Scorn's Failure.

I question if there ever was
A bad man good, 'tis an ill wind
That blows some, revenge, or like shade,
The seed of love within his mind.
A child who knows not good or ill.

Will touch a monster with good-will;
All evil here is lack of heart,
An erring search for happiness.

Love turned within on self is dead;
Given to the world it lives to mock.

—MIRIAM DANIELS.

What are Governments? Is it Possible to Exist without Government?

The cause of the miserable condition of the workers, slavery. The cause of slavery is legislation. Legislation rests on organized violence. It follows that an improvement in the condition of the people is possible only through the abolition of organized violence.

"But organized violence is government, and how can we live without government? Without government there will be chaos. Anarchy; all the achievements of civilization will perish, and the world will revert to their primitive barbarism."

It is usual not only for those to whom the existing order is profitable, but even for those to whom it is unprofitable, but who are so accustomed to it that they cannot imagine life without governmental violence, to say we must not dare to touch the existing order of things. The destruction of government will, say they, produce the greatest misfortunes—riot, theft, and murder—till finally the worst men will again seize power and enslave all the good people. But not to mention the fact that all—that is, riots, thefts, and murders, followed by the rule of the wicked and the enslavement of the good—all this is what has happened and is happening; the anticipation that the disturbance of the existing order will produce riots and disorder does not prove the present order to be good.

"Only touch the present order and the greatest evils will follow."

Only touch one link in the chain of legislation, and all the bricks will tumble down and smash! But the fact that any brick extracted or any path administered will destroy such a column and smash the bricks certainly does not prove it to be wise to keep the bricks in such an unnatural and inconvenient position. On the contrary, it shows that bricks should not be piled in such a column, but that they should be re-arranged so that they lie firmly, and so that they can be made use of without destroying the whole erection.

It is the same with the present State organizations. The State organization is extremely artificial and unstable, and the fact that the least push may destroy it is not only does not prove that it is necessary, but, on the contrary, shows that, if once upon a time it was necessary it is now absolutely unnecessary, and is, therefore, harmful and dangerous.

It is harmful and dangerous because the effect of this organization on all the evil that exists in society is not to lessen and correct, but rather to strengthen and confirm that evil. It is strengthened and confirmed by being either justified and put in attractive forms or secreted.

All that well-being of the people which we see in so-called well-governed States, ruled by violence, is but an appearance—a fiction. Everything that would disturb the external apperance of well-being—all the hungry people, the sick, the violently vicem—are all hidden away where they cannot be seen. But the fact that we do not see them does not show that they do not exist; on the contrary, the more they are hidden the more there will be of them, and the more cruel towards them will be those who are the cause of their condition. It is true that every interruption, and yet more, every stoppage of governmental action—that is, of organized violence—disturbs this external appearance of well-being in our life, but such disturbance does not produce disorder, but merely displays what was hidden and makes possible its amendment.

Until now, say till almost the end of the nineteenth century, people thought and believed that they could not live without governments. But life flows onward, and the conditions of life and people's views change. And notwithstanding the efforts of governments to keep people in that childish condition in which an injured man feels as if it were better for him to have someone to complain to, people, especially the laboring people, both in Europe and in Russia, are more and more emerging from childhood and beginning to understand the true conditions of their life.

"You tell us that for you we should be conquered by neighboring nations—the Chinese or the Japanese—men of the people now say, "but we read the papers, and know that no one is threatening to attack us, and that it is only you who govern us who, for some aims, unintelligible to us, exasperate each other, and then, under pretense of defending your own people, ruin us with taxes for the maintenance of the fleet, for armaments, or for strategical railways, which are only required to greatly your ambition and vanity; and then you arrange wars with one another, as you have now done against the peaceful Chinese." You say that you defend landed property for our advantage, but your defense has this effect that all the land either has passed or is passing into the control of rich banking companies, which do not work, while we, the immense majority of the people, are being deprived of land and left in the power of those who do not labor. You with your laws of landed property do not defend landed property, but take it from those who work it. You say you secure to each man the produce of his labor, but you do just the reverse; all those who produce articles of value are, thanks to your pseudo-protection, placed in such a position that they not only never receive the value of their labor, but are all their lives long in complete subjection and in the power of non-workers."

Thus do people, at the end of the century, begin to understand and to speak. And this awakening from the lethargy in which governments have kept them going is on some rapidly increasing ratio. Within the last five or six years the public opinion of the common folk, not only in the towns, but in the villages and not only in Europe, but also among us in Russia, has altered amazingly.

It is said that without governments we should not have those institutions, enlightening, educational and public, that are needful for all. But why should we suppose this? Why think that non-official people could not arrange their life themselves as well as government people arrange it, not for themselves, but for others?

We see, on the contrary, that in the most diverse matters people in our time are arranged in their own lives incomparably better than those who govern them arrange for them. Without the least help from government, and often in spite of the interference of government, people organize all sorts of social undertakings—workmen's unions, cooperative societies, railway companies, artels, and syndicates. If collections for public
works are needed, why should we suppose that free people could not without violence voluntarily collect the necessary means, and carry out all that is carried out by means of taxes, if only the undertakings in question are really useful for everybody? Why suppose that there cannot be tribunals without violence? Trial by people trusted by the discontents has always existed and will always exist, and needs no violence. We are no more likely to forget the power of long-continued slavery than we can hardly imagine administration without violence. And yet, again, that is not true: Russian commune migrating to distant regions, where our government leaves them alone, arrange their own taxation, administration, tribunals, and police, and always prosper until government violence interferes with their administration. And in the same way, there is no reason to suppose that people could not, by common consent, decide how the land is to be apportioned for use.

I have known people—Consuls of the Orient—living in Russia without acknowledging private property in land. And there was such prosperity and order that their commune as does not exist in society, where landed property is defended by violence. A commune that continues to live without acknowledging the right of individuals to private property.

Within my recollection the whole Russian peasantry did not accept the idea of landed property.

The defense of landed property by governmental violence not merely does not abolish the struggle for landed property, but, on the contrary, strengthens that struggle, and in many cases causes it.

Were it not for the defense of landed property, and its consequent rise in price, people would not be crowded into such narrow spaces for their living in Russia. And in this struggle it is not those who work on the land, but always those who take part in governmental violence, that have the advantage.

It is the same with reference to things produced by labor. Things really produced by a man's own labor, and that he needs, are always defended by custom, by public opinion, by feelings of justice and reciprocity, and do not need to be protected by violence.

Tens of thousands of acres of forest-lands belonging to one proprietor, while thousands of people close by have no fuel, meet protection, or even a chance to do factories and works where several generations of workmen have been defended, are still being defrauded. Yet more do hundreds of thousands of hands of land, belonging to one owner, live at the expense of the hands of the many.

* Serfdom was legalized about 1806 by Boris Godunov, who forbade the peasants to leave the land on which they were settled. The peasant's theory of the matter is that they belong to the proprietor, but the land belongs to them. "We are yours, but the land is ours," was a common saying among them till 1861. -Translator.

The Soviet is a slight ploy, such as the Russian peasants make and use. —Translator.

But let the violence be in the form of education, teaching the principles of the gospel, spiritual truth, the alphabet and writing. And thus the Holy Synod and the drunken gurko-or (police) are looking for out for these things, of course. They provide the material basis for the development of the principles of right and wrong, and just and unjust, true and false, spiritual truth, etc. They are taking care of the souls of the poor sinners.

The village clergy is not indispensable, says Pobedinost'ev. All that may have been in Kropotkin's time, but it is all different today. Everything bad about the serf is false, mere gossip and invention. The event opening all doors is to do with the decree concerning the military service of students—giving of disturbances in the universities.

All he does is to confirm and sign the decisions and decrees of the various executive councils and ministers.
FREED SOCIETY.

But now read this remarkable sophism of our great statesman: "What is unfortunately true is, that the measure in question (the sending of students into the army) was applied at once to one hundred and eighty schools, which gave it a peculiarly rigorous character; whereas the law was meant to apply only to a few exceptional cases." . . . "Kropotkin's article," he continues, "har- monizes with his previous work. His monographs lie spread abroad by the press concern- ing the internal condition of Russia, as also Kropotkin's complete ignorance of the country to which he formerly belonged."

He "seeks," Kropotkin is heavily for proposing for the happiness and welfare of Russia "the ever-recurring nostrum of professional politicians," the constitution, "the chamber of representatives," and the power of the majority. Being an Anarchist he chooses what in reality would be the surest means of bringing about Anarchy in the country he has adopted. He says that, to speak plainly, Russia is not a democratic form of government. But, even if we were to admit the truth of this, God forbid we should seek for the amelioration of this form of government in the remedy proposed by Kropotkin. If it is not rural Anarchism, all Russia is wrecked against this worst of tyrannies, tyranny in the mass. He ought to know that today almost everywhere in Europe we may say the word "democracy" in two different con- sensive forms of government, and that wherever serious minds are protesting against the tyranny of parliamentary majorities at once incapable and turbulent. There is plenty of solid literature on the subject; for example, in American, Godkin's book on "The Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy," France, Austria, Germany, Italy, all feel themselves powerless to make headway with their bodily working machinery and their parliamentary machinery.

Of course we all heartily endorse these last sentiments of the precurator. All Anarchists will agree with him that tyranny in mass is bad, that the majority ruling and the representative sham are played out; they have been weighed in the balance for the last hundred years and found wanting. But does Kropotkin himself think that the constitutional countries are on the point of being Russified? Does not this Jesuitic bigot manifest too much hypocrisy when he pretends not to conceive that the world is moving toward less ruling and more liberty? That we are not about to be converted to Russian autocracy and inquisitional fanatic- ism?

In the North American Review of April, 1902, Kropotkin replies to Pobidolmizoff's criticism, and I shall review the same in a later issue of FREE SOCIETY.

MICHAEL COHN.

ECHOES FROM EUROPE.

In the Frankfurter Zeitung, a liberal bour- geois daily in Germany, we find the following interesting report from Geneva, 2/19:

"Mord und Rache haben marxiert dieses jährliche May Day-Parade considerably, especially as far as the participation of children was concerned, for which arrangements had been made by the Chamber of Labor. The day was suitable for this novelty because Thursday is a half holiday for all schools in Geneva; but the weather was unfavorable and so only about a hundred children marched at the head of the parade. Besides, the parade had to pass over a distance of about one and a half kilometers in one and a half hours. The sun was shining brightly, the wind was blowing fairly hard, the temperature was about 60 degrees, and the sun was shining brightly. The distance is the gathering place, the national monument, to Carouge—the place of the festivity. The movement of the proceedings was the unison of all otherwise antagonistic groups. The parliamentarians, the trades unions, and the Anarchists walked side by side in the parade. Leaflets were distributed, pamphlets and papers sold without offense to the opponents. Such is hardly the case in any other city. Here it is due to the fact that all the three factions are of about equal strength. This combination makes it possible for the people to express their opinions in a peaceful way."

"After the lecture some ministers have asked for speeches for the people which is not a rare case here—a pastor from Lyon will speak tomorrow on 'The Athletic Propaganda'—a reply to Sebastien Faure."

OBSERVATIONS.

The anvil in the lines of trades unionism is that a union man can see the members—and all he needs to do is to pay the reinstatement fee of $10, and he again becomes a member in good standing. Just like the Asiatic Tribesmen in the Middle Ages, who sold absolution (Abbas, nazoum) and went to Germany to every sinner who wanted to buy, and sometimes in advance, that is before the sin was committed. But don't be too hasty; the number is still progressing, and it won't be long and they will sell them in advance too.

According to recent reports from Europe, the Socialist party of Germany, which with a good many other reformers and even some Anarchists, call the general strike a general nonsense, have contributed 10,000 marks to support this general nonsense.

The spirit of rebellion which was expressed by the Belgian workmen will be fully appreciated by every impartial social student. But the cowardice and the traitor policy which was impersonated by the leader of the Socialist party could only be defended by a man of the same caliber. I wonder if the American Sociologists, who have always pointed out Europe to us when they have made a mistake, didn't consider that somebody into the House of Representatives, and the country is the better because this country is nevertheless in no way different from any other, will not betray the working people.

But then the retreat of the Socialist leader in Belgium was good for the poor working people. Who knows? I bet it is an Anarchist!—ALFRED SCHNEIDER.

A PROTEST.

I want briefly to protest against the report in TRUE SOCIETY of May 18 headed "Anarchy in New York." By J.F. A good many contraband in New York feel that it is a most biased report. One does not do credit to the circumstances of the case. I am willing to expose the truth to the contrary be it ever so painful to most every person in the various incidents of which was really a very logical attack on the means of the New York newspaper. It is not worth while to pursue the matter fur- ther but I would suggest to J.F. that he has not written and has given a report false than ever before. Let the minds of a few gallant press has descended to New York.
FREEDOM

Dollar a Year.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JUNE 1, 1902.

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If these 6 cents correspond to 1/2 the number printed on the wrapper of your Free Society, your subscription expires with this number.

To anyone sending us $2 we will send Free Society one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and $2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

Sunday, June 1, 12 p.m., the 25th anniversary of our valiant German contemporaries, the Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung, will be celebrated at Ogden Grove. As it is the only daily of this city which has always stood for the workers in their battle against exploitation and oppression, it has thousands of friends among the toilers, and the celebration will undoubtedly be a grand affair.

Tickets bought in advance, 15 cents; at the entrance, 25 cents. Tickets can be had at this office.

The pamphlet "Roosevelt, Coolidge, and Anarch"y," which is so unpalatable to the New York police authorities, can be obtained of R. Pritt, 297 Madison St., New York, N. Y. At the price of 2 cents; in lots of 25 or more one half cent a copy.

Conrad Morton is engaged in collecting material on Comstockism, with the intention of preparing a book on the subject. Anyone possessing data on this subject can aid him by sending the information to him at Home, Wash.

Splinters.

A puny, sickly boy, weak in body and in mind, has been set upon the throne of Spain to represent the kingdom. Although personally he is of no account, he may yet become historically interesting on account of some experiences he is perhaps destined to share, as for instance like Louis XVI. The kingdom of Spain, for centuries dominating and oppressing, at home and abroad, seems at last approaching the vortex of bankruptcy, where all insolvent industries are called upon for an accounting. "Great," says Carlyle, "is bankruptcy; the great bottomless gulf into which the speculators, public and private, do sink, disappearing; whither, from the first origin of them, they were all doomed. For nature is true and not a lie. . . ." Pitty only that it often had so long a specious and an illusionary aura; for seldom he who bore the final smart of it.

It is said that the noted Italian brigand Musolino will be elected to the Chamber of Deputies. He is extremely popular, and this will exempt him from further prosecutions. The Italian Chamber looks forward to become at least humorously interesting.

The coal miners of Pennsylvania are again on strike for better conditions. They demand the eight-hour day, a small increase in pay, fair weighting, and recognition of the union. These are modest expectations indeed. Yet the operators would not even listen to them. It is to be earnestly hoped that the miners will win all of their demands, but it can hardly be hoped for, considering some of the stupid fellows they commit.

The only way to settle the coal miners' troubles permanently is for the miners to take possession of the mines and operate them for their own benefit. The earth belongs to its inhabitants equally; and only the monstrosity absurdity recognizes the title of a few monopolists to all the coal mines. Its natural utilities should be as free as the ocean; and until this shall be so all "settlement" of labor troubles will be mere makeshifts. But in the present state of sentiment, it is useless to expect any body of workers to act in this rational manner.

What, then, can the miners do to gain their demands? All means conducive to this end should be employed. Tales of filthy hovels which the miners are compelled to inhabit, of the frequent injuries which they sustain, of the bad conditions under which they work, etc., all these will not effect the operators. The only way to reach them is thru their pockets, and that is the place to strike them at. Now it has long been the policy of the United Mine Workers Union to protect the property of the mine owners, allowing members of the unions the right to take care of the mines during a strike, preventing them from being flooded, etc. Considering this fact the operators may well smile at strikes. With large supplies on hand, all they need do is to raise the price of coal and wait. They do not suffer at all.

But suppose the miners withdrew all their men from the mines at once. Suppose they did not give the operators long months of time to lay up supplies; suppose they let the mines flood and the property he mined thru want of care. The demand of the operators would then undergo a sudden change. While workers may die and children starve, the flood cannot come. Then the miners could not only gain two hours less slavery a day; but also what is more important: to realize that labor alone is essential in production. "Capital," Wall street capital, is ineffectual.

The Labor Union of San Francisco contains the information that the postal officials there allowed the railway company to use the mails against the union men. Evidently this is furnishing a case where a letter was allowed to be photographed for the handwriting of the address. This is one more feather for the postoffice!

A basis in a university at Cincinnati had herself billed to speak on "Education as a Cure for Anarchy." Seeing the announcement in a newspaper, a comrade sent the young woman some literature and a polite letter. On learning the small package was from an Anarchist, she declared to open it, and called in a detective to do so! He found the pamphlets free from dynamite. And such ignorance presumes to prescribe "education as a cure for Anarchy!" We need a little more Anarchism as a cure for "education—university education." Jn.

Current Comment.

At last we have an official solution of the industrial problem. It is made by an official of the department of agriculture, Washington, D. C. This profound economist, in discussing the meat trust, declared the whole basis of this vexed problem. He says that the whole trouble is that the people eat too much! There you have it at last. Why didn't we think of it before? The disconsolate working people who clamor for better wages and a more equitable organization of the industrial system have entirely overlooked the cause of their distressed condition. They simply been eating too much. The full dinner pail is a snare and a delusion.

If the people will only stop the wasteful luxury of eating, all will be well. This is official.

The readiness with which the world came to the relief of the far-away people of France swept Martinique, again demonstrates the feeling of solidarity and common brotherhood which lies latent in humanity, and which forms one of those natural traits or instincts which even our false civilization of commercial greed has not eradicated. Upon this ground the fact is based on which the anarchist philosophy, which asserts with certainty that an intelligent comprehension of humanity's common welfare alone is sufficient to guard the interests of all against those encroachments which the advocates of the existing order say will ever be an unavoidable evil of human society. Humanity only needs to be educated to trust itself. And the Anarchists and Socialists alone are doing this work of education.

The great Tolstoi showed his greatness a few weeks ago by addressing the ear, in a personal letter, as "my brother." After all, we are truly all brothers, but I cannot address the letter I am writing remotely of some of my family relations,—my brother Teddy, the Rough Rider, for example.

It is asserted that Andrew Carnegie proposed to President McKinley to repay the $200,000,000 which has been furnished Spain for the Philippines, on condition that the Filipinos be given their independence. I do not know whether this be true.
or not, but it has all the earmarks of falsehood. If Carnegie really wanted to free agriculture from its present disease, he would have done with an agent that kind for the wage slaves whose stolen wealth this sham philanthropist is giving away so as it really belonged to himself. My final judgment is that Carnegie is a humbug.

It is quite plain that the leaders of the Church are at sea as to what attitude to assume towards Socialism. They begin to dimly perceive that the world is lining up upon the great social and industrial problems, and that the Church soon will be compelled to take side one way or the other. But what side—that is the question. On the one hand is wealth, fashionable, proud, arrogant. To antagonize wealth means the loss of those millions which hypocrisy pours into the greedy palms of the Church. But Socialism (in its broader, truer sense) is taking hold upon the masses, and it is becoming strong enough to deal the Church some hard blows. So the old harlot, caught thus between the devil of poverty and the devil of Socialism, has taken her beggarly skirts in both hands and climbed the fence pending the uncertainty of the feline’s movement. In other words, the Church, as usual, is waiting to see which way the cat jumps. She climbs into the band-wagon of the successful party and grabs every bit in sight. The Church has worked this racket so often before that it is time her sins were being found out.

Miss Stone, the missionary who prescribed such a comfort to the Bulgarian brigands, states that she owes her release entirely to God. Those good souls who put up the hard cash for political prisoners are thus rewarded, while God, who, so far as I know, never chipped in a solitary guilder, gives the honor and the thanks. "Twas about always thus. But if this Stone really believes herself indebted to God for her release, why does she not lay some of the blame for her captivity upon him also? These orthodox people are sad logicians. Every event supposed to be beneficial to mankind, individually or collectively, is credited to God; but when something unpleasant happens, they ramshackle the universe of ingenuity to prove a dibbi. This is perfectly absurd. If God’s hand is controlling the human destiny, he alone is responsible both for the good and the bad. Let the orthodox theologians stand up and admit that their personal, three-headed deity is to blame for the bad as well as the good, or else give up the man-god conception.

R. W. R.

Certain Comments.
The present management of the postoffice is a fine example of the inner workings of public ownership. A careful study of Muddenshaw teaches the state postoffice. It is a positive example of Socialism, but of capitalistic postoffice. It is a true and accurate picture of what the state postoffice would be if left in the hands of the people. It is as well that we have settled the question. But is the evasion satisfactory? Muddenshaw is simply a phase of the arrogance of power. That is a power that is at present wielded by an economic class, does not make the difference that Socialists seem to think. If there were any agent of any other element, the principle would be the same. Where there is rule by force, there must be a division of society into classes, but this need not be an economic division. The attempt to suppress is by the old device of the party in power, which seeks to perpetuate itself. It matters not what interest this party represents, or whether its central aim is the maximum advantage, social, political, or the satisfaction of religious fanatism. The overthrow of capitalism is but one element in the struggle between economic classes.

Anarchism is the least levelling of all doctrines. It recognizes the enormous differences in human nature. No two persons are exactly alike, in features or in mental attributes. And the higher the development of the race, the greater the heterogeneity. Each nature, when given free course, seeks to express itself in its own way. In social life the constant intermingling and self-assessment of the different individuals cause standards of comparison to arise; and each aims at a certain superiority. In a free society, there can be no hounding to the unrecognized superiority in any direction will only win the voluntary tribute of appreciation and respect. The man who displays the most desirable qualities will win the approval of all, and thus have the most friends. Naturally this will make his life more pleasant than that of the disagreeable man who is not regarded in so favorable a light. But the latter is not trampled on in any way. He is not placed at any disadvantage in comparison with others.

In a governed society, the ease is entirely different. As all cannot exercise rule simultaneously, the government, including the dreamed-of cooperative commonwealth, essentially involves the control of some by others. Whether the ruling power be an individual, a specially constituted economic or economic class, or a shifting majority, the principle remains the same; and the consequences will be identical in kind, if not in degree. If the economic factor be eliminated, its place will be quickly supplied by other motives for establishing an arbitrary uniformity. As men are not alike, there will always be an advanced minority, whose opinion will be looked on with suspicion by the majority. Under freedom, this will cause no friction, since the minority will go their own way, try their experiments, and leave them to be judged by the results. But a government—even a Socialist government—will always put obstacles in the way of new ideas, which disturb the current routine. Religious, moral or social prejudices are offended; and instantly all opposition is an arms against the minority. An excuse is always found for summary proceeding; and a majority is just as wanton in its abuse of power as an individual or a class—perhaps more so, since its power is more general and more directly obtained.

Let it, therefore, be granted that the present postoffice is a capitalist, and not a Socialist institution. It remains true, none the less, that Muddenshaw is the expression of the governmental spirit, and not simply of capitalism. Authoritarianism, in its present form, cannot oppose against similar manifestation of power; and the total indifference of its chief organs to the principle of free speech offers little ground for the hope that the Anarchist position remains the only tenable one.

It will be a few weeks before we can learn definitely just what to expect, as a result of the arrest of the leaders of the American Home movement. Meanwhile, the community is thriving as well as ever; and there is no thought of discouragement. The Waitsbrook Home has been a success, owing to the small amount yet in the defense fund. Surely the friends of liberty do not intend to desert these two women, and the principle they represent, in the hour of greatest need. Delays are dangerous, in a case like this. All who wish to help are requested to send contributions at once to Oliver A. Verity, Home, Waseca.

James F. Morton, Jr.

A Woman.
Nature had been kind in bestowing her beauty on her; beauty of body, strength, will and energy, she possessed all these in the highest degree. She might have been happy, she chose instead to embrace and devote herself to the "cause" which spread fear and death. She had just commenced to smile on her, when the Italian war of Independence broke out.

Three of her brothers took up arms to deliver their enslaved motherland.
She had already been asked in marriage, but refused. "I cannot think of marriage," she said, "while my brothers are risking their lives on the battlefield." And she voluntarily remained at home to take care of her mother, father, and her fourth brother who was blind.
She preferred celibacy to a rich marriage, poverty to luxury, to drown out the empty noise of society, suffering to the joys which so often prove false in life.
She worked to help her parents, nor ever forgot, her brother who was imprisoned and persecuted. She buried her old parents and became the "Antigone" to her blind brother, to whom she was as a mother all her life.
Her love for her brothers, the supervision of their correspondence, their trial, and the many incitants of their lives, became her only care; she embraced their principles with enthusiasm, and became a Socialist after she had dispensed every vestige of belief in a religion she had learned to hate.
Monarchy could not strike her directly: it took revenge on her remaining brother by throwing him into its prison cells.
She found herself thus alone between the principles of her doctrine and God. Known as an Atheist, a Socialist, a revolutionary, government spies forced their way into her house on every occasion, searched everywhere, epub, found everything, in the face of which she was merely to explain—papers which she knew better than to keep.
To terrify and force her into submission, these ignoble searches were, through forty years, carried out during night-time. If on
well, she was made to get up; they shook her bedding, knocked about her furniture, in order to search for correspondece from her persecuted brothers.

All this only added fuel to her hatred against monarchy, the priests and the bourgeoisie, and increased her attachment to the social cause.

Her home, once filled with a numerous and happy family, had been depopulated by death and persecution. A lonely woman, she felt without aid in the unhappy majority of the monarchy's secret spies, who respect neither virtue nor honesty, nor sorrow, nor illness, nor death.

But this strong-hearted woman gave way to nothing, bent low before no one; neither the persecutions directed against her, nor the misery, nor the solitude, nor even death itself, drew a complaint or a tear from her brave soul.

She desired, however, but with joy; it was on the day when she embraced her brother after an absence of thirty years spent in battle, in prison, in exile. They had parted as children, they met as old men.

In her last days—and even in her last days—her dream was to fight and die for the social cause side by side with her brothers.

But her brothers will not have the consolation of seeing her stand at the front line which is preparing everywhere.

On December 12 of this sad year now drawing to a close, she died.

She died smiling and tranquil, for her blind brother had been by her side day after day.

The Roman Catholic Church, who adored her, gave her a funeral worthy of her virtues, her strength, her courage, and her Socialist convictions, which she retained to her last breath.

Her name was Amelia Cipriani.

She was my sister.—Amilcare Cipriani.

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A Resignation.

Rev. Wm. Thurston Brown, of Plymouth Church and Society, Rochester, N.Y., recently resigned his pastorate. From an excellent letter of resignation, the following remarks are taken:

"But several circumstances make it imperative that I not only resign as your minister, but also that I decline to again become a servant of the Church.

"During my four years here I have been, as you know, under a somewhat severe nervous strain. No blame therefor attaches to anyone. As a public teacher I have always been in obedience to the compulsion of conscience and conviction, and I have no regrets for the course I have taken in that respect. As a self-respecting man I had not the leisure for constant attendance to my home convictions. No other course seems to me to be honorable for the individual or for the community.

"Moreover, I am unwilling any longer to permit the immoral sacrifices which the maintenance of Plymouth Church under my ministry entails.

"When I made choice of what is called the Christian ministry, it was not because I felt that men and women were a danger of a future hell, but because I was convinced that the chief evil of human life was the establishment of the kingdom of heaven or happiness on the earth, and it seemed to me then, that the Church was the most natural and suitable agency for that purpose. I assumed that an institution that took Jesus as its head could have no other aim.

"Of course, I discovered my mistake. I found not only that the Church as an institution nowhere contemplates any such program, but that it does not possess in its equipment the means and the intelligence of any of the agencies that can realize such a result. I heard much talk of the 'brotherhood of man' and the 'fatherhood of God,' but in the latter I saw that these phrases meant nothing and were too high to mean anything in men's social and industrial relations.

"At first, like many another clergyman, my mind dulled and stupefied by the teachings I had received, I was inclined to blame individuals for those social conditions which make all our talk of 'brotherhood' and 'fatherhood' a species of hypocrisy that completely discards anything the 'sacred' and 'sinful' words, I have discovered my error and am convinced that men of all classes are about as good as their environment will permit them to be. Am I understand what men's social and industrial relations are determined by forces over which either religion or the Church has no more influence than they have over the motions of the planets.

"Accepting the ideas of origin and development as given by modern science, my whole thought of social problems and personal duty has radically changed. To my mind, the whole philosophy of religious and so-called philanthropic activity is mistaken, and the idea that charitable institutions are simply manifestations of misdirected energy.

"My hope of moral progress lies in the direction of enlightenment and of the development of such social personal and class interests as will make the people the masters of their own destiny. I have long ceased to believe that any outside being or force is going to help them in their personal or social life. The forces which are to solve our problems and bring us emancipation from all kinds of slavery are within and about ourselves. Believing thus, I look forward with hope to the advent of industrial democracy as giving promise of a broader freedom and a better life for all.

"But the most imperative reason for the action which I take relates to the question of personal morality. My conscience continues to think worthily who does not square his deeds with his words. We can know only in proportion as we do. A man's life is his creed, and if his personal action does not reflect the religious or his convictions, he is bound soon or late to crystallize into a hypocrite. In our modern world, conformity has taken the place of morality. We are not live souls—we are only monotonous reflections of customs based on economic slavery.

"For my part, if I am to retain my own self-respect, I must at least make the attempt to gain freedom. I mean, at least make a break for it. In my judgment, the world can have no severer judge, no holier mes- stiah, than freedom. And by freedom I mean the absence of all formal coercion. Only in the light of freedom can we really know man for man. The world without freedom can have no true progress in any direction. The Filipinos might come to the Philippines the rock, the not Church. For its sake the Catholics came to Maryland, the Quakers to Pennsylvania, the Huguenots to Georgia. For its sake it is possible that men and women will in the future do likewise.

"I cannot let you be responsible for me in any way. My conscience requires me to assert my freedom, to express myself. I wish nothing but happiness, and I have a strong suspicion that you are interested in me and that you fear me. Through newspapers you can easily keep me informed, and it is possible that I may be exploited, I choose the latter."

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The Free Speech League.

Dr. Conway's letter to the Free Speech League is a truthful setting forth of the tyranny which has come upon our country in the past few years. Our officials have become little despot, in god of officials, and seem to have lost all sense of the rights of every man.

Our army is being used to oppress a whole people who desire to be free; our post office has become a censorship bureau; our police are the oppressors of the friends of the people.

The acts of our government in the past few years have shown the danger of the imperialistic spirit. The war against the Filipinos is as unrighteous as England's war against the Boers. It is a war of conquest to extend trade. The postoffice censorship established by Mr. Madden, the third assistant postmaster general, is illegal, unconstitutional, and oppressive. Our postoffice paper has been driven to Canada because it was not Edit as the postoffice officials thought it should be; an unorthodox "healer" in Florida has been characterized as fraudulent, and the Christian Scientists are disturbed; the people of Home, Wash., have had their postoffice closed because of the publication of a book; four men in New York are under the hard for "seditious" utterances, and a woman was recently sent to prison for trying to teach moral ethics. None of these people have harmed anyone; they have stolen nothing, committed no assault upon any person, injured no one in any way whatever. They are in the toils of the law because they were indiscreet, and exercised the right of free speech in a way to offend the officials of the State. —The Truth Seeker.

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Elements Revolt against Man's Outrages.

Why a terrible holocaust in the island of Martinique? And yet it was but another wholesale murder to be charged to the god Mammon. Scientists have known for years that the little islanders were subjects to649427
Dante’s Inferno to pigalle, nor give a damn when the thing exploded and slaughtered a race. Sometimes think nature herself is in deeper sympathy than philosophers dream of with that mysterious force called thought, and that, when the machinations of mankind torture victims as well exemplified by such atrocities as the atrocity in the Philippines, the mystic cord that connects man with the earth from which he sprang, that joins the mental to the material, vibrating with the shoulders of murder and hate back to the hidden battery of creation, burst forth in awful response to human deeds of violence. Vessivius trembled and vomited its molten sin when Caesar’s government tortured and burned the followers of the gentle Jesus. Mount Pele and La Soufrière, escape valves of the earth’s fierce furnace in the western world, blew off their tops and reared destruction at a moment when the forces of hate are grinding murder again against the souls who “pray glad tidings to the poor” and would “set the captive free.”

This may be foolish—and yet it may be true. At any rate, it seems to me that the news from the “Christian” seat of war—the water torture, the burning of Tagal infants, the murdering of Boer patriots, and the starving of their widows and children, alone is enough to cause the universe to consider the advisability of blowing itself up. And perchance the universe—mysterious, silent, and as yet unknown—thinks.

—Harry M. Eichorn

A Call

For some years I have been trying to instigate thought in others thus agitation as well as to investigate and experiment for my own development. Fortunately, or otherwise, I have been one of those reformers who have not made a living by it, good or bad, but instead a bone against the same opposition which has prevented financial success as I could. Why? Because when I have sought help, my ideas have not appealed sufficiently to the masses to secure cooperation.

I believe I have developed in a tenuous way some very grand ideas that are free enough to satisfy true Anarchists, yet find they are considered practical by members of good business organizations. What I need is a band of submerged firm, capable comrades to aid me in perfecting and introducing them practically to the public.

A long time ago, it seems, God made a piece of land for me, although I am not certain that he put my initials on it. Yet, some good brothers at the county seat tell me I can have the enjoyment of it only so long as I pay tribute to a little less than $16 a year to the myth called government. To be sure, there are only thirty-six acres, but there are chances for more to be done on it than I can do in the century’s possible ideal spot for a home. I have named it Wees’s Nest, in the hope that many cheerful, industrious workers may like to share it with me while engaged in public benefits—workers who will be efforts which I believe will be of lasting benefit to humanity. I have

FREY SOCIETY

In the North American of Philadelphia for May 11trade copies of Vereskuchen’s works are to be seen. I hope the originals will be exhibited in this country.

They preserve forever the damning evidence of American brutality which good pennies to pressure Republicans refusing to believe when I told them of such and worse doings.

—LYNCH

Brooklyn, 81 Lafayette Ave.
May 19, 1892, Year Two of the Empire.

The Immigration Question

“Aye, so there meetin’ if th’ Plymouth Rock Association come to an end. But if ye’d like to get it together, Deacon Himsvis, to discuss th’ immigration question, I’ll send out a hurry call for Schwetteman an’ Mulhecky an’ Ignace Scharbo an’ Nels Larsen an’ Petrus Gudvinan an’ will gather tonight at Panneelmakivi Hall, at th’ corner of Sheridan an’ Sigel streets. All the pilots is requested to be there.”

“Well,” said Mr. Hemmsey, “divine th’’i care. En’re I’m here soonest, an’ I ought to have th’ right to keep th’ bus’ness from being revealed.”

“Well,” said Mr. Dooley, “as a pigman father on me gran’ nephew’s side, I don’t know but ye’re right. An’ they’re sure way to keep themselves.”

“What’s that?” asked Mr. Hemmsey.

“Then I’m am about all our intishonings before they come,” said Mr. Dooley. —P. F. Dane

—Here and There

The grand jury at New York has refused to indict Comrade MacAurie. This ends the case.

E. W. Chamberlain reports in Leader that Mrs. Ada C. Crudie, whose case is known to our readers, has been brutally and forcibly vaccinated in the prison as she objected to it and resisted.

The governors of Villa and Kharkoffs, Russia, who have been arguing with the students and peasants byoggling and a narrow escape from being assassinated. In Saratoff people failed in the attempt to release eighty political prisoners, but in Simvol, on the Caucasus, a score of prisoners were liberated by their fellow workers.

In Paris, at the Pere Lachaise Cemetery, the police caused a riot by attempting to prevent the people from placing wreaths upon the tombs of the Communards, and sixty men were arrested.

The Anarchist Conference in Mannheim, Germany, has taken place. Police in disguise were present. Details will be published later.

—Home Defense Fund


—ERRATA—In the issue of May 15, p. 5, M. A. C. Article, third line, read “beards” for “hams”, and third line from last, read “statue” for “statute.”
FREE SOCIETY.

History of the French Revolution.

BY C. L. JAMES.

Probably no historical period has commanded so much attention as the French Revolution. This history needs no commendation to those readers who have been following the serial in PAIR SOCIETY.

The story begins with a rapid sketch of the political currents, the decline of the ancient empire, and the rise of the French monarchy; and the scene of the constitutional investigations. The whole course of Revolution is narrated in detail; the most careful attention has been paid to chronology, giving the events in their proper relation. The mass of particulars is carefully sifted to get at the facts as they are, and the author relates them impartially, without having made himself the champion of any faction. The truths of the people are portrayed in a simple manner, without prejudice or extravagance, both personal and political.

The prevalent idea that "the terror" was the result of Anarchy is most fictitiously exploded. The philosophic conclusion is unassailable, and the position taken, laying a foundation for the philosophy of Anarchism, is bound to attract the attention of thinkers, and makes the book important to students of history and the social question.

It is the best and most comprehensive book of its kind in the English language.