraged liberty. Therefore the *Journal* would urge with all its power that every mine lay idle one day, hold mass meetings, pass suitable resolutions and send them to President Roosevelt and plainly tell him the state of Anarchy that exists in Colorado and ask him to use his ample authority to check the reign of terror there. Recite the murders, the ravishing of women and girls. Tell him how peaceable men have been shot down upon their own property and their bodies filled with bullets after death. Tell him how honest, law-abiding men have been evicted from their own ground and their own houses burned over their heads. Put these matters courteously, but forcibly, and tell him you expect him to act at once. If this is not done worse things are to come. Remind him that the courts are silenced. That no process of law can obtain unless the courts are supported by United States troops. Issue this call at once. Issue it today. Every hour is precious, for Liberty lies bleeding at every pore.

Every liberty-loving individual will certainly sympathize with the editor's indignation against the atrocious tyranny now exercised in Colorado by the "servants of the people." But labor has much to learn before it can effect a remedy. First and foremost, the toilers must learn that it is government which displays its power in Colorado, and not a "state of anarchy," a condition in which there would be no mine owners, and no troops to protect ownership and exploitation. And last, but not least, labor must come to realize the ridiculousness of its appeal to President Roosevelt—the tool of those whose rule is supreme in the State of Colorado—which means suing the devil in his own court. "God helps those who help themselves," says a proverb, which the toilers should constantly keep in mind in their struggle against the encroachments of greed and power.

* * *

Last Sunday an Anarchist speaker indulged in a lot of twaddle, which, if it is taken for Anarchist philosophy, is apt to confuse the minds of his young listeners, and retard our movement considerably. Evidently suffering from a conscience-smitten sensation, he began with a tirade against those who advocate consistency in their relations with their fellow-men, especially in their homes, in order to imbue their children with the beauties of our ideal freedom. It is nobody's business, he ex-

claimed, how I raise my children or how I treat my wife; that is an individual affair, a question to be settled between husband and wife—a view which is in perfect harmony with the customs of the ancient Germans, who never interfered with the prerogatives of the husband, which gave him the right to drag his wife thru the streets by the hair, or even to kill her, if she had sinned against the commands of her benevolent lord. Anarchism is a social philosophy, he argued, and has nothing to do with the sex problem or self-reform. Anarchist conduct is desirable, perhaps, but we are too corrupted to practice what we preach, and those who insist upon consistency are endangering and hampering our movement. Corruption and authority must be swept away with one blow, and then we will have time to work out all other petty problems. Nor has Anarchism anything to do with morals and ethics—it is merely a philosophy which deals with the abolition of government.

Such was the gist of his incoherent effusions, inculcating into the minds of the young the worn-out belief that revolution will come as a heavenly gift, and all shall be saved without any efforts on their part. But the speaker failed to show how he or anyone else could escape the broom in the big sweeping performance, or by whom the cleaning apparatus would be set in motion if even the Anarchists are not expected to rid themselves of their anti-social habits and customs of a decaying society. He forgot that man and his conduct is the only factor in the evolution of society. A man who realizes the degradation of slavery, and continues to crawl and cringe before wealth and authority, will never effect a revolution. It is only by asserting his manhood and by defying obnoxious and pernicious laws and the arrogance of the exploiters, that he will be instrumental in revolutionizing society. A mere slaughter of human beings, resulting from starvation and despair, will not endanger authority. Thought and the aspirations for a loftier ideal, freedom, are the main factors in a social revolution. And the more we live up to our ideal, the sooner will Anarchy be realized.

"And how can any one manage to believe himself an Anarchist unless he practices it?" asks Comrade Kropotkin. "It is not only against the abstract trinity of Law, Religion and Authority that we declare war. By becoming Anarchists we declare war against all this wave of deceit, cunning, exploitation, depravity, vice," etc. "Life is vigorous, fertile, rich in sensation, only on condition of answering to this feeling of the ideal. Act against this feeling, and you feel your life bent back on itself; it loses its vigor. Be untrue often to your ideal, and you will end by paralyzing your will, your active energy. . . . Never more will you be the complete, strong, vigorous being you were when your acts were in accordance with the ideal conceptions of your brain."

But what is the opinion of a Kropotkin to a man who hates to be disturbed in his tranquility, and especially when his authority over his wife and children is threatened? He at once turns moralist, and, like the employer

who puts all the blame of his troubles with his workmen on the shoulders of the labor agitator, calls the advocates of freedom for wife and children scoundrels.

There is none of us without sin. We all have our shortcomings, and often completely fail in our endeavor to live up to our ideal. But let us not justify our weakness, but rather regret the tenacity of our habits, and the love for liberty will finally become life with us. True, many will succumb in the struggle, freedom will be abused, and painful operations will be performed before the equilibrium is established, but these are unavoidable pains accompanying the birth of a new era.

INTERLOPER

Echoes.

"Shall the landlords be hanged?" This question was raised in Vienna, Austria, on placards, when there was a scarcity of tenement houses. In New York, where at present the landlords behave themselves like ancient robber-knights, the people content themselves with the question in mass meetings: "What's to be done?" Fiery speakers promptly reply: "Elect Socialist councilmen." When this news reached the smoking parlors of the real estate trust, the whole gang took another drink and winked the other eye.—*Freiheit*.

* * *

John Turner, the English labor leader who was held up by the immigration authorities at the port of New York on the allegation that he was an Anarchist, and who has been released pending a hearing on his case in the courts, has been making speeches, in which he has been airing his conceptions of society. The indifference with which he is received ought to convince the most timid that a man with an opportunity to freely talk absurdities, fails to become the martyr that he seems to be when he is locked up for opinion's sake. Mr. Turner on the platform holding up the idea of a society that will be so perfect that it will need no courts and no police, seems only a harmless visionary, even if some of us wish that his ideal might sometimes prove true. But Mr. Turner, prevented from speaking about his millennium conception, becomes at once an object of sympathy to a good many people who believe that government is on the whole a pretty good device at this stage of the game for the interest of humanity. He is a deal less harmful on the platform than he is in the lock-up on Ellis Island.—*The Standard*, New Bedford, Mass.

* * *

Emma Goldman was advertised to lecture on the 9th at a public hall in Philadelphia, rented for the purpose, on the subject of "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation." An orderly crowd gathered, seeking ingress into the hall. It was an absolutely peaceable and lawful assemblage. But the "Director of Public Safety," for no other reason than that somebody had told him the speaker was an "anarchist," and absolutely without proof of any possible, much less probable, lawlessness of word or act in connection with the meeting, ordered the police to prevent its being held.

Accordingly, the lecturer and the attendants were forbidden to enter their own premises, which they had hired for this occasion. Two attendants, Frank Stephens and Samuel Miliken, insisted, tho without violent behavior, upon entering the hall. They were thereupon arrested and imprisoned. When so flagrant an invasion of one of the simplest rights of citizenship can be perpetrated by the officials of an American city, with the approval of the local press and "our best citizens," it is gratifying in the highest degree to be able to quote such sound American sentiment so eloquently and courageously expressed as appears in an extract from Mr. George Gluyas Mercer's speech before the magistrate in behalf of these prisoners for liberty's sake. Mr. Mercer is that rare bird, a leading lawyer, who dares to defend free institutions against anarchistic official attacks. He said:

Yesterday's newspapers announced a meeting at Odd Fellows' Temple to be addressed by Emma Goldman on "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation"—certainly a peaceful topic. Those who attempted to attend the meeting, among the number being my clients, were met at the door by policemen, who ordered them away, saying that the authorities would not permit the meeting. According to the primary meaning of the word an Anarchist is one who advocates a social theory of absolute individual liberty and who believes in the beautiful ideal of the self-government of man without the necessity of any forceful enforcement of the law. I have never seen Emma Goldman, have never heard her speak, and have no belief in the present practicability of her political ideal; but, if I rightly understand her position, she is the peaceful advocate of a state of society in which government, as we understand it, would be unnecessary. In one of this morning's newspapers I read her statement that she had always been permitted to speak on this topic in the city of New York. As a citizen of Philadelphia, who was born here and have lived here all my life, I hang my head with shame to think that this woman, when she comes to the city where the Declaration of Independence was made, is denied the right of free speech on another topic simply because she is known to believe in anarchy in its higher and better sense. In its secondary signification the word Anarchist means one who promotes disorder, who overturns by violence constitutional forms of government, and who interferes with the individual rights of man. In this second class we find the policemen who made the arrests last night; above them the lieutenant of this district by whose orders the arrests were made; above him the Director of Public Safety who ordered the lieutenant to deny the right of free speech and to prevent the holding of a peaceful meeting; and above the Director the Mayor of Philadelphia, who has done more, by this one act, to promote Anarchy in its worse sense than all the speeches of Emma Goldman could have done in years. Certainly, this high handed outrage of the Police Department of Philadelphia shows that here, in this American city, is Anarchy in a sense as bad as it could possibly exist in Russia; namely, a state of society in which the functions of government are performed badly or not at all, and in which there is no capable supreme power.—*The Public*.

* * *

It has come to the worst in Colorado, thinks the worker who day after day reads of new outrages perpetrated by the authorities in the mine regions. But he is mistaken. Power is getting mad in Colorado. Backed up by a scoundrel, Governor Peabody, the militia officers brazenly renounce all allegiance to the laws of the State. "We shall not recognize the attachment writ, nor obey it, and General Bell and Captain Wells will not report in

court," said Peabody, in regard to the action of Judge Stevens at Ouray in ordering the two men put in jail for contempt of court in refusing to surrender Charles Moyer, President of the Miners' Union. But the "flower of the nation"—the militia—declares that the Sheriff will have to fight the entire State militia before he can get Moyer. "The militia is not subject to writs of attachments and injunctions," added Governor Peabody. Consequently, the soldiers who have been sent to uphold the law in the mining districts, stand above the law, according to the views of this robber-gang and accomplices in murder. These cowardly loafers invade peaceable workers in their homes at night, drag them away in chains and then refuse to surrender them to the courts for trial. No officer of the Cossacks in Russia would dare to do this. But we have already outstripped Russia. Soon it will not be said any more among cultured people, "this is genuine Russian," when abominable encroachments of the police and the military are in question, but "it is entirely American," and all will know what it signifies.

* * *

Reverend Foxy, who for several weeks has endeavored to introduce himself and his fellow divines in the Chicago Federation of Labor, was badly snubbed in that body. Humbly and sadly, like the fox which goes out for prey, this enterprising pastor entered the hall in order to catch the union men. Very modestly he began to stammer that his only desire was to become acquainted with the working people and to help them in their struggle. "I came here," he stuttered, "as a representative of God, to tell you that the clergy is anxious to help you. You will admit that the gospel is one of the greatest powers to sway public opinion. The gospel comes and entreats you to help it, in order that it may be enabled to influence public opinion in your own interest."

But the unctuous words were spoken in vain. The union men could not be allured so easily. His services were firmly and distinctly refused. "Thomas Paine," a voice rang out, "has done more for mankind than Christ. Don't you think Paine was a better man than Jesus?"

"I want it to be understood," said another voice, "that the trades unions are tired of the churches and their religious silliness, as well as of the teachings of your brotherly love. It is time for the workers to realize that the churches are not in their favor, and that they are dangerous to the well-being of society."

With the exception of two or three, who were still afflicted with superstition, all the speakers declared themselves against the co-operation with the clergy. The pastor was greatly disappointed, and quickly left the inhospitable assembly.

Such attitude is gratifying indeed. If the trades unions succeed in emancipating themselves, as well as their family life, entirely from church and priesthood, then there is hope that we may see the day on which the other arch-enemies of trades unions—the politicians—will also be driven from the temples of labor.

A blush of shame should creep over the faces of those who favor child labor, if they have any shame left, when they read of the infamy perpetrated upon the tender and defenceless youth by the greed of our profit-mongers.

Let us reflect upon a very instructive picture of the misery of children coming from "the country of piety and good morals." An ex-teacher of public schools in the province of Posen, Prussian Poland, writes in the *Berliner Gazette*:

"No child comes to school in good cheer. All have been hard at work on the farms since the early dawn before they are allowed to go to school. At the age of ten they are already hired out to large landowners. As soon as the boys and girls are seated they fall asleep. What is the teacher, who suffers with pity, to do? Punish the poor creatures? But they must graduate! The only thing which keeps them awake is singing. Well, we sing at intervals: 'Home, Sweet Home' (!). After a few days there is a complaint: 'The teacher indulges too much in singing.'

"To complete the colors of the pitiable picture, I must not forget the sugar-beet harvest, when the poor children come to school, their hands covered with wounds which will burst open and bleed at the slightest motion. They can hardly hold the pen, but good results in calligraphy must be shown the school board. I only wish I had preserved some of the blood-stained writing tablets, in order to put them on the table of parliament."

But there are no such horrible conditions in this country, some of our readers exclaim with relief. Hold on, my dear. In the cotton industry of the South the infants are still more brazenly exploited, for most of them do not attend school at all. Wherever capitalism puts its foot down, there it tramples and crushes the youth of the child of the poor. They are locked up in factories wearing their lives away, or drudge from sunrise till sundown on the plantations.

For the sake of the children, if for nothing else, must the battle for freedom be continued, until we shall conquer this infernal system of profit and exploitation.—*Martin Drescher*.

From Far and Near.

According to a letter received from France. Comrade Louise Michel's life is drawing to a close in Toulon. She has an attack of pneumonia.

A meeting was held in Philadelphia, attended by a large audience, to protest against the suppression of free speech, by the police in stopping Emma Goldman from speaking. George Brown presided; Hugh O. Pentecost and Mr. Mercer spoke. Resolutions were passed requesting the Social Science Club to arrange for the delivery of the speech which the police stopped.

A correspondent of the *Fort Worth Record*, Texas, has discovered that government is not indispensable after all. "Spokogee," he says, "a town in the western part of the Creek Nation, is the only town of 1,000 population in the Territory that has no town officers.

The people there say they have no need of officers and do not want any. They pay no taxes, and whenever they want any public improvement they call a meeting of citizens and raise the money. A deputy United States marshal is all that is needed to keep the peace. There is not a gambler or gambling-house in the town. They needed a school-house, so the people built a good two-story building." The deputy United States marshal is evidently installed as an ornament of the town, and peace would certainly not suffer if the sinecure was abolished.

In Amiens, France, strike riots were recently provoked by the military authorities, and a collision between the soldiers and strikers ensued, in which many were wounded on both sides. This in a country in which the government is "influenced by Socialistic and Atheistic tendencies."

Comrade McQueen has returned from England and surrendered himself to the New Jersey authorities in order to serve five years' imprisonment, to which he had been sentenced for participating in the strike riots about two years ago. He claimed to have been unjustly convicted, for instead of inciting the strikers to riot, he tried to persuade them not to expose themselves to police brutality and prosecution. And having a family in England he betrayed the confidence of his bondsman and left the country. But upon learning that one of the bondsmen was ruined if he did not return, he decided to undergo imprisonment.

The war with Japan, says *Bread and Freedom*, the Russian Anarchist periodical, which has been provoked chiefly by the interests of our bureaucratic plutocracy, such as Kuropatkin, Alexieff and others, who have invested many millions in the Manchurian Railway and the Russian-Chinese Bank, is a war which is bound to bring new sufferings and privations upon the toiling class, materially as well as spiritually, and which has already cost several thousands of human lives, and caused the increase of taxes, a war harmful to the toiling classes, no matter what its outcome may be, defeat or victory. It has awakened in the people the savage instincts of hostility and hatred against everything foreign, the feeling of jingoistic patriotism, and has to a certain degree led popular discontent into another channel, turning the boiling rage and irritation of the people against the Japanese—these "vellow devils," who "somewhere on the ocean are beating our people, and compel our father czar to spend money on their account." It is this ignorance among the people, their inability to discern the cause of their misery and helplessness, to which the manifested patriotism can be attributed. True, truth will finally prevail, but at present the government avails itself of the patriotic sentiment in its fight against the revolutionists.

Look here, my son, how wisely everything has been arranged by providence. The birds lay their eggs now. The young ones will come out of the shells when there are worms and flies to feed them with. Then they will honor the creator with a song of praise for the benevolence bestowed upon them.

The New Inquisition in Spain.

Terror reigns throughout Spain; every day one can see brutes invested with a little authority menacing the working classes with torture or with arraignment before the councils of war; from one side of the peninsula to the other the prisons are full of workers whose only crime is the wish not to die of hunger; security is guaranteed to no one, a state of siege reigning almost constantly in every town; the fate of the inhabitants rests in the hands of soldiers who exercise a dictatorship without limit; furious still because of the punishment they received in Cuba and the Philippines, they take their revenge on the workingmen, whom they know to be unarmed and easy to conquer.

Another armed body, neither civil nor military, that has the effrontery to declare itself invulnerable and intangible, the Civil Guard commits the basest infamies and most inconceivable brutalities under the open protection of the government. Its most ferocious and ignoble hatred is turned loose against the workingmen who seek a way out of their misery and slavery. Under the pressure of new ideas the inquisitorial spirit of Old Spain—of the monks and the *conquistadores*—has suddenly awakened and in its irritation menaces with destruction all workers and their works.

That is just what must not be permitted. We call with vehemence the attention of men of heart and intelligence to the atrocities of that country. It is with this aim that we publish *C'Espagne Inquisitoriale* which will be a constant denunciation of the abominations and iniquities of which the world at large knows little, because of the vigorous censorship.

We are determined to do all in our power against the governmental savagery of Spain; we will stir up agitation thruout America and Europe; we will arouse sympathy for those who suffer, and indignation against their torturers; we will talk, we will write, we will go everywhere, pointing our finger at those who are responsible and if, after all our resources are exhausted, we fail to secure the result we aim at, we will seek in our despair and rage more efficacious means to put an end to these shames and infamies.

The foregoing is a translation of the salutatory article in *C'Espagne Inquisitoriale*, a bi-monthly paper published in Paris, France, for the purpose of arousing international indignation against tyranny in Spain. The paper is almost as large as *FREE SOCIETY*. There is no subscription price, but contributions for its support will be gladly accepted. It gives graphic accounts of the inhuman tortures to which workers are submitted in Spanish prisons. Translations of some of these articles will be published in future issues of *FREE SOCIETY*. Funds for the support and wider distribution of *C'Espagne Inquisitoriale* should be sent to Charles Coizel, 42 Rue de la Roquette, XIe Arrondissement, Paris, France.

Do the worms and flies join the song, papa? Anything that is looked upon as mean in a poor devil becomes noble, great and virtuous in everybody's eyes when it comes forth from government which is so rich with polished virtues.—*Multatuli*.

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Subjects:

April 29—"Kropotkin". Robt. E. Ely.
May 13—"The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation." Emma Goldman.

* * *

The Slavic Group meets on the first and third Sunday of the month, 2 p. m., at 334 East Sixth St. Free discussions. All are invited.

* * *

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* * *

The Freeland League meets during April, every Monday; after April every Thursday, 8 p. m., sharp, at Etris Hall, 168 W. 23d St. Lectures and free discussions.

* * *

May 2, 8 p. m., Gorki's interesting play, "The Citizens", will be performed at the Thalia Theater for the benefit of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. All comrades who have the propaganda at heart are cordially requested to aid the comrades in the sale of tickets in order to make the undertaking a success.

FOR CLEVELAND.

Free Society Group meets every Sunday, 3:30 p. m., at 223 Columbus St. Lectures and free discussion.

FOR CHICAGO.

Liberty Group meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., at Stangel's Hall, 235 Western Ave., near Van Buren St., for propaganda purposes and discussion. The club rooms at 427 Park Ave. are open as usual.

Most's Historical Lectures will take place at Terrace Lyceum, 206 East Broadway, New York, every Saturday, 8 p. m.

Book-List.

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