The People.*
The people is a beast of many brains.
That knows not its own force and therefore stands
Bowed with wood and stone; the powerless head
Of a man of power...[text cut off]

The People.

The People is a beast of many brains.
That knows not its own force and therefore stands
Bowed with wood and stone; the powerless head
Of a man of power...[text cut off]

The Essence of Legislation is Organized Violence.

What is legislation? And what enables people to make laws?
There exists a whole science, more ancient and more mendacious and confused than political economy, the servants of which in the course of centuries have written millions of books (for the most part contradicting one another) to answer these questions. But, as the aim of this science, as of political economy, is not the explanation of what ought to be, but rather to prove that what now is, is what ought to be, it happens that in this science of jurisprudence we find very many dissertations about rights, about object and subject, about the idea of a State and other such matters which are unintelligible both to the students and to the teachers of this science; but we get no clear reply to the question, What is legislation?

According to science, legislation is the expression of the will of the whole people; but as those who break the laws, or who wish to break them, and only refrain from fear of being punished, are always more numerous than those who wish to carry out the code, it is evident that legislation can certainly not be considered as the expression of the will of the whole people.

For instance, there are laws about not injuring telegraph posts, about showing respect to certain people, about each man performing military service or serving as a juryman, about not taking certain goods beyond a certain boundary, or about not using land considered the property of someone else, about not making money tokens, not using articles which are considered to be the property of others, and about many other matters.

All these laws and many others are extremely complex, and may have been passed from the most diverse motives, but not one of them expresses the will of the whole people.

There is but one general characteristic of all these laws—namely, that if any man does not fulfill them, those who have made them will send armed men, and the armed men will beat, deprive of freedom, or even kill the man who does not fulfill the law.

If a man does not wish to give as taxes such part of the produce of his labor as is demanded of him, armed men will come and take from him what is demanded, and if he resists he will be beaten, deprived of freedom, and sometimes even killed. The same will happen to a man who begins to make use of land considered to be the property of another. The same will happen to a man who makes use of things he wants, to satisfy his requirements or to facilitate his work, if these things are considered to be the property of someone else. Armed men will come and deprive him of what he has taken, and if he resists they will beat him, deprive him of liberty, or even kill him. The same thing will happen to anyone who will not show respect to those whom it is decreed that we are to respect, and to him who will not obey the demand that he should go as a soldier, or who makes monetary tokens.

For every non-fulfillment of the established laws there is punishment: the offender is subjected to those who make the laws to blows, to confinement, or even to loss of life.

Many constiutions have been devised, beginning with the English and the American, and ending with the Japanese and the Turkish, according to which people are to believe that all laws established in their country are established at their desire. But every- one knows that not in despotic countries only, but also in countries nominally free—England, America, France—the laws are made not by the will of all, but by the will of those who have power; and, therefore, always and everywhere are only such as are profitable to those who have power, whether they are many, a few, or only one man. Everywhere and always the laws are enforced by the only means that has compelled, and still compels, people to obey the will of others—that is, by blows, by deprivation of liberty, and by murder. There can be no other way.

It cannot be otherwise; for laws are demands to execute certain rules; and to compel some people to obey certain rules (that is, to do what other people want of them) cannot be done except by blows, by deprivation of liberty, and by murder. If there are laws there must be the force that can compel people to obey them, and there is only one force that can compel people to obey rules (that is, to obey the will of others), and that is violence; not the simple violence which people use to one another in moments of passion, but the organized violence used by people who have power, in order to compel others to obey the laws they (the powerful) have made; in other words, to do their will.

And so the essence of legislation does not lie in the subject or the object, in rights or in the idea of the dominion of the collective will of the people, or in other such indefinite and confused conditions; but it lies in the fact that people who wield organized violence have the power to compel others to obey them and to do as they like.

So that the exact and irreducible definition of legislation, intelligible to all, is that: Laws are rules made by people who govern by means of organized violence, for non-compliance with which the non-complier is subjected to blows, to loss of liberty, or even to being murdered.

Anarchy in New York.

New York is on the war-path. The Anarchists must go, says the law. The Anarchists won't go, says the Anarchists. We are here to stay; not only that, we are increasing in number and are carrying out our propagan- 
dums, even more vigorous than before we were "outrayed" by the wise men at Albany.

Most of the edition of twenty-five thousand of the pamphlet "Roosevelt, Crooks, and Anarchy" has been distributed by a corps of energetic young comrades of both sexes, whom even repeated arrest does not deter. The first arrest was made for violation of a city ordinance prohibiting the distribution of literature, and a fine of three dollars imposed. The next arrest was for the same offense, but the circumstance were different. On the occasion of the Allgaid memorial, when the great western orator and man, C. S. Darrow, addressed a large
P. Kropotkin and C. Pobiedonsotsk.

Quite an interesting controversy is going on in The Social American, a review published between Comrade P. Kropotkin and “his exceedingly learned” Constantin Pobiedonsotsk, the procurator of the Holy Synod of Russia. The question at issue is the Russian methods of education and the Holy Synod.

In the Review of May, 1901, there appeared an essay by Kropotkin on “The Present Crisis in Russia,” in which he tried to explain the reasons of the late disturbances of the students of that unhappy land.

“Everything has been reformed in Russia since 1861,” said Kropotkin, “scherdom was abolished; corporal punishment was nearly got rid of; new, open courts, with juries, were introduced; some sort of self-government was given; military service was entirely reformed and rendered obligatory upon all—education alone was treated as a step-daughter, with suspicion.” All Russia wanted and loudly called for education; women and men of the wealthier classes were ready to give any amount of time and money to spread education among the masses. They are ready still to support the efforts of the university professors and of the directors of the colleges, of the provincial self-governments, of the wealthy municipalities and the private donors, who have been and are still the real founders of the Russian system of public education, who, since 1862, have always been nominated, not to spread education broadcast through the country, but to prevent its spreading.

Kropotkin adds, as is usual with him, facts and figures that the paltry sum spent annually for primary education in Russia, goes as subsidies to the village clergy, who, aside from their general ignorance, “keep schools on paper only.”

European Russia has only one school for each 2,200 inhabitants, and only one child out of every 20 or 30 children of school age goes to school (as against 60% in the United States). The number of books and in the universities and in the public schools, which was inscribed in the budget.

Russia is crying, shouting and agitating for a reform of the lyceums; they want natural sciences and technical knowledge instead of Latin and Greek; they demand more engineers, more chemists, more skilled workers and technical experts. But they can’t get them. The ministry maintains that a scientific and technical training would breed revolutionists.

The fear of the revolutionary spirit, which would grow, it was said, in Russia, and render absolute rule impossible, so soon as education is spread throughout the country, was so great that two generations of young men were sacrificed to it.

“As to the universities,” says Kropotkin, “nearly all the best professors, the glorious Fizeau, the brilliant Greenblatt, the learned Heller, who is charged for having attempted to shield Most from the police, is also held to the grand jury, which will act upon the cases in probably a week. The educators of Future Society will be duly acquainted with the disposition the grand jury will make of the case.”

J. F.
The study of comparative state law was prohibited, and the Russian students had to remain in ignorance of the constitutional laws of the civilized nations. The study of Russian history, law, and economics became a study of ‘conventional lies.’ With natural sciences it was still easier to study other natural sciences, so that of geology and physiology remained unoccupied for years. A geologist myself, I have passed through the St. Petersburg University without ever having heard one single lecture on geology.

Every student is placed on the list of suspects and treated by the higher authorities of the ministry of education as an enemy of society; both the dean and examiners of the educational districts are chosen by the ministry from among men who were better known for their police capacities than for their learning. Police spies and providing agents swarm in the universities. Consequently, when three or four years ago, the St. Petersburg students, at their anniversary meeting, whimsically at the appearance of one of their presidents, while the other presidents were absent, a thing that happens and will happen in every university, the dean sent immediately for the police, who brutally assaulted and dispersed the students, as they were about to scatter. The police afterward organized another crowd, and the famous beating of the students on a bridge across the Neva followed. Many of the students were arrested on this occasion, and hundreds were excluded from the universities. In all other universities a strike, refusing to follow the course so long as their St. Petersburg comrades were not released; the result being that many hundreds of young men were excluded from the other universities as well.

At the request of the dowager empress, who happened to witness the brutality of the police on the Neva bridge, the ex-minister of war, General Vovensky, was appointed to make an inquiry. He proved that there was not the slightest reason for calling in the police, lectures the police authorities, cancelled nearly all the orders of expulsion, and released the students of the third and fourth of them. A military officer had thus to interfere for the defense of the students against the ministry of public instruction.

And the far more serious riots of Kief started in a similar manner. The Kief students, excited by the fact that one of them had been brought before the justice of the peace for misconduct, held a meeting, whereupon the dean excluded a number of students from the university for one year, and put others under arrest. The students then held another general meeting and asked the dean to have a talk with them. The dean immediately went for the town police, the State police and the police. All the mass incredible, but it is confirmed by the Official Messenger itself. The meeting of the students was perfectly quiet and peaceful. Still, the dean was neither a fanatic nor a fool. He was simply an obedient functionary, who acted in accordance with the instructions of his principal—the minister of public instruction, Bogolobov. Bogolobov himself told me in the hands of the procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobiedomostoff, a narrow-minded fanatic of the State religion, who—it was only in his power—would have burned at the stake all the protestants against orthodoxy and Catholicism. And it were those two men, Bogolobov and Pobiedomostoff, who reported the Kief affair to the czar.

The further development of events is well known through the daily press. The students, under the leadership of the Cossacks, cut off the faces of men and women in the streets, the general indignation was so intense that it burst out openly. The respectable society of matrons, a member of the Council of State, Prince Vynemsky—nay, the very Cossacks of the bodyguard—protested against this treatment of the crowds; and finally the Committee of the Ministers, assuming for the first time since the reign of Alexander I, the role of a ‘ministry,’ discussed the imperial order and insisted upon its withdrawal. It refused to acquiesce in the will of the czar, who was already in peril of his throne, himself a recipient of the dismissal of the St. Petersburg prefect de police, General Kleigle.

After reviewing the constitutional movement in Russia, and showing that twice within the last forty years—in 1800–1803 and 1850–1851—Russia has been on the eve of becoming a constitutional State, Kroppotkin ends his highly instructive contribution as follows:

“It is thus seen that foreign rather than domestic causes prevented Alexander I from taking in the sixties further steps toward the constitutional direction; and that twice during the year 1881, the two czars, Alexander II and Alexander III, were preparing to bring Russia a constitution, or, at least, of taking the first decisive steps in that direction. The idea of a constitution is ripe in Russia, even in the highest administrative spheres, and consequently one needs not astonished to see that disturbances which began in a university suddenly acquired the importance of a constitutional question. In fact, this idea has never been abandoned since 1881, and it has ripened especially since the death of Alexander III. The nomination of Vovensky to the post of minister of public instruction will not diminish the difficulties of the general situation, and anyone who wants to judge the points between the young czar and the country, as well as the highest functionaries of the State administration, will plainly see that it is Russia that has outgrown the autocratic form of government; and it may be said with certainty that it is external complications which do not disturb the peaceful developments of Russia. Nicholas II will soon be young enough to be capable of taking up to take steps for meeting the wishes of the country. Let us hope that he will understand the deeper sense of what he received during the past two months.”

Well, this lesson seems not yet to have been understood by the modern Russian. It is now one year since the above lines were written by Kroppotkin, and Russia is now more than ever maintaining her autocratic and centralizing system. Turmoil and chaos reign supreme the land over; there is no end to the riots and demonstrations of the people, and the flames of revolution seem to grow fiercer and fiercer every day. It is no more the students and the intelligentsia alone, but the proletariat of the factory, the peasant of the country and even the rawest of the southern mass together are engaging in a desperate war against the wretched czarism. The universities are again placed under police control, the press as well as the fields are silent, the heads as well as the hands are striking, rioting, rebellious; the ‘red events’ (‘red’ meaning, of course, not by color, but by the fact that the majority of the people is feeling the influence of its castles and monasteries; many regiments are disloyal the command of their officers, and refuse to shoot at the people; the whole of southern Russia is rising; the sugar factories of Veronech are demolished by the angry masses: the peasant is taking the land from their exploiters, blood is flowing from Moscow to Vladimir, whole villages are going down in flames; Bogoloboff, the grumpy minister of education, and Spiegelman, the tool of Pobiedomostoff, are in prison, and many revolutionaries have lived shot down within a few days. And now a new year has come, and the situation has been attempted within the last year.—the country is undoubtedly on the verge of a revolution.

The words of Komrade Kroppotkin uttered in the North American Review and the Outlook have come true to the letter, and seem to have a special significance, which is not the least amusingly, when the procurator of the Holy Synod himself, and the real ruler of Russia, Alexander III, deemed it necessary to refute Kroppotkin’s statements in the September issue of last year’s North American Review. But of this later.
ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

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

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, MAY 18, 1902.

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If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your Free Society, your subscription expires with this number.

Notice.

Correspondents and exchanges will please take note that we have moved from 515 Carroll Ave., and change and direct their mail accordingly. Our new address is 311 WALNUT ST.

Also all mail intended for La Protesta Oscura should be sent to the same address.

Notes.

It is intended that C. L. James' "History of the French Revolution" shall appear about June 1. All advance subscribers are asked to send their remittance before that date. Those who wish to receive the book immediately on publication, are asked to subscribe in advance. The price will be $1 for cloth bound copies, and 50 cents in paper.

The work has been previously revised, and will be a decided improvement on the serial which appeared in Paris Society. It is a clear and precise account of the Revolution, and invaluable to all students of history and social movements.

W. P. Barnard will speak on "The Place of Woman in Society," at the Philosophical, 26 E. Van Buren St., on Sunday, May 10. He is an excellent speaker, and has become popular among the radicals. All are cordially invited to attend.

Dr. Juliette Severance requests us to announce that she has changed her residence to 6127 Drexel Ave, and is now able to speak on any of the reform questions of the day for associations.

The pamphlet "Roosevelt, Czar, and Anarchist," which is so imputable to the New York police authorities, can be obtained of R. Fritz, 267 Madison St., New York, N. Y. Single copies 3 cents; in lots of 25 or more half cent.

For PHILADELPHIA.—The League of Tolerance, formed May 4, 1902, meets every Sunday afternoon, 3 p.m., at 570 N. Marshall St. Lectures and discussions are held. Everybody is welcome.

Pen Shots.

In the People's Press of Chicago there appeared some time ago a letter from Louis Washbrook, in which he said that Leon Czolgosz had communicated to her from the spirit world that he had been "impressed by a monster to kill McKinley," and that he was now "learning the right way to work for humanity." When we pause and consider the result of Czolgosz's act, and compare the small red stain at Buffalo, with that "long-dammed line of red" which began under the McKinley administration, and has not yet ceased to flow with its attendant train of evils in the way of official corruption, and military brutality, the question naturally rises why the crime that has slain thousands of human beings did not merit some explanation at the hands of spirits? From what I have observed of so-called spirit communications, I am led to the conclusion that the "messages" are highly colored by the receiver's own prejudices, and that they are in fact originate with the medium and not the spirit of the departed. I also admit that many mediums honestly deceive themselves in this respect, among whom I certainly include the most popular talker. As proof that honest mediums are the victims of mental hallucinations, I will wager that messages from the "Monster Slayer" would be in line with the mental attitude of every medium towards the act of Buffalo, and that the "reason transmitted from the spirit world would vary accordingly.

I have never taken kindly to the idea that a fellow creature can be possessed of a devil; this idea belongs to a dead past. The nearest approach a man can make to the character of being "obesed by a monster," is when armed with authority and at personal risk to himself, he metes out death to his fellow beings.

The April issue of the New York American quotes Judge Tuley of Chicago, saying that he often "feels like a giant that society has armed to punish the victims that it cannot understand." A fine specimen of the above creation is furnished by a Californian judge as detailed in a San Francisco paper. The chief in question spent twelve of his twenty-eight years of life in prison, having served out a seven year sentence. The sum total of all his thefts is $67. His third sentence was four years in San Quentin for stealing a five-dollar suit of clothes. Who can measure the unspeakable wrong done this young man whom prison swallowed when a mere child? We can well call him a nursing of justice, one only out of the thousands of poor infants "hand raised" by this withered hulk in her dens of degradation, the penal institutions of the State.

Not long ago a San Francisco judge sentenced a fourteen-year-old boy to the reform school, and proceeded the sentence by a short lecture. He stated that he knew the boy would be discharged, but confirmed the criminal, but that other boys were waiting to send the boy there was open to him, as he had been up once before for petty thievry. Undoubtedly the judge reasoned from facts that had come under his observation as to the effects of reformatory schools on the human character. Now the question arises was not this judge a criminal for sentencing a child to what he declared would mean a life of vice? Knowingly and的设计 possibly by the use of certain law, yet he lends himself to that law's use to ruin and degrade a young boy. What excuse is there for such action on his part? Were he a man, rather than be a tool to such a purpose, he would have stood out of his judicial career and saw wood for a living; but he is not a man, but a cowardly excuse for one; and his sleep is sweetened by the thought that the law is responsible for the disapproves of it in his heart. Men forget that the law is powerful only thru their action; and that he who sees the evil effect of that power can only contribute to the remedy of the evil by refusing to be a tool of the law.

In all due deference to the honest opinion of Conrade Winn, I shall state that I do not consider the great events of history solely the American and French Revolutions, all failures. No, they bore a lesson that some few have learned, namely that liberty does not come thru a change of masters, but thru the abolition of master's reliance upon leaders feeds the power of government. The only good that ever came of it was the knowledge gained by experience; thru that reliance the followers are betrayed and enslaved, and the leaders degraded by the very conditions that create them. They who have learned the lesson of past events do not wish to repeat their mistakes; and it seems to me that the leaders in the great "events" mentioned by Conrade Winn attained their influence by swimming with the current of public sentiment, that had arisen in the minds of the people against priestly and kingly domination. Those men who could best express the rebellious thoughts that were firing the human brain at that period, became the leaders. The people did the work, and the leaders got the glory. The man who gained the utter confidence of his fellows, or of a large faction, it is a simple matter to utilize that confidence to his own advantage or the furtherance of his ambitions. If a leader is to accomplish anything, he must have the implicit faith of his followers. And that faith is the germ of slavery. Why waste time and energy in its cultivation, since the ideal of Anarchy can never be attained till it is uprooted?

KATE AUSTEN.

Current Comment.

I am deeply indebted to Conrade Ross Winn and our many among comrades who signed himself "Interlopers for the rights of the turinizing of society. — James F. Morton, Jr., in Dismantlement.

In the eloquent language of a certain Arkansas statesman, I "deny the allegation and deny the legislator." I do not regard Conrade Ross Winn's present attitude as in any sense cowardly, and my criticism, which was fraternal and courteous, contained no such imputation. I regard James F. Morton, Jr. as one of the ablest and most scholarly exponents of the Anarchist view of society, the composer of Tucker, Van Onna, and
FREE SOCIETY

It is not just that he is an Anarchist, but imagines he is, has astonished himself with the discovery that the Social Revolution is not a thing of the future, but a present day fact. Having thus discovered the Social Revolution like Columbus discovered America, the brother will, doubtless, proceed to get it duly copyrighted, after the manner of the illustrious father of "Movement in Favor of Ignorance." However, Bricker Kocher has really made a discovery, which is a new and properly descriptive term for that new school of Anarchists, whom I have hitherto, for want of a better word, designated as Sunday school Anarchists. They are Imaginary Anarchists. I respectfully submit "Imaginary Anarchist" to those Grumly-scared comrades, who think it necessary to placate bigotry and stupidity by qualifying the Anarchist label with something soft-sounding and meaningless.

Whether the Social Revolution is now in progress, the future will determine. Those who regard the Social Revolution as the next great epoch of human progress have long contended that humanity was already in its group. The worldwide social unrest, discontent, discussion of new systems, the existence of Socialism and Anarchism—the two great central philosophies—all these portend a great and radical transformation of human society at no very distant day. This transformation, which is already in process of operation, is so thoroughly perceptible, is what is meant by the term Social Revolution. I do not believe that its successful realization will be accomplished by peaceful means alone. Some of its manifestations today, even in its infant stage, are far from peaceful. I could mention the assassination of President McKinley as one of the fruits of this Social Revolution that is now in progress. I abhor violence, and especially the taking of human life. But the present system is based upon violence, and is maintained by force and murder. To destroy it by peaceful means is an impossible undertaking. Therefore, while my soul reverts with horror from scenes like the reign of terror, my reason compels me to recognize the justification of violence, when its purpose is to counteract and destroy violence of a more invasive and irreconcilable character.

Interloper charges me with inconsistency, because I believe in the sacredness of human life, yet propose hemp neckties for the philanthropists. I will admit that I am inconsistent. I will also confess that consistency is a virtue extensively monopolized by fools. It is only men with one idea, the hobby riders of mediocrity, who are consistent. But I never advocated hemp for anybody. I have said, and repeat it here, that the life of any man is sacred—unless it stands in the way of others, more precious. If I could believe that the death of William McKinley has resulted in enough benefit to humanity to outweigh the wrong of any man's sin, I would hesitate to defend assassination, not alone in that, but in all similar cases. The excesses of the French Revolution were in themselves horrid crimes, but they were a necessary part of a revolution which put an end forever to great tyrannies. I believe in the sacredness of human life, and because I do so believe I wish to destroy that order that is founded upon violence and which makes murder a mere pastime. And believing that the overthrow of this order and the establishment of a new social order is impossible through peaceful means, I am an insurrectionist, an apostle of physical force. And I admit that I am inconsistent.

Ross Winn.

For the McKinley Monument.

A long row of Filipinoos stretched out on the ground, with their limbs chained, Uncle Sam holding down their hands with his knees, while some of our noble soldiers are pumping gallons of water into their stomachs, and others dancing on their swollen bellies to force the water out of the dying savages.—of course the soldiers to bear the sublime visage of the glorious hero-martyr of our mourned president.

The same comenation to illuminate our magnificent monument should be given to a lot of Filipino boys and girls over ten.

I am no painter or sculptor, but would most humbly suggest for some genius of an artist to paint a picture or chisel a statue of the model outlined above. Why? Because it might perhapse outlive the fame of the subject represented.

M. A. C.

Observations.

The Ist of May was to have been a grand affair in St. Louis. At least that was the anticipation of the members of the Socialist party, or whatever they call themselves in Missouri—there are so many kinds of them now that it is difficult to know them by the name. After paying my ten cents I entered the hall where the grand affair was to come off.

The hall is owned by a rich brewer, Mr. Lemp, who sells his beer there, giving a certain percentage to the renters. The beer is very good. Mine is of some quantity that to approach the bar is to enter a cold-blooded robber's territory. Now the Socialists, who in company of a good many other reformers are always shouting from the rooftops that they want to free the people from robbery, patronize such places instead of boycotting them. Why? In order to pay Mr. E. V. Duls $100.

The speech of Mr. Duls is too long to be reproduced. He was a chance speaker. Nothing unexpected happened. I am sure he is talking yet. I heard from people who left a good while after I did that he was still talking.

I go to the Socialists, the son and grandson of an unemployed brewer, who told me that he was a Socialist and had been marching in the parade all afternoon, but now the rest of the celebration took place in the hall, they refused to let him in because he had not the necessary dime.

And such people talk about an economical class struggle, and call themselves "class conscious"! Why do they pay Duls $100, and a poor working man who construct philosophical pamphlets on the streets nothing? Shame on you! Hypocrisy on the one side and fools on the other.

Alfred Schneider.
The Buddhist's Forgiveness.

No people in the world moralizes so much as the Chinese. Their political regime seeks to realize the principle of morality. Their sociology is composed entirely of moral propositions. Their philosophy is simply to unfold the first principles which preside over human actions. In their objective literature, even in their innumerable and licentious portions, it is a vast and at times most surprising exemplification of moral theories. We in Europe go out of our way to reproach Chinese civilization because it sometimes appears annoying to us, eternal seekers after new sensations, which, in truth, have but very rarely any connection with morality.

Nevertheless, we consider the Chinese people without hatred, as the most moral people in the world. That is because the Occidentals forget too easily that morality does not consist in all fear of the penal code, but in strength of will which directs actions independently, and, even to the contrary of all exterior considerations.

It is Strength of Soul which matters, and one might almost say that disdain of institutions is the principles of moral life.

Now it is manifest that in a quarter of the world the institutions are as strong as in Europe; hence, it is not surprising to see a man who, like Tolstoy, disclaims then that he may live according to his individual strength of will, follow the path which allures the hero. In China, everyone is somewhat of a Tolstoy; everyone endeavors to harmonize practical life with the theoretical principles of moral life. These principles are the same in China as among the Christians, has been said so often that it is hardly necessary to repeat it. The fact is, so striking that Western theology finds it impossible to believe without evidence. The Jesuit Fathers of the eighteenth century, on the one hand, surprised and angered thereby, found no other way out of it but to declare it a diabolic phantasmagoria, designing for the Christians of the times. On the other hand, the savants of the nineteenth century, such as Dupuy, saw therein a renewed proof of the glory of God; and they strained themselves to explain the impossible by the grace of Christ, by making God had given the Decalogue even to the Chinese.

In theory, then, there is no difference; it remains to learn the manner in which the application of these theories to life is manifested.

There is, above all, a sublime quality which the Christian, in remembrance of the mystery of the Saviour's death, has deemed his duty to whom as the special grandeur of his Mightiness and powers of forgiveness, the power to forgive. No system of morals, no people in the world has attained, says he, to a conception of equal grandeur, a conception contrary to all the instincts of revenge, of hatred, of jealousy, which characterize the men not yet emancipated from his animal nature.

Now, it must be admitted, all is error in the assertion.

In the first place, the moral conception of forgiveness is in nature of Christian, but of Buddhist, origin; and the Christian is wrong in wishing to monopolize for himself the glory of an idea, which he has, in fact, drawn from the hundreds of millions of Buddhists who existed before the birth of Christianity throughout all civilized Asia.

But it is still more erroneous to believe that the conception of forgiveness is the absolute negation of the vulgar instincts of resentment, vengeance, and cruelty. Quite the contrary.

The most erroneous idea of all, however, is the conception of forgiveness as we still pretend to have it in our days of Christianity, is the presumption with which we still teach non-Christian peoples that forgiveness is the foundation of the salvation, the jewel of Catholic civilization and religion. When we look at the codes of all the so-called "civilized" peoples, those great volumes full of vengeance well administered, those unnumbered laws, codes, of the fact that the civilization is gross to be punished by forgiveness, we turn with a livelier admiration to the Chinese and Tibetian Buddhists, who are still capable of using forgiveness as the strongest means of effecting useful revenge.

It has been given to me to observe an example thereof, no more typical instance of which could be invented, which places in direct contrast the civilization of European nations and, which, while furnishing a sublime lesson, constitutes one of the most touching anecdotes one can imagine. The story has been officially reported in the Prussian Journal, and is too fine a story, and too sad, to be marred by the fact that the Christian is too gross to be punished by forgiveness, we turn with a livelier admiration to the Chinese and Tibetian Buddhists, who are still capable of using forgiveness as the strongest means of effecting useful revenge.

The Chinnaman, already a war specter, opened wide his great eyes in which a strange flame seemed to sparkle. He raised himself and extended his hand. —"You, a Russian, mighty and learned, do you not know? Do you not understand? I will tell you. Very soon, I am going to die; I know it, I feel it. But I want to the tribunal, at peace with the universe. That is why, before quitting this existing, I wish to forgive him. I do not wish to cause more suffering. We must resign; why cause us to pray if it is possible? All, I alone should die!"

"But, if you do not denounce him, we might make a mistake, and cause an innocent man to expiate the crime committed against you!"

"Is it so?" exclaimed the dying man, and by a superhuman effort he sprang up with a gesture of truly majestic grandeur. "You are going to institute a tribunal, to accuse, condemn, kill, all for that? O infinity, crime, terror! You are going to assassinate, you to whom no one has done any wrong, because something has been done to me? By what right? It is my affair, mine. I have no power to avenge me. He has killed me, I forgive him. It lies with me. If I do not want it, you have no part to play. I forgive. It is no longer for you to judge."

The Chinese's functionaries stood aghast. Their brains, accustomed to dwelling upon the puerile principles of the Occidental idea of justice, were not prepared to receive such a shock. There we recovered the thread of his disconcerted logic, and inquired:

"But if we do not punish him, he may again do evil to others."

"No, you," cried the Chinnaman, more and more excited, "you are wrong. If you punish him, he will become exacerbated and sin again till I am pledged. If I forgive him, he will not again do evil to anyone. He will not have been forgiven."

All the same, the examining judge confronted a certain number of soldiers with the dying Chinese. Among them also was he who, from the beginning, the gravest suspicion had fallen. The Chinnaman let them all pass by, repeating simply, "No, no—".

All the blame came the implicated one. Immediately an intense emotion was reflected in the dolorous features of the victim. The Chinese looked at him a long time in the midst of a profound silence. After some minutes he asked the judge: "What will they do to him, if I denounce him?"

"He will be sentenced to hard labor for life."
FREE SOCIETY.

"I will denounce no one. In the first place, I would be in error; it is not he. And, aside from all other considerations, I wish to forget that I may punish usefully and die tranquilly."

The examining judge, in a talk at the dedication of a new and splendid building in New York, said: "What are you doing? Are you ever going to put an end to this?"

"You will not put it an end, if you do not do it."

"It is your personal effort. You are rebelling against the action of law and of justice."

"Be still, and do not speak to me of duty. What my duty is, you cannot know; it is my personal affair. If it is your duty to hunt out a guilty man restored to innocence by my forgiveness, that you may wreak upon him a vengeance which does not concern you, that is your affair. I will have nothing to do with such abominations. And I tell you, if among the soldiers you have shown to me, there had been the guilty one, I would still say 'no, he was not there'; and if, in spite of me, you have him when you believe to be guilty, judged and sentenced, I declare you ten times guilty, against him and against me. You will be a criminal—I forswear it."

The Chinese, who had spoken trembling with emotion and accompanying his supine words with convulsive gestures, the last before death, fell back and fainted.

"I forgive"—that was his last word. He never recovered consciousness; an hour later he was dead.

The hardened souls of the Cossack officers were profoundly moved by the spectacle of this majestic death. Once again the divine thought of Buddha had conquered the blind and sanguinary Thilians, Asia, incarnated in the murdered body of the Chinese peasant, humiliated Europe, proud of her culture; and there were four hundred million peasants over there.

I saw the Cossacks weep. The inquiry was abandoned. And never since have we heard of Russian violence in Kharkiv.—Alexander Ular.

Law Breaking and Anarchism.

Some arrests were made on the occasion of the Agfight memorial meeting in New York last week, the prisoners being charged with sedition. Shortly after that, a pamphlet entitled "Roosevelt, Czolgosz and Anarchy" with an apologia on "Communism," a tract in advocacy of Anarchistic Communism and in criticism of President Roosevelt's message on Anarchism. Since this arrest we have examined the pamphlet in question. So far as the criticism of Roosevelt is concerned, it is written in such better temper than you most political editors and the graver of the charge is fully sustained. As to the Anarchistic Communism which is advocated, we believe intelligently reject it, we are at a loss to know why anybody should be arrested or prosecuted or be in anywise personally condemned for writing or publishing it. It is common knowledge that the sellers of this pamphlet were haled, was so ingenuous that he refused to be satisfied with the charge that the prisoners had sold the pamphlets without having a license, and reminded them until he could discover, if possible some law under which they might be prosecuted for inciting "Anarchy." Whoever will read the pamphlet will, while running no greater risk than that of getting a wider horizon for his world of thought, be put in possession of a clear and splendid New York magistrate is probably a good deal of a demagogue. Demagogues do not pay their trade, however, unless there are masses of people willing to be ruled. As it is not the case that, then, for the people to put these Anarchists batters out of business? Why should the Anarchists lose the people's mind? They are a nuisance to the good and a menace to the bad. They are a nuisance to the good and better to be destroyed by a practice of publishing false laws. These Anarchists were justly held up to public execration at a ministers' meeting in Cleveland this week by the pastor of John D. Rockefeller's church, the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Eliot.

"The phenomenon is rampant everywhere. The Anarchists are not the only men. The man who gets rich at the expense of the people is an Anarchist of the worst kind. It is not good to get rich legally. If you wish to make a living by this kind of Anarchy, than to chase poor men into jail for publishing falsehoods. The president's message and legitimate essays on the foundation principles of government.

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