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The Rebel

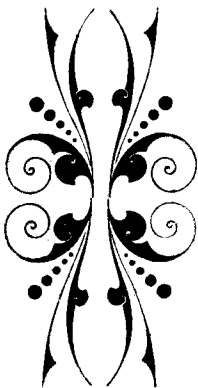
A MONTHLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE EXPOSITION OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. I.

FEBRUARY, 1896.

No. 5.

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Published by the Rebel Group, 170 Hanover St., Boston.

.. THE REBEL ..

AN ANARCHIST-COMMUNIST JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO THE SOLUTION OF THE LABOR QUESTION.

VOL. I.

BOSTON, MASS., FEBRUARY, 1896.

No. 5.

THE GROWING TENDENCY TOWARD COMMUNISTIC EFFORT.

On every hand to-day we hear of new attempts to realize a more communistic mode of life in the midst, and in spite of the dominant system of individualistic capitalism. Such attempts, it is true, have long been made, and perhaps nowhere more than in the United States of America. But hitherto they have been of the nature of distinct little colonies or communities, striving to hold themselves apart from the struggling world. And for this reason, although serving as lessons, particularly as to what cannot be done, they have generally ended in failure.

To-day however a distinctly new phase of communistic effort is developing fast, namely, attempts at co-operation in certain directions, for certain specific ends. The participants in these efforts do not separate themselves from their former associates, or change radically their relations with the world. On the contrary while continuing their ordinary work and intercourse with the society in which they are placed, they strive continually to spread the idea of co-operating or communising in such directions as they find immediately practicable, waiting until this special form is firmly established, before attempting to realize the same idea in other directions. Such are, for instance, the neighborhood guilds, started by certain ethical societies, and co-operative associations, like the Brotherhood Trust* started in London by the Socialists Bruce, Wallace, and J. C. Kenworthy.

But there is again a new development about to be realized in the establishment in France of the new Workingmen's Glassworks, to which I referred in my last letter. (See the article: *La Verrerie Ouvriere de Carmaux*, in *Les Temps Nouveaux*, No. 38.)

This effort marks a new era in socialist propaganda, and is, in my opinion, of such great importance, that I trust you will excuse a few lines again on the same subject.

Socialism is probably more advanced in France than in any other country. This is so, chiefly, because here the organized Trade Unions of workingmen, though not so long established or so wealthy as in the United States, or England, but rather for that very reason are bodies of socialists, widely awake to the enslaved position of the working classes under the capitalistic system. While in the two countries referred to, the working man is so fully assured of his personal "liberty," that despite all the chains and misery with which poverty binds him, and makes it still difficult for him to unlearn that long inculcated lesson that he is a *free* man, in France the government—particularly the Republican government—is so meddlesome and despotic, that nobody with a spark of independence in him, can deceive himself into believing that he is free. Consequently the French proletariat is more con-

scious than others of its true position. The mass of the French Trade Unionists also have lost all faith in political socialism and are determined to direct their propaganda into purely economic lines.

The new Workingmen's Glassworks will be the source of new strength to the socialist cause in two ways. On one hand it will be the property of the French proletariat. Thereby realizing the true principle that the fruits of labor rightly belong to the whole community, and associating the minds of the people with this idea, by the very fact of its being carried into effect before their eyes. Now they see its importance as a weapon of defence, in the future they will acknowledge the righteousness of it, having grown conscious of its advantage to all.

In the second place the profits of this common property will not fall in the direct form of individualistic property to any one, but will be consecrated to such support of the common cause as shall be approved by all the participant bodies concerned. Never is it to be used for the furtherance of any one individual, whether to political power, or personal possession, but to be applied entirely to the needs of the economic question. It will therefore, in proportion as it succeeds, turn the attention and the hope for deliverance of the people in the true direction, and strike a death-blow at all attempts of improving man's condition by political effort.

Finally its example will be sure to be followed. There is however one other point to which I cannot abstain from referring before concluding—namely the hearty co-operation of the French Co-operative Societies both Distributive and Productive. These, which hitherto cannot be said to have been socialistic in their tendency, but rather the contrary, by placing in a position of greater individual wealth not the community but the restricted number of their members, have now come to the front cordially to co-operate with the federated Trade Unions, and have done their part to secure the success of the new factory, by providing a certain market amply sufficient to absorb the supply. Thus we see an example of how these former attempts at economic amelioration may become a considerable aid in the socialistic combat of to-day. Surely such an undertaking as this claims the hearty approval and support of the whole world's struggling proletariat.

All particulars as to the details of the scheme are given by the Secretary of the Executive Committee, address: E. Guerard, 110 rue Vielle-du-Temple, Paris. The treasurer sends to all applicants tickets to be sold on behalf of the Edification of the Factory at 4cts., given in packets of 50. To prevent confusion all applications should be sent together with the amount.

I trust that some effort will be made by our American comrades to support this excellent movement. The question of the deliverance of the proletariat from capitalistic tyranny is of universal import, and it cannot make a step forward in one spot without the interest of its success being felt universally.

A. HENRY.

*The little pamphlet on the Brotherhood Trust, published by the Brotherhood Publishing Co. Pitlake, London, England—well deserves attention.

THE STATE.

There are no national questions properly so-called, in these times. There is the great struggle of revolution against the State, of the future against the past, of equality against privilege, of right against force.

This struggle exists—open or hidden—among all civilized peoples, whatever may be the political form of the government,—Empire, Monarchy, Republic, personal Power or Parliamentarism.

That which stops and sterilizes revolutionary action in France,—is identically that which stopped the revolution in Italy, that which made the revolution abortive in Spain, that which retards and will render the revolution impotent in Germany:—*it is the theory of the State*,—be it the republican State or the monarchical State, the labor State or the bourgeois State.

State and Revolution are two forces contradictory and incompatible.

The question is, to escape from political evolution of which all the terms end in the despotism of the strong, and the slavery of the weak, to enter upon the ground of social evolution which shall give us justice in equality and in liberty!

But in order to reach this ground of socialistic realization, it is necessary first, let us repeat it, to throw down the barriers which obstruct the access to it—that is to say *abolish the State and the whole political organism of which it is the supreme incarnation!*

When one repeats the celebrated saying of Louis XIV: *L'Etat, c'est moi!* (*I am the State*) all our liberals shudder with indignation.

When the modern State says: *La France, c'est moi!*—and acts in consequence,—what difference do you see there?

The State is right, you have given it everything, it is the strongest, it can do all,—it is all!

— But, you answer, we are the sovereign people!

— All these men who govern us, who measure out to us our rations of liberty, of existence, of respirable air, who cut out and pare down our rights, who legislate for and against all, particularly against us, only hold their power through us!

— For that reason have they less power over you?

— It is the people who elect them!

— Are you governed less on account of that?

— We have our votes,—we change them!

— Yes, and the more you change them, the more it is always the same thing. In the first place because you change them at the time they fix, in the condition which they prepare, in such a way that you can impede the wrong only after it is done. Afterwards, because this wrong is rooted deeper than you can reach. Prune the tree as much as you like, it goes on putting forth its branches, and if it is a poisonous tree, you will always feel its venom every time you go to repose beneath its shade.

The error is, to believe that in changing the possessor of the Power, that the nature of the Power is changed.

The king Bomba said speaking of his soldiers, who by the way were brave enough against the people: Uniform them in green, uniform them in red, they will always retreat before the enemy.

It is the same with Power. Let it be exercised in the name of divine and hereditary right, or in the name of popular sovereignty and elective right, it

will always be the Power and you will always be the inert thing which is administered, which is directed and which is governed.

Let it be anointed with the holy oil or blackened with the powder of the barricade or decorated with votes,—the State represented by one man or an assembly has always the same prerogatives, the same omnipotence.

From the moment you have said *Yes*, with more or less knowledge of what you are doing, more or less moral or material liberty, you belong to this Power, which comes from *you* and which is not *you*.

If they said to a man condemned to death: "The executioner will not be named by the administration, thou shalt elect him thyself, and before cutting off thy head, he will declare that it is by virtue of thy own sovereignty that he executes thee,—do you think that the fate of the executed one would be essentially changed?"

This theory then is that of delegated sovereignty, that of all the old revolutionary generation and of the young neophytes who aspire to the Power.

Let us have no illusions: never will the State, whatever name it takes, be truly democratic nor even *liberal*, submitted to the will of the people.

How are you to expect that which commands . . . to obey?

Never will it be liberty, nor equality, since it is *Authority*, therefore it is privilege, that is to say, the contrary of liberty and equality.

The whole system, dictatorial, authoritative, governmental, three synonyms, rests upon this insensate idea that the people can be represented by other than themselves. No one can represent the people because no one better than they, can know their needs or their will.

One represents defined interests, circumscribed interests, limited interests,—one does not represent an abstraction.

One represents a community, an economic group, a body of workmen,—one does not represent the people. Therefore the State does not represent you, it only represents itself. Now, you, the people and the State, that makes *two*, and *two* will never make *one*. What would you say of a man who, having a thorn in his foot, would decide to change his shoes in the hope of curing it?

The thorn is the State, the governments are the shoes which we change.

Proudhon, speaking of the governing class, says in his correspondence, (vol. 5, page 51): It is an imbecile caste, immoral, insatiable, without principles, always ready to plunder the public funds, and to exploit the poor, accomplishing all this as readily under an emperor or a republic, a church or a king.

So we have seen Thiers accomplishing his ends as president of the Versailles Republic, and his friends doing just as well under the monarchico-clerical republic, which they expect to govern with the decrees of the Empire. They are the astute members of the band.

They have understood finally that provided they gag the people and that the absolute Power is in the hands of the directing class it matters little that the gag be white, black or blue, that the Power calls itself Republic or Monarchy.

They have enough to do, however: the people commence to understand whence the evil comes, and they commence to explain to themselves why all their

victories of a day are defeats for twenty years.

— An individual eats some mushrooms and is poisoned by them. The doctor gives him an emetic and cures him. He goes to the cook and says to him :

— "The mushrooms in white sauce made me ill yesterday ! to-morrow you must prepare them with brown sauce."

Our individual eats the mushrooms in brown sauce. Second poisoning, second visit of the doctor, and second cure by the emetic.

— "By Jove !" says he, to the cook, "I want no more mushrooms with brown or white sauce, to-morrow you must fry them."

Third poisoning, with accompaniment of doctor and emetic.

— "This time," cries our friend, "they shall not catch me again ! . . . to-morrow you must preserve them in sugar."

The preserved mushrooms poison him again.

— But that man is an imbecile ! you say. Why does he not throw away his mushrooms and stop eating them.

Be less severe, I beg you, because that imbecile is yourself, it is ourselves, it is all humanity.

Here are four to five thousand years that you try the State—that is to say Power, Authority, Government—in all kinds of sauces, that you make, unmake, cut, and pare down constitutions of all patterns, and still the poisoning goes on. You have tried legitimate royalty, manufactured royalty, parliamentary royalty, republics unitary and centralized and the only thing from which you suffer, the despotism, the dictatorship of the State, you have scrupulously respected and carefully preserved. ARTHUR ARNOULD.

Remark. **Bomba**—a nickname given to Ferdinand II (1810—1859) late king of the two Sicilies.

(*The State and the Revolution*, a pamphlet published in Geneva in 1877.)

ABOUT THAT DALLAS PLATFORM.

Some time ago the Anarchists of Dallas organized a "People's Church," for propagandistic purposes. In the discussions that followed, the public who came from curiosity, seemed much interested in our principles, and the question was often asked : What do you Anarchists believe in ? What is your platform ? At length, at a private meeting, it was suggested that the Anarchists in Dallas formulate their ideas into a platform to assist the "uninitiated" to a better comprehension of our views. At the request of the comrades concurring in the suggestion, I drew up the platform published in No. 4 of the *Rebel*, which was accepted. So much for the genesis of this platform.

Unlike our comrade Edelmann, I believe in the importance of platforms. In the first place, they afford the public a brief and concise outline of our aims and principles, and (what is more desirable at this time) they furnish a basis for union and rallying point, which gives our movement the appearance of having a well defined object in view—sometime, now lacking in the existing chaotic state. Besides, there is nothing objectionable to an Anarchist about subscribing to a platform, if such platform is agreeable to his views. A platform unites without organization ; it enables us

to maintain a definite propaganda, prevents entangling alliances with authoritarian 'isms' just now rather numerous, and, finally, it keeps our principles before the public in a very effective manner, and at a very small expense. For these and many other reasons, I would favor the adoption of a declaration such as presented by the Dallas comrades in No. 4, by the various anarchist journals and societies.

Comrade Edelmann finds no objection to the platform demands, so far as principles are concerned, with the exception of plank 6. which demands a free medium of exchange. His objection to this plank results from his inability to comprehend its true import. In insisting that all systems of currency shall be mutual and voluntary, no definite plan or scheme of financial organization is involved whatever ; it is simply a declaration for absolute freedom in the matter of a circulating medium, leaving all questions of exchange to be arranged by individual initiative. This plank is not a declaration *for* money ; it merely affirms that money, when issued should be of a voluntary character. Of course, Communists will have no use for money, but they have never questioned the right of others to issue it, if only it be freed from government monopoly and control.

Comrade Edelmann imagines that he has found a contradiction between this money plank and plank 4. which proposes co-operative control of all means of production. He cannot see any use for money after adopting the principles of co-operation in production and exchange. Granting his last conclusion to be correct, it in no way effects plank 6. which neither affirms nor denies the expediency of a circulating medium, but means simply what it says, that, whatever the form of currency issued under Anarchy, it must be free from coercion, monopoly, or government control. I assure friend Edelmann that the Dallas Anarchists have no intention of carrying any thing of the present system of robbery and barbarism into the society of the future.

I apprehend that brother Edelmann in *his* vision of the Promised land, has formulated a cut-and-dried system, which, like every other reformer I have ever met, he regards as the only true society, hence, he cannot accept anything short of his ideal when presented as a declaration of principles. Now, my object in writing the platform, was to present something definite, something embodying the main points of the Anarchist philosophy, without going into those details of social organization upon which there is such a diversity of opinion among Anarchists themselves, and, which the very fact that they are details of social administration, have no business in an anarchist platform, since Anarchy means the right of each individual to choose for himself his own forms of social life. And I hope that the time is near, when Anarchists will sink all differences in matters relating to the details of the coming society, and with locked shields and a united front, presenting to the common foe a solid phalanx, and unfurling the red banner of human brotherhood, will strike a united blow for the emancipation of the race, and the annihilation of that monster of the ages—the State.

ROSS WINN.

THE SCHOOL OF SAVAGERY

Being an account of a method now first made known by means of which a few normal human beings may perchance be preserved for the study and delectation of our progeny.

BY BAYARD HOLMES, M. D., *Professor of Surgery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Chicago.*

Through the kindness of a plutocratic friend I have lately obtained permission to use one of his large and untitled estates in Northern Michigan long enough to test my long cherished project. It remains now to see what co-operation can be obtained from teachers and parents. Therefore this short and imperfect account is here attempted by one more accustomed to think and act than to think and write.

The object of this school is briefly stated in the title. It is a fact well recognized by all teachers, that very few children, if indeed any, attain manhood without suffering so much from civilization that they may truly be termed defective and abnormal. We have therefore no models of the human body or of the mind, much less of both in one person. It would be a delightful experience, bought at any cost, to see, talk with, play with, and study a real, natural, and untampered boy or girl. It is not necessary to refer to the delight such a child would take in life, what a fund of healthy curiosity he would express in every feature and what an inspiration the sight of such a child would be to every parent or teacher. To save from our suppressed, stunted, and warped humanity a few such specimens, has been my study and effort for years. Now it seems possible to realize a bold and hopeful experiment at least in this direction.

Early in May, therefore, the school of savagery will assemble at the Northwestern railway station in Chicago and go by the evening train to my friend's estate. The school will be composed of such men and their families as are willing to leave civilization behind for four years. The children of these families must none of them be more than ten years old and no children will be received who ever had a teacher. No parent will be received who ever taught a school, nor one who thinks he or she knows how to teach. The most sought for children will be between the years two and ten, unaccompanied by their parents. The services of a number of families now living on my friend's estate have been secured to conduct the education of all the children.

The site which has been selected for the school is about 60 miles from the railway. There is no road nearer than 18 miles. A large cabin formerly used by lumbermen and two small adjoining cabins will be used as part of the necessary shelter. These cabins are on the shore of a large inland lake. Quite a hill, almost a mountain, rises a mile northwest of this camp, a large brook empties not far away, and a small piece of alluvial bottom in the valley of this brook land has been cultivated. Most of the country is covered with pine forests or underbrush. It is only two or three miles to a river which soon empties into lake Superior.

The only resident in this camp is an old hunter. He has been here twenty years. With his aid three families with whom he is on friendly terms have been selected to assist in this educational venture. One family, unfortunately, is childless, but they have consented to abandon their home and move to the camp. The two families have each small cabins near the shores of the lake and not more than a mile from the camp. In one family there are four boys, four, six, seven and twelve years old. In the other family there are a girl, seventeen, and two boys, fifteen and twelve, and twins six years old. Each of these families has a piece of cultivated land near its cabin. None of these people has ever seen the cars though one of the boys says he heard the whistle once when he was out hunting. The

men and one of the women have been on a steamboat. None of them reads much, and there are only a dozen books in the three camps.

The lake is full of fish; there are plenty of deer and other game in the woods. Each camp has a few domestic animals, especially fowls. It will be easy for the children to make dug outs and cabins if more shelter is necessary. They can burn off some of the brush and cultivate more land.

In one of the cabins there is a very good loom. This will be useful in making such durable blankets as our civilized industries can not furnish and it will also be an entertainment in the winter. Every cabin has its spinning-wheel. There is a large iron stove in the big cabin at the camp. The other cabins have big fireplaces and brick ovens. There are a good many tools in a sort of shop at the camp and an old forge once used by the lumber men. There are many old chains and pieces of iron such as sleigh runners and wagon tires all about the camp. Each cabin has one or two old boats. Every person has his own canoe.

The course of study during the four years of attendance will consist in living and growing. Every cabin will be provided with some good books which those parents that can read will read to the children on stormy evenings. On the wall of each cabin will be hung some of the best works of the old masters. All the children will be encouraged to decorate their tools, their boats, their clothing, and their dwellings. They will also be given every opportunity to reproduce the objects they see and are interested in. There is a fine clay bank at the bend of the brook which has furnished material for some pottery already.

In the large cabin there will be a piano and an organ. Every cabin now has a violin. The various instruments of an orchestra will be given to such students as are found capable.

There will be very little routine. Those who go out to fish and hunt will select their time. Those who stay at home will breakfast together, each group by itself. Again at dinner and at night all meet and eat, talk and sing. Each evening there will be stories, dances, and games. Everything that can be done out of doors will be encouraged. Fishing, hunting, boating, cutting wood, hunting bees, climbing trees, exploring mountains and digging for minerals, every one when there is occasion or need. An effort will be made to make one large and beautiful cabin for all public occasions. It will be of hewn logs, with a tiled roof laid on hewn logs and a tile floor. The fireplaces will be the great feature.

The children will do only those things that are necessary or desirable. The older ones will help the younger ones and the old folks will direct all and encourage all. The real tasks will naturally be connected with the needs of life. Thus when the children get hungry they will help to make the fire, to get the water, and to cook the food.

Three persons have volunteered their services in this expedition. One has labored long to get back to nature. He is a graduate of one of our best universities, and has studied pedagogics in every center of Europe and America. One is an artist or rather a teacher of art. She has done much in practical pottery, in decoration, and in house furnishing. She carves very easily in wood and is quite well-known for her stone cutting. The other is a man who has had a very limited education but he is fond of all games and sports and has thoroughly cultivated his natural talent for music. His health was at one time so poor that he began the study of physical development for its therapeutic effects. He is now almost a Sandow. He takes great delight in choral dances and shows great originality in adapting music and motion to occasions.

It is hoped that children after a full course in savagery covering not less than four years will be well prepared to withstand the ravages of civilization, and will be able even to complete a course of study in some university to the delight of all their teachers.

This little outline is thus written in the hope that it may reach the eye and the conscience of some teachers who will try to help so humble an undertaking and to save to the world for its cheer and its work some rare specimens of healthy childhood.

Should the author not be disappointed in this effort he may be addressed at his office in the Venetian building in Chicago, where indeed he will meet persons by appointment to discuss this important undertaking.

—*Intelligence, a School Teachers' Magazine of Chicago.*

COMMENT. — It is a most enticing project, the only amendment I should like to offer would be this,—that instead of making it only a play to last a few years it should be made an enduring reality. You see it is not we Anarchists alone who are getting weary of this alleged christian civilization. This is but one of many expressions of the intense desire to escape the treadmill round, the damnable iteration and reiteration of conventional life. For those who have money it is easy enough to get away and play at freedom, for a while, but play does not content even those people who can cut the bonds of sympathy that tie us all together. And as for us who have no money, we will have to get our satisfaction in trying to change over this world so that we can be such gentle savages as our friend pictures at home and all the time. But wouldn't it be possible to have a camp and enjoy communal life a few weeks or months each year? The expense of holding an international congress would cover the cost. I believe it would be worth thinking about.

J. H. E.

TWO CONGRESSES OF GERMAN ANARCHISTS.

The Anarchist conference in Karlsruhe (Baden) took place on Jan. 19. It was intended to hold a public meeting in connection with this gathering, but the police decided otherwise. The official decision on this matter is so characteristic that we give an extract. "You have notified us that to-morrow (Jan. 19 1896), it is intended to hold a public meeting of Anarchists. . . . Anarchism intends the forcible overthrow of the existing State. The application of its principles leads necessarily to—high treason, a crime punishable with severe penalties. A meeting in which such principles are to be openly proclaimed, is therefore against the laws of the State, and calculated to endanger the safety of the State and to disturb public order. To plan such a meeting, moreover on the very day when thousands of the people are praising god, in the churches, that 25 years ago to-day, the German empire was re-born, must be declared distinctly immoral, etc., etc." The conference was opened at 2 o'clock by a comrade; there were delegates from 7 cities and towns. The first subject considered was—agitation. All the comrades agreed that our ideas should be spread among the masses by tracts. The second matter discussed was the coming international conference in London. It was unanimously decided to send a delegate to the conference. Jacob Mueller, now in prison for his activity in the propaganda, was proposed as the delegate of the South German Anarchists. Mueller will be liberated about the middle of March, should he decline, comrade Machner will probably be sent. Finally the new movement of the "South Ger-

man Independent Socialists" was considered. The opinion was general that these independents are still very unclear as to their principles, and opinions. They are in a condition of intellectual fermentation. During the conference telegrams were received from comrades of Freiburg and Wupperthal. Our conferences seem to trouble the police mightily; some days ago they searched comrade Imhof's house, and have since subjected him to a system of espionage that reminds one of Berlin. All present were much pleased; it was a beautiful day and one long to be remembered by the assembled revolutionists.

ELBERFELD ANARCHIST CONGRESS. Our projected gathering was prohibited by the police at the very last moment, Jan. 25, P. M., altho' the authorities had received the notice of the projected meeting several days ago very quietly and without expressing any hostility whatever.

As the laws concerning societies did not suffice, the "Disturbance paragraph" of the Prussian common law was invoked to cover the case.

The police seem to have supposed that we would attempt to meet, in spite of the prohibition, for they watched the hall all day. Detectives followed our comrades at every step, from the R. R. station to the restaurants and saloons, to the city limits in fact.

As a matter of fact we realized our purpose in spite of all this police machinery, for that purpose was merely a general discussion and a better understanding as to ways and means. The police issued their edict at so late an hour, that we could no longer notify out of town comrades to stay away, and so there was quite a gathering. Over 25 towns were represented, and tho' we could not meet formally, we did meet informally, and the meeting filled one with renewed hope.—From *the Socialist, Berlin*.

The International Socialist & Trade Union Congress, 1896. London Anarchist Committee

The above committee has been formed from a conference of Anarchists held at the York Minster Music Hall, London, 26 Dec. 1895.

Its purpose is to enter into communication with comrades at home and abroad so as to secure concerted action against the methods of the Marxist clique on the organizing committee of the Int. Congress who are endeavoring to stifle effective opposition by shutting out the delegates of Anarchist associations.

Communication from comrades in any part of the world would be welcomed and should be addressed to J. Tochatti, Carmagnole House, Hammersmith, London.

T. REECE, Asst. Sec'y

THE 25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE will be celebrated by the Anarchists of Boston on Sunday, March 22nd. Speeches will be made by J. H. Edelmann of New York, and C. W. Mowbray in English, J. Most, in German, and J. Gubits in Italian. Kronberger's Hall, 996-998 Washington St.

On the 24th March comrade Edelmann will deliver a lecture on "Evolution, its application to Sociology and the abuse of the term."

For particulars see bills.

"THE REBEL"

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM.

Issued by the "REBEL" Group.

Yearly Subscription, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents.
Single Copy, 5 cents.

Terms for Advertisement by special arrangement with
H. M. KELLY, manager.

All Literary Communications to be addressed to the Editor,
C. W. MOWBRAY.

Printed and published by H. M. Kelly and James Robb.

Entered at the Boston Post Office as second class mail matter.

BOSTON, MASS., FEBRUARY, 1896.

✂ We shall not be responsible for any remittances but those addressed to H. M. KELLY, 170 Hanover St., Boston, Mass. Subscribers, groups, and readers please heed this!

TO OUR READERS.

FRIENDS, KNOWN AND UNKNOWN! With this issue The Rebel appears before you for the fifth time, and deeming you to have had ample opportunity to make up your mind as to its efficacy as a propaganda medium, we have a few words to address to you. Founded by a few hard working wage earners who recognized the necessity of such an organ, we consoled ourselves with the hope that friends outside of Boston will not, to use a parable, be merely looking on from the shore how the young swimmer will be moving against the tide which practically, the greater portion of them have been doing till now,—but fall in line and extend to them all the support within their reach. The Rebel has come to stay. What we ask of you is that all those who have the spread of our ideas at heart, and not only on their tongues, should arouse themselves from their apathy. There are a number of subscribers on our list from whom we have not heard; to these we give two weeks time to make good their promises, or their names will be erased. Sickness or being out of work will be accepted as a temporary excuse. Circulate The Rebel wherever possible. Sample copies will be sent to any address suggested. Let us hear from you! Anarchist papers through the States please copy.

THE REBEL GROUP.

NOTES.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN WORKERS.

BRIDGEPORT, JAN. 4.—The straw plaiting works of N. A. Baldwin & Co., located at Milford, will soon be removed to Japan. For more than a year experiments have been made with machinery to be used in the weaving of Japanese straw matting. They have been successful, and a syndicate of wealthy men has been formed for the purpose of establishing a factory for the manufacture of the goods in Japan. A quantity of the new machinery has already been shipped, and William Dougherty, who has been with N. A. Baldwin & Co. for many years, has gone out to superintend setting it up.

For several years the firm has sought to extend its business and compete with the cheap labor of Japan, but no headway was made until the new machinery was invented. Then the matting was turned out with great rapidity, but even then it was found it was impossible to offer the product at the importer's price. It costs no more to transport the finished goods than it does the raw material, and investigation showed that even running expenses in America were not as cheap as the primitive methods of Japan or China, whereas the difference in the price of labor is very great. At present the duty on the goods is not enough to stop the Americans from going to Japan to manufacture, and the cheap labor is a great inducement.—From the *New York Sun*.

Now tell us, Mr. Weismann, how the pure and simple, non political, trade unionism is going to meet this situation. The Americans who used to make matting have had their working day shortened not only to 8 hours but to none at all. Explain if you please how your all saving organization will enable them to get bread? But while brother Weismann is elaborating a pure and simple scheme the American wage slaves had better practice cheap living. A handful of rice and a little opium is enough, as the coolies have demonstrated, and if the Americans can only accustom themselves to the coolie's standard, we can keep our manufactures here at home under the star spangled banner.

* * *

BOURGEOIS MORALITY.

COLUMBUS, O., JAN. 12.—Rev. Washington Gladden, in the course of his sermon to-night in defense of his declaration a few weeks ago that war between America and England was not to be thought of, read a letter which he had received from W. T. Stead, editor of the Review of Reviews. Mr. Stead said in part:

"I was glad to see from a cablegram that you had been holding forth in your own style on the subject of the relations between America and England. I only write to thank you and to say that when you blame us for not going to arbitration, you must remember that it is one thing to arbitrate between two powers like England and the United States, which are civilized, and another thing to go to war with an uncivilized, anarchic, revolution-ridden horde of half breeds that call themselves a Republic in Venezuela.

"If the United States of America will accept for Venezuela the responsibility which we accept for British Guiana then there will be no difficulty at all. The great mistake that it seems to me is committed by the American people is that they allow their inherited jealousies of the British monarchy to blind them to the fact that the English-speaking man whether under the Stars and Stripes or the Union Jack, has a right to grow and expand his frontier at the expense of half-savage half-breeds, who are unable to govern their own country, and who spend their time in chronic revolution. The Americans seem to be losing sight of the fact that the English-speaking man does not and ought not to be asked to forfeit his rights as a colonizer and a pioneer, merely because he prefers to live under the flag of the country in which he was born."—*New York World*.

Here you have the bourgeois reformer at his very best. This man Stead went to prison for telling of the sexual corruption prevalent in English society, and is quite a hero in his way, but this Venezuelan question drives him mad. These "half-breeds" might be working under the last of English speaking managers to produce the wherewithal to pay interest on bonds and loans, dividends on stock and salaries to a horde of superfluous younger sons of good families. And when our "kinsfolk across the sea" set about to elevate them to this higher sphere, the ungrateful creatures actually object, this of course is not serious, a few British regiments would soon fix that, but that the government at Washington should come to their assistance is indeed exasperating. Poor Stead.

* * *

THE ESSENCE OF COMMERCIALISM.

A recent report of Dairy and food Commissioner Wells of Pennsylvania names so many food products which are adulterated as to raise a query as to what is not adulterated. Among the many impure things sold are all-spice, which often is mainly composed of ground and roasted cocoanut shells; baking powder; beef, wine, and iron prepared as a tonic; butter, buckwheat flour, candy, catsup, cider, cheese, cinnamon, cloves—the latter made almost entirely from ground cocoanut shells, the odor and taste of cloves being scarcely perceptible; coffee—consisting chiefly of coffee screenings or damaged coffee, but sold at a high price as a pure article; fresh “Java” made from wheat and barley hulls, roasted with sugar and containing no coffee; codfish not codfish at all—merely cheap dried fish; cream of tartar adulterated with flour; flaxseed adulterated with starch; fruit “butters,” such as apple butter, peach butter, etc., very seldom pure, being adulterated with starch waste and salicylic acid; the same is true of grated pineapple; ginger adulterated with ash, rice hulls, rice flour; and cayenne pepper; lard; maple syrup, made from commercial glucose thinned with about 20 per cent. of water; mixed spices, orange juice, lemon oil, lemon phosphate, molasses, mustard, olive oil, pepper, vinegar, vanilla extract, all kinds of preserves, extract of strawberries, and tea. To add to the deception a few apple seeds are scattered through the so-called fruit jams, or timothy or other seeds are added to the mixture to represent raspberry, strawberry, etc. The production of artificial colors is particularly common in confections. Indigo, tumeric, annatto, logwood, and cochineal are used in great quantities, and are probably not harmful; arsenic, copper and leads are very deleterious, but are not now used as much as in former times, before sanitary officials made such persistent attacks on them. Milk and milk products are often colored. Annatto is very commonly used by dairymen to give a rich yellow color. In itself annatto is probably harmless, but it produces deceptive results.—From the *N. Y. Evening Post*.

There you have the facts, but if you think that the facts will at all discourage the learned editor when next he sits down to demolish the Socialists and Anarchists, you are mightily mistaken. He will explain that private enterprise inspired by the private expectation of private profit, is the only practical method of carrying on production. And he will also demonstrate that competition will compell manufacturers to furnish pure goods. The state socialist will also explain that since the state machinery of inspectorship has failed to prevent or even diminish adulteration, we evidently need an enormous extension of officialism to put an end to it. Still facts are stubborn things and even the most elaborate theories can not change them. Adulteration will no doubt go on as long as commercialism holds sway. Under communism it would naturally end, and what a lot of work it will save, to say nothing of digestion.

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HOW WELL THEY UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER.

Of all sweet things of tongue or pen, of all the honeyed flowers of compliment and taffy-dripping speech, the sweetest that has been or shall be comes from Chicago. Comes from the lips of an alderman, and flows more flagrant than the oil on Aaron's head, adown the classic cranium of the statesman whom the gods call Bath House John. The latter was lifting his voice as high as he could in favor of the so-called General Electric ordinance at a meeting of the Common Council the other night. Another alderman interjected this remark, destined to be in all the anthologies of epigram: “John, if I had your courage, I would break into the First National Bank.” If anything finer than this has been said anywhere by anybody, kindly send particulars to this office.

—New York Sun.

I give it up. If any brother or sister can improve on that—I'd like to put it in ‘Notes.’

* * *

LIFE ON THE OCEAN WAVE.

PORT ANGELES, Wash., Jan. 8.—There is mutiny aboard the British ship *Gifford*, which cleared Monday from Tacoma for Queenstown, Ireland. The captain has twelve of the crew confined in the forecabin and no one is allowed on shore. The trouble arose in Tacoma, where the crew was shipped by a boarding-house runner, who received \$40 per man in advance from the skipper, which money he appropriated to his own use. Some of the men, it is asserted, owed the boarding house but two days' board. The runner promised to send the sailors' clothing on board, but sent instead chests and sacks of rags and refuse. The men rebelled at such treatment, but the captain insists that it is no affair of his, and will put to sea as soon as the weather permits. —New York Sun.

Now here is an illustration of what Law will do for wage slaves. The English lawmakers have provided a most elaborate code for the benefit of the sailors on British ships, and here is a practical illustration of how they work. Can our American Seamen take the hint? The English government in order to satisfy a lot of reformers, who sympathized with Jack Tar, notably, old Plimsoll, has enacted special laws for the protection of sailors on British ships, which provide that justice be done him and only justice. Such an elaborate and minute code even our reformers of the Seamen's Union don't hope to get from congress for the American sailor. Yet here right under their eyes is a case where the real efficiency of these sailor protection laws is illustrated. Still as long as leaders and lobbyists can live on the sailor we shall have strenuous efforts to obtain “reform” on paper. I wish we could introduce anarchist literature into the forecabin.

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UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

I clip the following passage from an article by Goldwin Smith in the *Sunday Sun*, speaking of the rush of poor boys to get a college education:

“This is a danger not academical only, but economical and social, which ought not to be overlooked. Undue facility of graduation, combined with the growing preference for intellectual over manual callings, and the increased love of city life, may lead to the production of a multitude of graduates for whom there will be no suitable employment, and who may not only be miserable, but, in the end, dangerous to society. It is from an element of this kind, if we are rightly informed, that nihilism draws not a few of its recruits.

“The munificent founder of an American university once said that he hoped the day would come when there would be five thousand students in his halls. It was answered that if that day should come the institution would be in danger of proving a bane instead of a blessing to the State, since there would not be a market for the five thousand graduates, and the unemployed would have either to starve or to resort to some undesirable means of earning their bread. That so great a diffusion of high education, especially in the scientific line, sets the inventive intellect of the nation widely at work may be true; but this hardly compensates for the peril. A consolidation of the universities in each State, if it were possible, would be both academically and socially a great gain. Of a national university, though the idea may be taking, there seems to be no practical need, while there would be reason to fear that such an institution would not be free from the influence of political party. Perfect political neutrality is essential to the exercise by the universities of a wholesome influence on national life.”

Goldwin Smith is right. The mass of educated men and women for whom commercial society has no use, and who are therefore doomed to a precarious and humiliating life, are a danger to society; but merely making it more difficult for people to get through

college will not remedy the matter. In the first place those who have the thirst for knowledge can slake their thirst outside of the collegiate fountains, and in the second place, discontent affects even those who can provide for their own wants. That is a fact though which you can't expect the last surviving master of the Manchester philosophy to comprehend or even to believe. If Mr. Smith knew for instance that Bakounine, Tchernishevsky, Kropotkin, Stepniak and a host of others, were not only brilliant scholars, but men of means and position, who were nevertheless the very soul of so-called nihilism, Mr. Smith would probably say that since the facts did not fit the commercial theory, why so much the worse for the facts. But again I remark that facts are stubborn things.

* * *

OUR BOUNDLESS RESOURCES.

"The immigration to Alaska the coming season will undoubtedly exceed that of any year prior to it in the history of the country. The hard times throughout the States have driven many to look to foreign fields if they would earn a livelihood, and since it is generally believed that Alaska is the coming country hundreds have turned their attentions here. Every mail brings numerous letters of inquiry to this office from people who intend visiting this country as soon as the season opens. To those who intend coming here we would say: Consider it well before starting, and remember that there is not another place in the republic where you are left so completely at the mercy of the people when you are broke as in Alaska. The population is small, and the people are not in circumstances to be depended upon for financial assistance. Under no circumstances should any person come here with less than \$300 or \$400, or a sufficient sum to pay expenses in case he should fail to secure employment. This is a country for capital, and not one for labor."

Gold! gold! gold! gold!
Molten, graven, hammered and rolled,
Bright and yellow, hard and cold,
Hard to get, and heavy to hold.

—The Alaska Mining Record.

The resources are alright, they are practically boundless, but in Alaska as elsewhere the "Our" refers to the capitalist, not to the laborer. The function of the laborer is to labor, to transmute the "Resources" into cash—the capitalist will take care of it, that is he will dine on terrapin, drink Chambertin, live in a palace, clothe himself in fine raiment, travel in private cars and steam yachts, direct legislation, manipulate judicial decisions, keep the press in the straight and narrow or it may be devious, and winding way, and allow the laborer enough to live on in that frugal style befitting a laborer. That is while he has work for the laborer; after that of course it is the duty of the laborer to "starve to death in a quiet, lawful and constitutional manner." True there be a few malcontents who don't accept this plain and obvious duty without grumbling; for these the capitalist has priests, preachers, leaders, policemen, judges and if need be soldiers. So the rule of the capitalist is still reasonably secure.

J. H. E.

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A BIT OF STATE SOCIALISTIC APPROPRIATION.

Under the heading "The Socialist University of Brussels," (Italics are ours), the *Commonwealth* of New York, a socialist magazine, gravely informs the world

that "This new institution is rapidly gaining ground." That is very gratifying news. But we must have a word here. With perhaps the best intentions the *Commonwealth* has applied an epithet to the University in question that it does not deserve and certainly would repudiate.

The "*Nouvelle Universite du Bruxelles*" is, as N. Edmond Picard said in his discourse at the opening of the University in October 1894, "before all else a new and notable affirmation of the Liberty of Teaching." It was, as all the world knows, because the doctrinaires of the old *free* university had suspended the course of lectures of Elisee Reclus, at the time of the anarchist troubles in Paris, that all the liberal professors and students alike rebelled, and this rebellion brought about the foundation of the new University, which no one need hesitate to class among the most remarkable events of this century. . . . It was a question of liberty and certainly not one of the fifty eminent professors who offered their services, and among whom are some of the brightest names in literature, science and art, would wish to apply a name indicative of any doctrine *whatever* to this School of Liberty. It is true that in the corps of professors are to be found some theorists of Socialism, but there are also theorists of Anarchism, and all are able to intelligently explain their theories, and none would prevent them without denying the very principles which have directed the founders of the University. The Commonwealth remarks that Internationalism is one of the objects of the institution, the professors and students alike coming from all countries. There are students and professors from all over the world at Harvard and the Institute of Technology, but it is not known that either of these institutions pretends to make Internationalism a specialty. Another statement of the Commonwealth is the following: "Strange to say the government does not interfere to prevent the diplomas having the same value as those of the other universities." The government does not interfere in this matter for the simple reason that the *Nouvelle Universite* has conformed itself to the law which fixes the programme of the courses of study, in order that its students may participate in the examinations and obtain diplomas. But there is another department in the university which is called the *Institut des Hautes Etudes*. This is a free institute which does not propose to deliver parchments, or prepare for careers, functions or employments. Its aim is disinterested science. . . . The administration of the university it is significant to note. A secretary is appointed, charged to ascertain the sentiment of the assembly of professors and to put it into execution. According to Mr. Picard, there has never been a vote! never a conflict! never a difficulty! The professors of the different faculties meet together, discuss, and come to an agreement. In the general assemblies student-delegates participate. Authoritarianism is banished.

A FEW HINTS TO AN INQUIRER.

MY DEAR SIR,—in order that you may get a correct, that is to say a living conception of the views and aspirations of Anarchist Communists, I must ask you, first to take a mental look around you. You will see a world abundantly stocked with all manner of good things; raw material ready for transformation into necessities and luxuries without end. This country, "Our Country," especially, the experts are never weary of telling us, contains boundless natural resources. You will see a population skilled in all kinds of handicrafts, many of them highly trained specialists in the various branches of useful work, and tens of thousands of ingenious inventors, constantly devising new ways and means of making labor more and more effective. And finally a great number of students of science, whose ever increasing knowledge of natural phenomena, is continually opening up new stores of natural wealth. You will see, moreover, a people wholly absorbed in toil, constant, unremitting, unlovely, unhealthy toil. If you think this is an exaggerated statement, read the official report of the factory inspectors of any state, and you will be convinced that the work of the American wage earner is merely a slow form of suicide. Every branch of manufacture and nearly every occupation has its own special disease. You will find them described in sickening detail, in official reports. To this slavery the mass of the population willingly submit, all the time believing themselves to be free. Only a small minority escape—the rich and their parasites. True, the superfluous workers, the unemployed, are free from the chains of wage slavery, but their freedom is only the freedom to starve or beg. And wonderful to relate—the great mass of the toilers are bitterly poor. All of their hard work does not afford them a decent living.

This too may seem untrue to you, but just ask yourself, would any person of culture and refinement, be satisfied with such housing, food and clothing, as the great mass of the American people put up with?

No! not for a single day. But even this is not the worst of it; never can they banish the grim spectre of absolute want, never have they any security that to-morrow they may not lose the little they have to-day. And then the unemployed! The living embodiments of mental, moral, and physical degradation. Can Dante's Inferno furnish us a more ghastly picture than the ever growing army of American tramps? Does "Darkest Africa" harbor such bestial savages, as infest the slums of our large cities?

And then the minority, the small minority, what an abysmal chasm separates their lives from that of the workers! "They till not, neither do they spin, but Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like unto them."

And it is very doubtful if Solomon ever had such palaces as the American plutocracy is "erecting." The royal chateaux of Chambord and Chamonceaux have been for centuries monuments of unbridled power and luxury, but when the youngest of the Vanderbilts went to Europe with his architect, he had the State apartments measured and insisted on having those of his own palace

made larger.

A generation ago private steam yachts were a royal luxury; to-day a fleet of steamers magnificently equipped and luxuriously appointed, serve to convey American millionaires on their journeyings. Hosts of workers toil only to produce the trappings and trimmings of this latest aristocracy. An army of servants cater to their wants, or serve as symbols of their wealth and state; and swarms of human parasites prey upon them, from the wretched adventuress who blackmails "respectable" debauchees, able and willing to avoid "scandal" by cash payments to the "reform" legislator who introduces an anti-monopoly law in order to be bought off.

Consider for a moment that out of sixty-five millions who live in this country, 30,000 own over half of the wealth, and the bulk of this wealth is invested in railroads, manufacturing, banking, and land, and is already controlled by so small a number of men that they can easily agree upon a common course. And this process of concentration is going on unceasingly day by day. While we are prating of popular sovereignty, the actual sovereignty, the ownership of the country, and all it contains, is being legally absorbed by a mere handful of "citizens" whose political rights are no greater (on paper) than those of the poorest victim of a sweat-shop provided he has been made a citizen.

If all I have said strikes you as being too "strong," read Lloyd's "Wealth and Commonwealth." Lloyd, who by the way is a highly respectable and law respecting reformer, therein traces the birth and growth of "trusts" as a feature of our national life, notably that of the Standard Oil Trust, their enormous accumulations of wealth and their dominant influence on legislation: municipal, state, and national, on the administration of "justice" from the police court to the supreme court of the United States, and even on our international relations.

And Lloyd is not an Anarchist, on the contrary he is an honest believer in government. True he is shocked at the facts his arduous labor has brought together, but hopes for legal reform. Henry George has shown in "Progress and Poverty" how private property in land necessarily produces wealth and poverty side by side, and few men have portrayed our present state so powerfully as he has in "Social Problems;" I can only recommend all students of social questions to read him. But the greatest and most galling of all forms of capitalistic oppression, the money power, is only vaguely felt. No author has to my knowledge dealt clearly and convincingly with the question. But the Populists, the plain farmer folk of the West, who know that their produce is constantly falling in price while their mortgages and the interest on them remain the same, know that something is wrong. And they do not care a rap for all the learned disquisitions of the orthodox political economists, who demonstrate? that this is the result of natural laws, not to be evaded by human effort.

They too hope for relief by legislation, and it will be a sorry day for our rulers when they lose this hope. Even the Socialists 'though they tell us that they propose to revolutionize society, by abolishing private property, are advocates of political reform. They hope, as

theo tell us, to gain control of the government, and to use the power now wielded for our enslavement—for our emancipation. Nearly all Anarchist Communists began as Socialists, especially those who live in so-called free countries, that enjoy (?) representative government. I was, for one, and labored earnestly for peaceful reform, on the instalment plan. But gradually it became clear to me that government can never become the instrument of real emancipation, since it is essentially the domination of man by man.

Among primitive people government is merely the personal rule of some strong fellow, braver perhaps and stronger than the rest. He has of course a group of friends who support him in his rule and enjoy his favor. Among them there is sure to be the medicine man, witch doctor, priest, or whatever they may call the clever rascal, who pretends to commune with spirits, and rules men by their superstition. From these develop all the complex Hierarchies of Church and State down to our own time. Even now we see the self proclaimed "land of thinkers" ruled by a half crazed boy who claims to speak in the name of god, and holds aloft the cross and the sword as the symbols of his sacred authority. True, the theory of the divine right of kings was much shaken by the French revolution, and nowadays even in Germany and still more in England the power behind the throne and behind the church, for that matter, is the power of the great capitalists. In this country, where there is neither king, hereditary nobility, or state church, the capitalists rule us even more absolutely, through our alleged representatives, and public "servants." And though we have no state church, our free churches support them more efficiently.

I have said they rule us through our political government,—so they do, so far as is necessary to their purposes; but how enormous is the power they exert directly. Just consider the life of an employer of any large corporation or firm. We are shocked at the minute regulations that governed the lives of the subjects of the Russian empire; such interference with personal liberty, free Americans would not tolerate for a moment. And yet your free American who is lucky enough to get a job, accepts unquestioningly the still more despotic rule of the "boss." A rule by which his hours of getting up, his speech, his manners, are prescribed, in short his whole life subjected to most minute regulation, to most degrading supervision, and secret scrutiny. Such rights as the political government nominally secures to him by law, such as compensation for injury or death by accident, etc., he is compelled to renounce by free(?) contract. The political government touches the great mass but little, the private government moulds their very souls. Of course there are occasional revolts, sporadic outbreaks, strikes for better treatment or better pay, it is only when these revolts become formidable, that the capitalist calls on the political government for protection, though even then the canny capitalist likes to employ private banditti, Pinkertons, detectives and the like, as less cumbersome and more effective. Realize if you can what it means that employees of many large corporations, cease to be known by their names and become numbers, that illustrates the real tendency of capitalistic rule, the mass of men cease to be individuals and become mere parts of a huge machine.

Already they have nearly lost all power of individual initiative. The men of a generation or two ago were individuals capable of acting and thinking for themselves, as Emerson puts it, "Massachusetts in its heroic days had no government—was an anarchy. Every man stood on his own feet, was his own governor." And now, why when a factory or a mine shuts down, or a big commercial firm fails, the employees stand aghast, helpless, as though the world had come to an end. It is not only that they are in danger of starvation, the majority of them can not imagine life outside of their accustomed treadmill.

The factory whistle is the symbol of the real authority in this country.

(To be continued.)

REPORT.

Comrade Mowbray has addressed the following meetings during the month:

On "Trade Unionism and Anarchism," and "The Woman Question," at Kronberger's Hall. On "The Labor Press," at Laurence Hall. "Anarchist Communism," at the Social Science Club. On the same subject, before the Economic Club. At New Bedford, "What is the Labor Question?" At the rooms of the Boston Single Tax Society, a debate between Mr. Skelding of the Society and Mowbray, on "Single Tax vs. Anarchist Communism."

WILL APPEAR SHORTLY.

ANARCHY AND MORIBUND SOCIETY, by Jean Grave. With special preface by author.

This is a translation of the famous work *La Société Mourante et L'Anarchie*, for which Jean Grave was sentenced to two years imprisonment for his outspoken criticism of the social order of present day society. It will appear in twelve monthly parts at 7 cts. each (post free), the first of which will appear on April 15th. Subscribers who would prefer to have the book as a whole can receive it after the appearance of the last number, at the price of 75 cents, bound.

"The Torch," 127 Ossulston street, Euston Road, London, N. W.

LIBERTY LIBRARY.

A monthly publication of essays on Anarchism. Yearly, 50 cents, single copies 5 cts.; in lots of 100 at 2½ cts. per copy. February issue, No. 2, is "God and the State," by M. Bakounine. Address all communications to E. H. Fulton, Columbus Junction, Ia.

L'Action is the name of a new French weekly. It is the organ of the Anarchist journalists, founded by Bernard Lazare. Address, 24 rue Chauchat, Paris.

The State, published in this issue, may be had from our office, in the shape of a 4 page leaflet, at \$2.00 per 1,000, carriage free to any part of the Union.

ANARCHY PURE AND SIMPLE.

Dear Comrade,—the article in *Solidarity*, No. 7, (April 1.) entitled 'Anarchy Pure and Simple' touches upon a point with regard to which we should like to offer a few comments. While agreeing in the main with the definitions there given of Anarchy, and though not one of those "extremely unwilling to countenance Anarchy not coupled with Communism," still I hold it *preferable* to associate the two ideas.

The chief reasons we will try briefly to make clear.

Taking society as it is to-day which of the two innate instincts of man, self-interest or sociability, suffers most in consequence of the incessant industrial warfare in which he is perforce engaged? Is it the self-preserved or the sympathetic tendency which is most keenly developed? In reply to this question there can surely be no two opinions. And most particularly not in such "free", constitutionally governed countries as the United States of America, or Great Britain. In other more politically despotic lands, a common grievance against constantly recurring petty tyranny might conceivably foster a common sympathy among the oppressed. But however that may be where ever the English tongue is spoken life is to the million one continual strife of man against man, developing in him, in proportion to his intelligence, a strong individuality. And this individuality is again heightened by his national creed, the false belief in his personal liberty and equality before the law.

This spirit of individualism is by many mistaken for liberty, and by others, especially our Socialist opponents, often mis-called Anarchy, which Anarchy, they say, is responsible for the absence of human sympathy, so distinguishing a feature of present bourgeois society.

Further, the recognition of the inhumanity of this kind of individualism causes the general public to so misunderstand Anarchy as to imagine that it would be identical with the extremest development possible of the same, likely to bring about a hell upon earth rather than harmony and peace.

In short the favoritism enjoyed by the victors in the economic strife, has come to be taken for *liberty*, whereas it never was, or could be, other than *licence*.

Now Anarchy brings prominently forward the fact, that no true liberty can exist where the component individuals of society are not, each and all, equally free. Until this basis of *solidarity* necessary to the very existence of liberty is grasped, Anarchy will be unattainable. And the difficulty of fully appreciating this side of the question is, in our opinion, one of the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of our propaganda. Every man is aware of his own desire for liberty, but few understand that liberty for himself is impossible at the cost of liberty of others. Consequently the communistic spirit as going along with the anarchistic is especially important for the

furtherance of the anarchistic conception of liberty.

Again not only does the present system of life make it difficult for many to understand liberty based on solidarity, but it also tends to make man unsocial, abnormal, inhuman, incapable of understanding truly social life. In Anarchy we see the only possibility of sociability, *i.e.* fraternity. And possibly the greatest beauty and glory of life on the anarchistic principle will be the development of the communal life, not merely materially enriching society a thousand-fold, but raising man to a moral felicity as yet not dreamt of.

If this were not so, if Anarchy meant exclusively "the principle of *unlimited* individualism" (which in my opinion is a misleading way of stating the case) then it might imply a return to a more barbarous mode of life. Is it not because it also implies that principle of solidarity which doubtlessly leads man to rejoice in co-operation, that Anarchist Communism is such an inspiring conception as can never be lost sight of by those who have once mentally realized it. Is it not at the thought of the Great Brotherhood of Man that we rejoice? And is not Anarchy dear for the very fact that it alone can be the condition of this all embracing universal communism?

To conclude as we have heard our comrade Merlino put it: "it is the *solidarity* rather that men now need to learn, the individual liberty idea being more in accord with the dominant spirit of the industrial age" out of which we hope shortly to have evolved. It is through solidarity alone that we can bring about the much longed for Revolution which will lead us to Anarchy, that is, the greatest possible individual liberty attainable.

Consequently though when taken in their widest sense Anarchy may be taken to include communism, being based on the principle of Solidarity; or Communism to imply Anarchy, as no real communism can be had without Anarchy, still as complement one to another, when our object is to teach the world the complete idea of individual, coexistent with communal, liberty, is not Anarchist-Communism the more comprehensive, and therefore desirable term. To us it seems so.

Nevertheless times and occasions are different. We can imagine circumstances where 'Anarchy Pure and Simple' would be the idea most needed; others where Communism, Solidarity more necessary. In our opinion these distinctions are to a great extent matters of personal character or idiosyncrasy. To one it is given to be the herald of Anarchy, to another the herald of Communism. In either case the one fulfilled will inevitably bring with it the other.

Fraternally yours, H. E. N-Y.

(As the reader will see, the article above this signature has been addressed to comrade Edelmänn, written as it was for the columns of *Solidarity*, but had reached the addressee when 'S.' was no more. The topic treated therein being as interested now as ever we give it space in our columns.)

THE CASE OF MRS. EDEN.

Justice Day, the well-known worshipper of the "cat," has made himself notorious once more. At the last Warwick Assizes, this highly respectable old flogger managed, by his summing up, so to direct twelve imbecile jurymen that they returned a verdict of *wilful murder* against Sarah Eden, a charwoman, who by an "illegal operation" was alleged to have caused the death of a woman, a certain Mrs. Sinister.

We do not intend to dwell on the sentence of death pronounced by Day. But we are anxious to know what is the meaning of these prosecutions, and in the name of what "principle" they are instituted.

Here is the case. A poor wretched woman, who neglected to prevent, at the right moment, the conception of her child, obtained the services of another woman to procure abortion, in order to spare herself the anguish of child-bearing, and at the same time to save the prospective baby the pain of living. The operation is carried out, and the woman dies.

Now if at any time there existed a right of property, then most indisputably it is that which a woman has over her unborn child. And it would be just as reasonable to hang a surgeon who, by amputating a broken limb, causes the death of his patient, as to condemn to death a Sarah Eden, under whose more or less experienced hands a woman dies after undergoing a so-called illegal operation.

But let us look at the question from another point of view: the most important one. Why should not women, even when they are not in a weak state of health, as Mrs. Sinister is said to have been, and do not dread the physical pain of child-birth, abort, if they choose to do so. How, in such a case, can the interference of judges, as representatives of Society—that rotten abstraction—be justified?

For the question is not whether a woman dies or not in consequence of the operation. If she does not, she and the "operator" are nevertheless prosecuted and condemned, if the thing becomes known.

Women *must* procreate, women *must* be prolific, women may *not* extirpate or destroy the fruit of their womb. So says the law, and so say the brainless idiots who abide by and worship it.

We say: The bringing forth of children, so long as the "joy of living" cannot reasonably be expected to be their fate, is a *crime*,—the greatest we are able to conceive.

How much better would it not have been had the scores of cursed children we meet in the streets, livid, bloodless, and thin, so many indictments against their reckless procreators, if their coming into existence had been prevented, or if they had been taken, as soon as they came to the darkness of light, by the heels, and their brains been dashed out against the wall?

Wretched women:—Be sterile, close your wombs, abort!

ALEXANDER COHEN, in *The Torch of Anarchy*.

DEAR COMRADE,—thinking it might be of interest to the readers of your journal to know of the spread of anarchistic ideas at any place and at all times, and of all organizations that are fruitful in this direction—I write you of a little organization that is flourishing in the far West.

For the past two years, a half dozen or so congenial spirits have been in the habit of meeting at the house of one of their number, in the mountains, at a place called "Pine Flat," for the purpose of discussing social, religious and scientific questions, talking "politics", revolution, etc. Finally the last political campaign came on and waxed quite warm in this vicinity, and these aforesaid "congenial spirits" made themselves quite conspicuous for their radical, outspoken opinions, and the rumor of their occasional meetings gaining ground, the conservative element in the valley dubbed them the "Pine Flat Anarchists."

Nothing daunted by what they had learned to regard as an appropriate name, they organized and adopted the name "Anarchists", but substituting the word "National" for "Pine Flat" as it was regarded as more suggestive of great importance. This done and your humble servant being honored with the presidency of the organization, a declaration of principles was drawn up and printed, the front page being ornamented with a cut of skull and cross bones with the significant motto underneath—"Death to bad Government."

To say that a sensation was created when our manifesto found its way into the public is putting it very mildly. The San Francisco Examiner first commented upon it, then one of our local papers discovered that "anarchist" meant the same thing as bomb-thrower, barn-burner, mysanthrop and assassin and proceeded to enlighten the public on that point, and to warn them of the existence of such a "dangerous" organization in their midst. Another local editor who was inclined to act fairly sent for the president of the organization, took down a statement from him and published it word for word, much to the credit of the cause and all those locally concerned in it. This all happened some four or five months since and the sea of society has again resumed its usual serenity and the fruits of "agitation" have of late been showered down quite plentifully in the shape of many inquiries as to what "Anarchy" and "Socialism" really mean.

One little incident, to show the bitter prejudice and ignorance that exists among the masses is well worth noting. An ardent lover of "law 'n order" who by the way has sacrificed all his property in the payment of interest, suggested that the citizens organize and try me, as the president of such a villainous society, for treason to the government.

It hasn't yet been done and as anarchistic ideas are becoming more common a favorable reaction is setting in. Our membership has increased and application has been made to establish a branch in Texas, and so it is that a movement of even the most humble beginnings can, if founded upon truth, do much to hasten the cause of freedom. However there may be much honest difference of opinion as to what constitutes "Truth" especially as applied to social economics and since it is absolutely necessary that all reformers present a united front to the enemy if they would conquer, we should strive to eliminate all factional jealousy and prejudice, and find as much common standing ground as possible. If peaceable methods (of reform) continue to fail as present prospects indicate, I must as a consistent reformer subscribe myself as, yours in the cause of revolution,

Alexander Valley, Cal.

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