How can Governments be Abolished?

Slavery results from laws, laws are made by governments, and, therefore, people can only be freed from slavery by the abolition of governments.

But how can governments be abolished?

All attempts to get rid of governments by violence have hitherto, always and everywhere, resulted only in this: that in place of the deposed governments new ones established themselves, often more cruel than those they replaced.

Not to mention past attempts to abolish governments by violence, according to the Socialist theory, the coming abolition of the rule of the capitalists—that is, the communization of the means of production and the new economic order of society—is also to be carried out by a fresh organization of violence, and will have to be maintained by the same means. So that attempts to abolish violence by violence neither have in the past nor, evidently, can in the future emancipate people from violence nor, consequently, from slavery.

It cannot be otherwise.

Apart from outbursts of revenge or anger, violence is used only in order to compel some people, against their own will, to do the will of others. But the necessity to do what other people wish against your own will is slavery. And, therefore, as long as any violence, designed to compel some people to do the will of others exists, there will be slavery.

All attempts to abolish slavery by violence are like extinguishing fire with fire, stopping water with water, or filling up one hole by digging another.

Therefore, the means of escape from slavery, if such means exist, must be found, not in setting up fresh violence, but in abolishing whatever renders governmental violence possible.

And the possibility of governmental violence, like every other violence perpetrated by a small number of people upon a larger number, has always depended, and still depends, simply on the fact that the small number are armed while the large number are unarmed, or that the small number are better armed than the large number.

That has been the case in all conquests: it was thus the Greeks, the Romans, the Knights, and Piranços conquered nations, and it is thus that people are now conquered in Africa and Asia. And in this same way in times of peace all governments hold their subjects in subjection.

As of old, so now, people rule over other people only because some are armed and others are not.

In olden times the warriors, with their chiefs, fell upon the defenseless inhabitants, subdued them and robbed them, and all divided the spoils in proportion to their participation, courage and crassity; and each warrior saw clearly that the violence he perpetrated was profitable to him. Now, armed men (taken chiefly from the working classes) attack defenseless people: men on striking, rioters, or the inhabitants of other countries, and subdue them and rob them—that is, make them yield the fruits of their labor—not for themselves, but for people who do not even take a share in the subjugation.

The difference between the conquerors and the governments is only that the conquerors have themselves, with their soldiers, attacked the unarmed inhabitants, and have, in cases of insubordination, carried their threats to execution; while the government, in cases of insubordination, do not themselves torture or execute the unarmed inhabitants, but obliges others to do it who have been deceived and specially brutalized for the purpose, and who are chosen from among the very people on whom the government inflicts violence.

Thus, violence was formerly inflicted by personal effort, by the courage, cruelty and agility of the conquerors themselves, but now violence is inflicted by means of fraud.

So that if formerly, in order to get rid of armed violence, it was necessary to arm one’s self and to oppose armed violence by armed violence, now people are subdued, not by direct violence, but by fraud, in order to abolish violence it is only necessary to expose the deception which enables a small number of people to exercise violence upon a larger number.

The deception by means of which this is done consists in the fact that the small number who rule, on obtaining power from their predecessors, who were installed by con-
and they not only do not promote the inter-
 nal welfare of the people, but they ruin
 and corrupt them.

 In the Arabian Nights there is a story of a
 traveler who, being cast upon an uninhabi-
ted island, found a little old man with five
 heads and three eyes, in the ground, but by the side
 of a stream. The old man asked the traveler
to take him on his shoulder and to carry
 him over the stream. The traveler consented,
 but no sooner was the old man settled on
 the traveler’s shoulders than the traveler
twisted his legs round the latter’s neck and
 would not get off again. Having control of the
 traveler, the old man drove him about as
 he liked, plucked fruit from the trees and
 ate it himself, not giving any to his bearer,
 and abused him in every way.

 This is just what happens with the people
 who give soldiers and money to the govern-
 ments. With the money the governments buy
 arms and hire or train up by education
 subservient, brutalized military com-
 manders. And these commanders, by means of an
 artful system of stiupation, perfected in
 Egypt and China, and disseminated, make
 those who have been taken as such
 into a disciplined army. When the govern-
 ments have in their power this instrument
 of violence and murder, that possesses no
 will of its own, they lead the people by
 the hands, and they do not let them go again,
 and not only prey upon them, but also abuse
 them, instilling into the people, by means of
 a pseudo-religious and patriotic education,
 false notions of the interest of the people
 —that is, of the very men who keep the whole
 people in slavery and torment them.

 It is not for nothing that all the kings,
 emperors, and presidents esteem discipline
 so highly as they do, because it is the
Instrument of power over the
 people, and that their very existence
 depends on discipline.

 A disciplined army is not even required for
 a defensive war, as has often been shown in
 history, the insurrection of the Boers, for
 instance, the other day in South Africa. A disciplined
 army is only needed for conquest—that is,
 for robbery, or for fraticide or puricide, as
 was expressed by that most stupid and insen-
 sitive of crowned personages, William II.,
 who, made a speech to his recruits telling them
 they had sworn obedience to him, and ought
to be ready to: kill their own brothers and
 fathers should be desired it. Disciplined
 armies are the means by which they, without
 using their own hands, accomplish the greatest
 atrocities, the possibility of perpetrating which
gives them power over the people.

 And, therefore, the only means to destroy
government is not to form another, but to
expose the exposure of this fraud. It is necessary
people should understand: First, that in Christen-
dom there is no need to protect the peoples one from another; that all the eminence of the
peoples, one to another, are produced by the
governments themselves, and that armies
are only needed by the small number of those who rule; for the people it is not only
necessary, but it is in the highest degree
harmful, serving as the instrument to enslave
them. Secondly, it is necessary that people
should understand that the discipline which

is so highly esteemed by all the governments
is the greatest of crimes that man can
commit, and is a clear indication of the criminality of the aims of governments. Discipline
is the suppression of reason and of freedom
in man, and can have no other aim than pre-
paration for the performance of crimes such
as no man can commit, while in a normal
condition. It is not only needed for war,
when the war is defensive and national, as
the Boers have recently shown. It is wanted
and wanted without purpose indicated
by William II.—for the communal of the
greatest crimes, fraticide and puricide.

The terrible old man who sat on the
traveler’s shoulders behaved in the same way:
he mocked him and insulted him, knowing
that as long as he sat on the traveler’s neck
the latter was in his power.

And it is just this fraud, by means of which
a small number of unworthy people, called the
governments, get power over the people,
and not only impoverish them, but do
what is the most harmful of all actions—
pervert whole generations from childhood
upwards—and in the rank and file of the people,
which should be exposed, in order that the abolition
of government and of the slavery that
results from it may become possible.

The German writer Eugen Schmitz, in the
newspaper of the Court, published in
Budapest, wrote an article that was profoundly
true and bold, not only in expression,
but in thought. In it it showed that governments,
j ustifying their existence on the
very ground, that there is no certain kind
of safety to their subjects, are like the Cala-
brian robber-chief who collected a regular
tax from all who wished to travel in safety
along the highways. Schmitz was committed
for trial on that article, but was acquitted
by the jury.

We are so hypnotized by the governments
that such a comparison seems to us an
exaggeration, a paradox or a joke; but in reality it is neither a joke, the
inactivity of a government, nor the
inactivity of safety to its subjects, are like the Calabrian
robber.

The robber generally plundered the rich,
the governments generally plunder the poor
and protect those rich who assist in their
crime. The robber dunks his hand in the
rich man’s purse, while the government
d活動s nothing, but bane their whole activity on lies and
deception. The robber did not compel anyone to
join his band, the governments generally
call their soldiers by force. All who paid the
tax to the robber had equal security
from danger. But in the State, the more
one takes part in the organized fraud the
more he receives not merely of protection,
but also of the activity of the government, the
emperors, kings and presidents are protected (with
their perpetual body guards), and they can spend the
largest share of the money collected
toxing the taxpayers; next in
development in the government,
are the commanders-in-chief,
the ministers, the heads of police, governors,
and so on, down to the policemen, who are
least protected, and who receive the smallest
calories of all. Those who do not take any
part in the crimes of government, who refuse
to serve, to pay taxes, or to go to war, are
subjected to violence, as among the robbers.
The robber does not intentionally vitiate
people, but the governments, to accomplish
their ends, vitiate whole generations from
childhood to manhood with false
religious and patriotic instruction. Above all, not
even the most cruel robber, no Stéfan Ka
szin,* no Cortina, a can be compared for
cruelty, pitilessness and ingenuity in tortur-
ing. I will not say with the villain kings no-
torious for their cruelty—John the Terrible,
Louis XIV., Elizabeth, etc.—but even with the present constitutional and liberal
governments, with their solitary cells, disciplinarian batallions, suppressions of revolts,
and their massacres in war.

Toward governments, as toward churches,
it is impossible to feel otherwise than with
termination or aversion. Until a man has
understood what a government is and until
he has understood what a church is he can
not but feel aversion for these institutions.
As long as he is guided by them his vanity
makes it necessary for him to think that
what guides him is something praiseworthy,
great and holy; but as soon as he understands
what guides him is something
imprisoned and holy, but that it is a fraud carried
out by unworthy people, who, under
pretense of guiding him, make use of him for
the infamy and the evil, he cannot but feel
once feel aversion towards the people, and the
more important the side of his life that has
been guided the more aversion will he
feel.

People cannot but feel this when they have
understood what governments are.

People must feel that their participation in
the criminal activity of governments, whether by giving part of their work in the
form of money, or by direct participation in
military service, is, as is generally sup-
posed, an indifferent action, but, besides be-
ing harmful to one’s self and to one’s brethren,
is a participation in the crimes success-
fully committed by all governments and
preparation for new crimes, which govern-
ments are always preparing by maintaining
disciplined armies.

Veneration for governments, notwithstanding
all the hypnotic influence they employ to
maintain their position, is more and more passing away. And it is time for people to understand that govern-
ments not only are not necessary, but are
harmful and most highly immoral institu-
tions, in which a self-respecting, honest man
cannot and must not take part, and the advan-
tages of which he cannot and should not
enjoy.

And as soon as people clearly understand
that, they will naturally cease to take part
in such deeds—that is, cease to give the
governments soldiers and money. And as soon as people understand that the government
which enslaves people will be abol-
ished. Only in this way can people be freed
from slavery.—From “The Slavery of Our
Times,” by Leo Tolstoy. (Dodd, Mead &
Co., New York.)

* The Cossack leader of a formidable insurrection in the latter part of the seventeenth century.
* The chief of a Paris hood of robbers in the early years of the eighteenth century.—Trans.

Majority rule is often the most oppressive tyranny.
FREE SOCIETY.

In his "Criticisms on the Propaganda," Comrade Joe Fox has thrown a bomb, so to speak, in the ranks of some Anarchists. The bomb fell on Comrade Joe Fox may, if he is not more careful in the future, be labelled a "philosophic Anarchist"—and the degradation following being correspondingly black. My friend has a very good insight; he knows that the right shoe which he has thrown out of his sanctum will fit many comrades; and, being a practical man, he says, hidden himself under the words, "my remarks are not inspired by any particular cause, nor directed at any particular comrade." If I do not violate some ethical conceptions, I feel safe to say that he was aiming at Comrade MacQueen, editor of Liberty, and I say that he was just, too.

Whoever has perused the columns of Liberty, or has heard Comrade MacQueen, will not deny or disagree with me, if he will use the slightest semblance of fairness, that the method of propaganda used is least and last conclusive towards the successful promulgation of our ideas. In the same category of journals and speakers you may also place others.

My wish is that Comrade MacQueen will accept my scathing criticism of him in the same spirit. And that the advocates of propaganda is being carried on everywhere and by many, and I will consider it upon its face value, to the best of my ability.

Those who have been in the labor movement for many years, or have studied social movements in general, know how short-lived enthusiasm is, and enthusiasts are. Am I to deprive on this ground only? No, most decidedly no! And what do I deprecate? That which is soon learned is soon forgotten. Money accumulated with ease is spent with ease. An idea which is quickly taken up and accepted is either misunderstood or soon abandoned. What takes both time and labor to learn, to accomplish, an idea which we hold or accept, and which is a product of the evolution and revolution which is the life of society, and that has as its basis upon which we can build—least is dearest and most lasting with us.

I agree that the dramatic force of man needs must enter in all his work. But this force must go hand in hand with the intellectual. The dramatic force by itself evaporates too soon. The dramatic and intellectual force when coupled together: form an everlasting creation of thought. The intellectual is the greatest factor; the great conceiver and iconoclast of what is and what should be.

There are dramatic speakers among us. There is Sebastien Faure, the Frenchman, who has the inherent power to sway his audience one moment to tears, the next to laughter, and the next to consternation, in short he can arouse all the passion in man; but not the passion for the Anarchy and humor combined into one—intelligence. Another is Malatesta, the most striking speaker for so small a bunch of muscles and nerves; but the dominating factor is intelligence. They never resort, in the working of a most able comrade, to "cousin, silly vulgar things," combined with demurrer which never educates nor accomplishes anything.

I know of many cases, as short as my experience may be, where the enthusiast has fallen out of the ranks; and the men who most stubbornly opposed and fought our ideas have, by the fact that they were once our intelligent opponents, become our staunchest friends. Study yourself, dear reader, and see why you will not be an Anarchist. Of course, you must search beneath the surface. The true enthusiast is he who understands his idea and believes in it; Tolstoy and Kropotkin are the greatest enthusiasts. Their enthusiasm is so great that their very lives are dominated by their ideas.

If we desire our ideas to spread we must disseminate our teachings in the most simple, plain, and convincing manner. Such propaganda is the most effective. A man need not read the greater or even the smaller part of the library of the neighborhood, but he should at least know for himself, in justification to himself, why he believes such beliefs. This requires some reading and a sharp scrutiny and understanding of facts in life. Not until the individual is saturated with our ideas, no matter how large or small the component part, will any great progress take place.

The slow and thoughtful work of ignorance is the cause of all existing institutions and evils. The combination of ignorance is intelligence; and the progress of intelligence is so slow that it requires much time for its blossoming.

S. Misty.

"Our Land of the Free." Some time ago, our Comrade MacQueen, editor of Liberty, received a letter from an American gentleman who in the most imperious manner, told him to go back to his old England and stop preaching his absurd ideas in this land of the free and home of the brave.

Where does the freedom and justice of this country come in? In the shedding of innocent blood of women, children, or in the hanging of innocent men as was the case with the Chicago martyrs in 1887, or in the arrest of men for distributing literature, or in spreading licentious and blasphemous ideas: some day destined to bring about equality to all men.

Now comes the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press. On May 9, a meeting was held in New Irving Hall in New York of which the principal speaker was our old warrior, John Most. Just before the end of the meeting two detectives appeared and arrested two of the speakers; the charge against one was his applauding another. Was this a just cause for his arrest? Did not the rest of the audience also applaud him? The charge against the other was a violation of the law. We had a meeting and free speech was forbidden.

Why would they do the same things? To blind the eyes of the masses. For should they open their eyes and see to what a great extent their oppression and exploitation is carried, they would probably stand up and revolt, and this again, would dispossess the capitalist class; so they say, let the fools remain blind—"all the better for us. But for those of us who have courage and understand these wrongs, we should follow the immense line of disciples who persist in going about and preaching that there is no property in the land, or should we protest?"

I, for my part, prefer the latter and I say, the longer we remain dumb, the longer will the recognition of a free society, one in which all shall be free and equal, take.

ANNIE FEITZ.

— o —

Criticisms. Interloper evidently was in a humorous mood when he said, "discontented people there are many; but few are real Anarchists or Socialists." It might be interesting if he would actually and seriously tell the readers of FREE SOCIETY just what he considers to be a "real Anarchist." I trust Interloper will not get the name "real Anarchist" copyrighted.

... To the comrades who are engaged in active propaganda work I would like to offer a little suggestion. If they would think as much as possible of Anarchism as is at all possible of themselves, the personal quibbles and discussions which cause bad blood would rapidly diminish and a general improvement in our movement result.

... Ross Winn, who admits that he is inconsistent, and imagines he is a revolutionary, although he at one time condemned the act of Leon Czolsogas, tries to make me appear ridiculous for stating what I consider to be a fact recognized by most Anarchists that we are in the Social Revolution now. Then in the next paragraph he repeats the same thing. As a crazy conglomerate of ideas and principles Ross Winn is without an equal.

H. W. Kommin.

— O —

From Denver.

Eugene Debs is in Denver talking Socialism to thousands in the Western miners' Union and the American Federation of Labor. In session here now. He believes that socialism is the next step in their evolution, and that these absurd ideas in this land of the free and home of the brave.

Home Defense Fund.

Amount previously announced, $91,000.00.

G. D. P. N., 626 Sixth Ave., New York, $25,000.00.

J. H. F., 626 Fifth Ave., New York, $20,000.00.

Hon. John G. Thompson, Washington, D. C., $7,500.00.

Hon. John G. Thompson, Washington, D. C., $7,000.00.

E. P. H. D., 230 E. 42nd St., New York, $5,000.00.

Contribution for Home Defense Fund.

To John G. Thompson, Washington, D. C., $2,000.00.

To John G. Thompson, Washington, D. C., $2,000.00.

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FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FREEMAN.
Published Weekly by I. ISAAK.

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The publishers as such are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.

Anarchist—A social theory which regards the union of all persons into a society under the control of a central authority as contrary to the true American ideal. Absolute individualism. From Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JUNE 6, 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.

Notes.

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 another $2 we will send the name. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

Subscribers to C. L. James' "History of the French Revolution" are asked to have a little patience. A contemplated arrangement with a publisher causes some delay, but the book is now in the hands of a printer, and will be delivered at an early date.

Comrade Jay Fox, 356 Fifth St., New York, N.Y., will furnish information to comrades interested in Cosmos Colony, as to the best means of transportation, fire, etc., to Brazil, and other useful intelligence.

A Free Social League has been organized in New York. Edward C. Walker is provisional president, W. J. Trowbridge, 171 E. 38th St., New York, is secretary. Membership is $1 a year.

Some Chicago comrades wish to start a Tolstoy literary club immediately. Its purpose will be to read, discuss, and properly understand the great Russian writer and philosopher. The necessity for such an association is very apparent at this time when pamphlet writers and reform speakers are manifesting such ignorance of the man and his writings. Those wishing to join will please address R. Goodale, 602 N. Washington Ave., Chicago.

The pamphlet "Roosevelt, Cleveland, and Anarchist" which is so unpulotable to the New York police authorities, can be obtained of R. Fritz, 207 Madison St., New York, N.Y. Single copies 3 cents; in lots of 25 or more one half cent a copy.

Splinterers.

A Chicago jury, this time with unusually long ears, has decided that Halpin's writings are not by words "and the man is called" but that the paragraph has been spoken of many nights—no doubt to find out whether it is true or not. And Tomy Comstock had better see that he is speedily excluded from the mails.

Bishop Spalding says women are responsible for three-fourths of all crime. No doubt the bishop knows the priests better than most people do.

Roosevelt has smuggled in some imperial bannock from Russia, and palmcd it off as his own native invention. He boasted that wherever the American flag is, it will "stay put." When Maturin annexed the Amur to the Russian empire, it was at first regarded with indifference in St. Petersburg. But even so, when soundcd as to abandoning the barren province, as reported to have said: "Whenever the Russian flag goes up, it never comes down."

The governmental postoffice, among its other useful purposes, usually serves as an adjunct of the strong political parties, more particularly the party in power. Millions of campaign documents are "franked" thru the mails. It is these that create a deficit without considering the gratuitous railroad contracts. But there are more ways than one of using the postoffice. The Chicago Tribune, a Republican paper, charges Mark Hanna with having sold the second assistant postmaster's office for a campaign contribution. All railroad contracts are under this office, and the man selected for the job was a railroad attorney.

Some congressmen have made an ingenious attempt to cast odium on Anarchists by charging them with prostitutes in a bill. The New York legislature has tried to make criminals of them. Well and good. If it is necessary they will be criminals. And if the congress get any satisfaction out of it, they will be classed with prostitutes. Neither the one nor the other is a disgrace. But they will not cease being Anarchists. Prostitutes! Wretched victims of a foul system. They are not only not at all beneath the naughty society ladies who turn aside their skirts, for very many of them are no more or less than high-priced respectable, married prostitutes.

The Chicago American of June 2 prints a striking cartoon. It is the picture of a political boss looking at an announcement that the people want an "honest legislature." He exclaims that the people must be mad. "If we come to a correct analysis of the situation, we will see that the political boss is correct. It is sheer madness to expect an honest legislature. At least there may be honest men in it. It is not the corruptness of the individuals, but the position they are placed in that breeds all the corruption. As far back in history as we can trace, whenever the people placed power in the hands of men to sell them, they have been sold. The people should make it impossible for a Boss This or Boss That to sell them, by having no legislature. Then if there are any bribetakers, they must do it because they want to sell themselves.

At last the Boers have succumbed to the larger number of the Britons. No one can withhold admiration for these brave people. From the start they battled against tremendous odds, and from the outset it was almost a foregone conclusion. They have been overwhelmed, but they are not conquered.

Altho the Boers are down, still they have gained the victory of defeat. They have shown the world what a united people can do in a defensive warfare. They have given an example of tenacity of purpose and devotion to their ideal of independence. They have staggered the prestige of the British Empire. While to all outward appearance Britain is as powerful as ever, history has taught again and again the lesson that the unity of an empire based on repression cannot last. Russia has never been safe from Poland; and the Irish have given the British no strength.

Various Notes.

By the tone of R. W. W.'s reference to the "youthful editor of Free Society" I infer that R. W.'s scalp must have been fetched. I suggest that we drop the name with an A and take one beginning with a Z. My reason is that when a new cyclopaedia is being got out we don't hear of it till the volume A--ANA is already in type if not actually on the market, and it is too late to object to an article "Anarchism" that rephrases all the familiar misconceptions. If the name began with a Z, then as soon as the first volumes came out our letter-writers could get to work to show the editor the advantage of having the Anarchism article written by some one really competent to speak on the subject. Therefore I suggest that we call it Azazilism or Zedekism or Zygomism or some other attractive and appropriate name with a Z; then we shall have a pull on the cyclopaedia.

I note in Free Society for March 16 that on one page R. W. says those who advocate passive resistance are ignorant of human history; on another page he advocates a policy of passive resistance, to be supplemented by violence on special occasions. This is moderately acceptable, but what I kick on is his describing the ballot-box as a form of passive resistance. If voting is passive, then voting for candidates at an ordinary election does not make a man guilty of crimes of violence: a conclusion which I for one am unwilling to accept. I am afraid the comrade has been mixing up "passive" and "legal."

I am rather tempted to put up this "general strike" talk down as moonshine. Yet I see a possibility of great things in that way under one condition. This is, if in some country on the continent of Europe, where the workingmen hate the army, somebody should work up a universal strike for the abolition of military conscription. Such a strike would have tremendous vitality, and
might have tremendous consequences. Ross W. Wine thinks one might start a general strike about any old thing, and this would put such magic into the course of events that the course of events would drive that general strike to produce the Social Revolution; and he supports this by saying that the American Constitution works with and calls the people's attention to "a pauper side issue—the stamp tax." I have not so read history. The attention of the American people is supposed to be given to matters that concern them, and it is not supposed to be fixed on the proposition that parliament had no legal authority to legislate for the colonies. They seised on the small taxes, they cared for which in themselves they always paid nothing, on a course meeting a "test case." Afterward, as a war measure, they declared themselves independent not only of parliament but of king.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Special Appeal to the Comrades in New Jersey.

In the month of April, 1901, a law was passed by the New Jersey legislature, making it a crime punishable by a fine of $2000 or fifteen years in prison "to circulate any book, paper, or pamphlet encouraging boycotting, or in any way tending to embarrass any government." This law is unconstitutional in several particulars, and would certainly not stand the test of a trial, if conducted intelligently. Nevertheless it is a constant menace, as long as it stands as an example to other states. Some states, I mean to say—were fixed on the proposition that parliament had no legal authority to legislate for the colonies. They seized on the small taxes, they cared for which in themselves they always paid nothing, on a course meeting a "test case." Afterward, as a war measure, they declared themselves independent not only of parliament but of king.

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ATTENTION!

To avoid unnecessary expenses and disappointment, some of the Chicago comrades have concluded to send one or two reliable and experienced men to Brazil, to investigate Comrade Condor's proposition for colonizing the Brazilian Indians and to join the colony eventually and will contribute to toward the expense of the delegates, are kindly requested to send their names and addresses immediately to the address below, in order that we may be able to find out how much the cost will be for each.

J. D. MACK.

The Belief in God.

The belief in God has often been advanced as not only the greatest, but the most common, of all connections between man and the lower animals. It is, however, impossible, as we have seen, to maintain that this belief is innate or instinctive in man. On the other hand, a belief in all-pervading spiritual agencies seems to be universal; and apparently follows from a considerable advance in man's reason, and from a still greater advance in his faculties of imagination, curiosity, and wonder. I am aware that the assumed instinctive belief in God has been used by many persons as an argument for its existence. But this is a rush argument, as we should thus be compelled to believe in the existence of many cruel and malignant spirits, only a little more powerful than man; for their belief in them is far more general than in a beneficent Deity—Charles Darwin.

Natural Sense of Justice.

I have lived with communities of savages in South America and in the East, who have been in a state of lawlessness, and the public opinion of the village freely expressed. Each man scrupulously respects the rights of his fellows, and any infraction of those rights rarely occurs, never taking place. In such a community all are nearly equal. There are none of those distinctions of education and ignorance, wealth and poverty, master and servant, which are the events of all nations. There is none of that widespread division of labor, which, while it increases wealth, produces also conflicting interests. There is none of that severe competition for the struggle for existence or for wealth which the dense population of civilized countries inevitably creates. All incitement to great crimes are thus wanting, and petty ones are suppressed partly by the influence of public opinion, but chiefly by that natural sense of justice which every man seems to have in some degree inherent in every race of men. Alfred Russell Wallace, "Malay Archipelago," Ch. XI.

Here and There.

Pumpkins were called out of the mines by the miners on June 2. But as the operators had ample time to prepare themselves, the check did not arrive.

Teamsters employed by the packers in Chicago have been on strike about two weeks. The teams were nearly succeeded in stopping the meat trade in Chicago. Meat wagons are now driven about town with a squad of police "protecting" each wagon. The teamsters are required to work at all hours at small pay.

Many farm hands in Bidjose, Spain, were shot and arrested during the week because they asked for living wages. Everywhere the government is an agent of the rich for the strong, yet the laborers do not realize that government is the cause of their misery.

A new Anarchist paper, La Liberté appears in New York, thru initiative of Paul Hulme, comrades of the Club Independents. The address of the paper is 13 Minetta St., New York.

A revolutionary Congress took place at Liège (Belgium) in last week of May. About one hundred fifty comrades from all countries attended the Congress, which took a particular importance in the last revolutionary events of Belgium. A complete summary of this Congress will be given later.

Government is the tool, to obtain which��雌and ambition strive; it is the sword with which now this, now that strikes and hits, and calls it governing. We shall constantly be struck and wounded, let who will wield the sword, until we have destroyed the weapon itself—Dr. R. Opfander.

Every man will submit with belligerent patience to evils which he believes to arise from the general laws of nature; but when the vanity and mistaken benevolence of the government and the higher classes of society have spread their insidious influence over the minds of the lower classes, endeavored to persuade them that all the good the enjoy is conferred upon them by their rulers and rich benefactors, it is very natural that they should struggle with all the more eagerness, and suffer to the same sources, and patience under such circumstances cannot reasonably be expected.
FREE SOCIETY.

In a English Prison.

Eight years ago belonged to a group of young men and women who had discovered that our civilization was a fraud, based on the exploitation of man by man; that constituted justice, morality, and religion were prostituted forms of the most sacred principles of human equity and liberty, and mere adjuncts of exploitation.

We called ourselves Anarchists and endeavored to spread our knowledge broadly, and to make our doctrine a reality, by meetings. Before long “the powers that be” decided that freedom of speech only applied to those questions upon which all were agreed, and that waging war against the powers that be was strictly illegal.

My one delight was to get out to exercise in the prison yard. Here, as in the prison proper, absolute silence was the rule, and to enforce this we marched in a circle several yards apart. A pathetic sight was the cleared corner, where those who were unable to march with the nimblers prisoners made a circle of their own. Old men with tottering footsteps, bent, others unaided, short of a leg, etc., in a well-ordered social system these men’s infirmities would protect them, under Christian capitalism their infirmities condemn them to jail. A sufferer, perhaps were the juveniles, quite little boys condemned perhaps for “joicing” round a railway station pestering their betters with “Carry your luggage, sir,” their young faces already taking on the expression of the criminal, from which intelligence is banished and replaced by low cunning.

One extremely unpleasant incident of my confinement was the screening and parading of those who had spent three mornings in succession, more like a pig than a human being. This came from a young man condemned to death for the particularly atrocious murder of an old woman, which happened that the day he was well dined, had lost all count of time, and every morning when he was taken to chapel he thought he was being led out to execution and fought desperately.

There danced on that greasy street, an inspector of prisoners visited the jail. An inspector—or the visiting justices—has the power to order any prisoners condemned to hard labor to be flogged for “repeated acts of insubordination.” The guard cut them in chains and hauled them up the stairs, scrubbing and washing down stairs, landings, etc. In the early winter afternoon there was a quiet interval in prison when all the doors and windows were shut tight, and the guard would tell me to think—between the time when it gets too dark to work and the lighting up of the cells. At this time can be heard the dull thud of many feet as the prisoners pace up and down, their cells like the lot of caged beasts. On this particular morning I was trapping in the darkness as usual when suddenly I heard a peculiar hiss which startled the whole prison to silence. It was immediately followed by the most appalling cry I have ever heard, the cry of a strong man riven with agony. It was an involuntary cry of intense pain to the full extent of the lungs, and it gradually died away in a deep sigh. For the first time in my life I was speechless, then a feeling of desperation came over me. I wanted to call out and bater at the iron door of my cells. Then as I realized my helplessness, I became frantic, and sank on the floor with the fear of the fearful ordeal. Twelve times we heard that cruel hiss, twelve times that heart-rending sibilant, twelve times that long-drawn sigh. For weeks after my release I used to start and wake up in a sweat, expecting in every pore with that terrible cry ringing in my ears. God grant that I may never hear it again.

And now, after eight years, when I hear the echo of that death’s awful appeal to the wise, when some of my optimistic Socialist friends point out to me the great advantage in social conditions as evidenced by municipalization, I close my eyes and picture the appearance of the entrails and genitals of criminals in a prison yard. I hear again the wail of the tortured and I realize that the root of the evil is still untouched; that I have lived a rebel, that I shall die a rebel. — Treh, in Liberty, New York. —

London Letter.

Since the annual budget has been announced the subject of the South African war is occupying all minds. Many thousands of soldiers have been mustered out as unfit, on account of life or for a health weakened so that they are useless in the struggle for existence. Over 12,000 children have given up their little lives in fever-strewn concentration camps as a penalty for their parent’s love of liberty. Between this and the Boers eating their hearts out in enforced exile at Ceylon, Bermuda, and St. Helena, and yet the struggle still goes on.

These are things that we can see anywhere. We can see them in the burned homesteads, ruined farms with the cattle stolen or driven off, dams destroyed and farm implements broken up. There are families rent asunder, some in the field, some in prison, others hidden in the bush. Even the so-called dealing concentration camps. Mutual hatred engendered by some turning traitors. (Piet De Wet, brother of the famous general. We are informed in a paper, has been authorized by Kitchener to raise a Burgers corps to fight his own countrymen.) When we think of all this we grow heart-sick and weary, but this by no means represents the total of human misery this war has caused.

Secret and bitter as all this is, it is unquestionable whether the intellectual retrogression, moral degradation of the people of this country, the loss of natural rights, the loss of national honor, the loss of national independence, the loss of life, blood and tears that have been shed in South Africa. This at any rate is most important.

When the last shot has been fired in that unhappy country, win or lose, the Boers will emerge from the struggle brutalized and better men, while every Britisher must feel humiliat and degraded for years to come. It is impossible to describe the moral degradation to which the average Englishman has sunk in these three terrible years. Men whom I have known and met, who in their private lives are good, kind, pure-hearted men, who would no doubt seem to tell a lie or hurt a child, yet talk as boldly about exterminating a race of people who worship the same God, profess the same religion as they do, as if they were spiders. Oh England, when will you be Invaded and forced to pay that terrible debt?

Here we have one of the strangest traits in mankind. Men and women of a kindly disposition and desire to harm no one, turned into cold-blooded monsters that this last for territory and a desire to rule the world. That this greed for territory and desire to rule remains but a shadow in millions of their lives goes without saying, and yet the
consequences are just as terrible and the misery as complete as the each of those millions were a Cecilia Rhodes.

And yet our comrades see cause for rejoicing. They say it is not so terrible as to be worsted. The only daily pro-Boer newspapers in London. It is true there are a multitude against them and most of them advocating extermination, and they are collected. But the papers have no word to say as to independence, but talk about "larger measures of liberty on Canadian lines," etc., yet they say with a war such as this and the passion war, many adherents, it is more than hopeful to see four daily papers go as far as they do. To me it appears that we have degenerated so far that we are thankful for mercies ever so small. Nevertheless it must be admitted that such papers as the four referred to (Daily News, Morning Leader, Star and Echo) together with the Manchester Guardian, Truth, Review of Reviews, Reynold's, and the New Age are doing good work. The last three in particular are out and out for independence, and are doing splendid work.

And yet with all these things there is no cloud in the sky: the heroic resistance of the British is perfect. We can only say it. We can only express our admiration. It is an extraordinary humanity (not one case of reprisal has been heard of yet for the countless murders committed by the British). De la Rey's action in refusing to accept the amnesty (which has been granted them into acquitting Krantzzius of murder); the enormous powers of resistance, the cowardice, stupidity, incompetency of the British command, and the remarkable heroism of the common soldiery connected with the Chamberlain family, who supply the government with a large part of the arms and ammunition; the recent scandals of the pension department and Cold Storage Company, to say nothing of the minor affairs, are all having their effect upon the patriotic Briton. It is the true war trumpet still, but its blasts are growing more feeble each day. It may be cynical, yet it is sad for the true sympathy to the subject—the people getting tired of the war. After fighting for two years and seven months with an army that has aggregated 400,000 British and colonial troops, to say nothing of 500,000 natives, the expenditure of more than $1,000,000,000, De la Rey swoops down and captures Lord Methuen, some seven or eight hundred men and five guns, and this when the Boers who attacked were, if anything, inferior in numbers to the British and had no guns (cannons). In future when the patriotic Briton tells us about the gallant six hundred, the charge of the Light Brigade, etc., we will gallantly live and die as at Tewfieh who "were chased for miles (this is the official expression) by an equal number of Boers." Is it any wonder people grow tired of oppression?

While opinion is changing and the peace party is growing, if peace comes, and rumors are flying thick and fast the last few days, it will not be because the nation has repented of its mistakes, but because the people tired them out. While there is a certain amount of artificial prosperity in certain cities where war materials are being supplied, it must be remembered that with the certainty that it will be worse.

The what after effects of the war will be it is hard to tell. If peace comes soon and on terms more or less favorable to the Boers, a large part of the army will return home. This will mean a large addition to the army and it is not yet known whether the soldiers will be of use, but those who are now engaged in supplying the army, this will mean some seven or eight hundred thousand dollars. Perhaps the Boers feel the pangs of hunger a revolutionary spirit may sweep over the country. This, however, is but a pious hope on my part, for a people who can be so cruel and brutalized as the people of this country have shown themselves to be during these two and a half years, are not the people to have much hope of. And yet with all his arrogance and brutality—and he has plenty of both—the British workingmen is a curiosity creature. Here at the very moment when he is pouring out his blood and treasure to crush and subdue two tiny republics, he grows enthusiastic over the Barcelona strike. The London Trades Council unanimously endorsed the appeal of our Spanish comrades at their last meeting and are circulating the trades unions of the country for financial assistance, and confidently expected that twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars will be raised if the strike lasts a few months longer.

Say what you like, the Englishman is men. He loves his chinning; he is a rebel! He is a brute, he is kind-hearted! Make him out if you can.

As to the movement there is little to be said. F. S. A. is past and gone; it is a struggle to get it out once a month. That it appears at all is due to the devotion of a handful of comrades rather than any support from the country at large. In London, the faithful few met once a fortnight and try to cheer each other up by discussing what happens on the continent. In the provinces things are equally as bad. A few Russians are struggling manfully to educate the large number of their compatriot in the East End with weekly lectures and their free library. The Jewish comrades have by dint of hard labor secured a hall with their own furniture, and力求 from German and Jewish are given weekly. They also assist the Russians with their lectures, which are held in their hall. This group of Jewish comrades have started a paper called Liberty, but what its chances are I cannot tell. The address in No. 9 Polham St., Brink Lane, Spitalfields, London, E. R. Rocker is now publishing the Jewish paper Germaan at Leeds instead of London as formerly. The German, French, Italian, and Spanish comrades are all doing a certain amount of propaganda in their own language; and shame be it said they are doing more than we are. Kroogskin and Louise Allied have lived in this country for some time past, but it is pleasant to say they are rather better at present.

For the first time in many years no public meeting was held on the 28th. The English comrades to commemorate the Commune. A small private meeting was held, and we spent an interesting if not an exciting evening. On March 23rd we held a mass meeting in Trafalgar Hall, which was attended by against the atrocities committed by the Spanish government on the Barcelona strikers recently.

The meeting was hastily arranged, yet we had close on three thousand present. Over $35 was collected at the meeting, and a considerable sum given to the movement among the working classes from the American trades unions doing anything? It is a deserving cause and comrades should exert themselves.

London, Eng.  

—H. M. KIRBY.

FREEDOM.

Literature.

Professor Mills in Democracy and Other Writings by Professor Mills, born, Memorial lectures and biographical sketch of M. T. Tullis at 36 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. Price $1.

Lovers of Whitman, Carpenter, and Thoreau will find this an interesting and attractive book. Her essays touching the fresh life of nature show the most enlightened appreciation. The essays on economics and the sex question indicate a true insight into freedom. The Last Stand against Democracy in Va. is a protest against making creatures of woman. This must cease before woman can be emancipated. Still, there are one or two phrases that I do not understand. Speaking of Whitman, she says, ‘His liberty was never license.’ I do not believe that Whitman justified any such extra-territorial assertion. His liberty is essentially “license,” for he does not make so absurd a distinction, so far as I am aware. Helen Tullis has a biographical sketch of the author, and her friend Marion Daniel.

* * *

The Truth Seeker, New York, now issuing an excellent cartoonist, which adds much interest and spice to the paper. Jr.

LETTER-BOX.

F. C. — The address of the Comrade is in 51 Cooper Square, New York City. It is certainly the first socialistic publication in this country. The price is 10 cents a copy or $1 a year.

E. G., Newchester, Alta. — You can easily see how your subscription stands, by comparing the number on the wrapper by the current number of Face Society. Greetings.

E. C., San Francisco, Cal. — Of course “absence of mass resistance or passive resistance is often more effective than a hostile attitude,” but people who claim to be non-resistants cannot consistently appeal to the courts for protection.

W. S., Providence, R. I.—All right, comrade. Fie on you when you are able. The cards were sent in order to find out which people and which others would read the paper—not green.

J. T. A., Dover, Mass. — Your suggestion, "How to be Successful," are excellent for John D. Rockefeller’s Sunday school. The intelligent reader of his essays will hardly find them interesting or instructive.

M. F., Westport, Conn. — The book "Age of Reason" you say obtained from the Profit Seeker, S. Alldredge etc., S. X., etc., etc. I have bought in larger quantities.