The Haymarket Monument.*

Nay, let it stand so as to the square.
A mark of shame! Its place is there.
And they who read it, every day
Shall pass along, and learn it away.

Freedom dark down on that spot
When truth was strangled there and shot.
And avenger stands murder's column—
The petty tyrant with his club.

Nay, let it stand, till those who build
In this vile glory find their guilt.
And know the thing they worship new
A monster, who hides crime and law.
For men shall honor nobler things
Than laws, or governors, or kings,
When truth and justice, strength and right,
May rise like mast to end a night.

Men tremble now where rulers be;
Bare must come, when, standing free;
Men knowing men, each trusting all.
A good deed to their hands shall fall.

Yes, when the people have grown wise,
And binding scales have left their eyes.
They'll sudden turn in all disaster,
And end this mockery in the dust.

Ay, let it stand there in the street,
A sobering shame. For it is true
That they who raised it everyday
Should see, till eyes must turn away.

* Written before “business interests” caused the removal of the monument to Union Park.

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A Theme for Thinkers.

It takes a long time to rid the rabble mind of misconceptions. Every new idea is compelled to run the gauntlet of prejudice and persecution. The whole history of the world is a proof of the unwillingness of the average man to change his point of view. The mere existence of a law of custom is popularly accepted as an argument in its favor. The progress already made is gladly welcomed; but there is at all times a general objection to going any further.

Nevertheless, a fact, to which institutions, no less than plants and animals, are in the long run compelled to yield, is Human inertia resists strongly; but it has to deal with a still stronger impelling force. It is no mere superstitious sentimentalism, but the sternest of scientific facts, which asserts that the actual right is sure to conquer in the end. The right is that which best harmonises with the evolutionary process, which, whether blind or intelligent, is irresistible, and will have its way. There is no standing still in the universe. The eternal flux and flow of flux is indeed a fact, tho' it is a manner quite different from the old Hegelian conception. Those who wish the world to stand still are always on the losing side. The present may crown them beyond their merit; but the future tomes them into the ash heap with the rest of the rubbish.

At every moment, there are two distinct tendencies at work among men. The most obvious is that which concurs with the vast majority. It is the development of existing social conditions toward the full expression of both the best and the worst in them. The other, which concerns most the advanced thinkers, is the gradual preparation for the new conditions which are destined ultimately to supersede the old.

The transformation of society is not solely the result of any one factor, religious, economic social or political. The ingenious attempt of Marx and others to reduce the entire problem to an economic basis is not devoid of plausibility, but cannot stand the test of a rigid analysis. It is an effort to substitute a part for the whole, and necessarily leads to false conclusions. Human psychology is essentially complex, and not to be dismissed by a simple formula.

Anarchism does not pretend to be a short cut to human perfection. It is not a complicated scheme for social regeneration; nor is it an apology for law and murder. It is not to be found in any unwholesome belief in the violent determination of a few. It is not a dream of the millennium, nor an apotheosis of riot and turbulence. It is a name for the ideal of a man liberty which has long been the goal of the road to be.

Professor Trigge, of the University of Chicago, states that the literature of today all tends toward Anarchism. This is found to be true among nearly all the European and many American writers of the first grade. Russia gives us Tolstoy and Gorky; Italy presents A. D'Annunzio; Scandinavian offers Ibsen, Brandes and Bjornson; Hungary, Jokai; Belgium, Maeterlinck; Germany, Hauptmann and Bauer; France, Gaetan Birmeche and the whole younger school of artists and literaturists; England, Hardy, Meredith, Carpenter, Bernard Shaw, Mrs. Gurney and many more. Zola, William Morris and Grant Allen, having died so recently, may properly be included in the list.

In our own country, we have had Emerson, Whitman and Thoreau; and today we have John Burroughs, Clarence Darrow, J. William Lloyd and a host of others.

Few of these authors, and of the many others who might well be placed by their side, are avowed Anarchists, and many of them would unhesitatingly reject the appellation. This, however, is merely due to the prejudice which has been confounded against the name. The whole trend of their writings is away from authority, and in the direction of that fuller expansion of individuality which is the real aim of Anarchism.

Anarchy points out the logical consequences of evolutionary tendencies. As the race develops, its cohesive power increases; and it is only a question of time when the normal relations between men will be so obvious by a matter of mutual interest, that the crude and artificial cement of governments and institutions will no longer be needed to hold human beings together. This is not a commiutation to slavery at. It is simply the corollary of individuality and solidarity, each incomplete without the other. There need be no fear of the premature triumph of Anarchy. Governments will not disappear, until the consciousness of the people shall have awakened to the fact that they are thereby engrafted. There is always much more danger that institutions will outlive their usefulness, than that they will be destroyed before their work is done. History is clear enough on this point to reassure the most timid. Anarchy will remain an unrealised ideal, until the human race is fully ready to actualise it. When it does come, it will not mean a general smash-up. Exploitation will be rendered impossible; but many things will go on just as they do today. The men and women of a free society will not be perfect, nor omnipotent. They will learn by experiment how best to carry on affairs; and each generation will add new lessons. Progress will not cease, but will be greatly accelerated. The refinement of life, far from disappearing, will become the portion of all.

The Anarchist philosophy is not to be apprehended in a moment. At first, it may appear “the useless fabric of a dream”; but closer study shows that it rests on a strong foundation. Thinking men and women will find the subject well worthy of their attention. Cast prejudice aside, and investigate.

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Ida Craddock.

One more martyr to add to the bug list already stumped upon the pages of history! A list containing names which were made odious by malicious persecutions. Persecutions set in motion by designing opposers of human liberty, and aimed and magnified by the ignorant masses.
To be sure, the march of progress keeps right on even in the cases in which it is criminal to shed the blood of sacrifice; but is it not time to vary somewhat the beaten track and see if the cost may not be lessened? Is it necessary to continue the sordid practice of killing off large numbers of human beings in order that knowledge may be diffused? How pitiable the ignorance that looks with indifference upon such outrages as the persecution of Ida Custer! The favorite feeling no personal responsibility in the case?

Is not every supporter of government a partner in guilt, in the driving to her death this intelligent and refined woman? How the "heads" of the nation must congratulate themselves upon their ability to handle with "the free" voters, and keeping them at war with each other upon such vital questions as the tariff, hastening them into party lines by unscrupulous and designing leaders, blinding their eyes and defacing their ears by false lights and misleading sounds. It is nothing less than Satanic!

For the purpose of making people go to work, to see those who work pay a given percentage of their wages for the support of the government, to know these wage slaves have no right under government to free speech, free press, or free mails; to find, as Buckle says, "the very thoughts of men are made to pay toll," is enough to make one doubt the sanity of the average man. And what of the shabby treatment of the citizens? What for their silence help to bar the way? It is but charitable to say they know not what they do; but believing, as we must, that this woman is to come the emancipation of the race from the superstition of government, it is at times disheartening to watch the progress made.

But, again, when we compare the last decade with the preceding ones, and count the noble women who have dared to take a step in advance hope rises and we are not dismayed. It takes courage of a high order to find for one's convictions. Right or wrong, they are our high calling. We cannot will it. The world will not forget the ones who give their lives for liberty, and among the immortals will ever be the name of Ida C. Crumdock.

FREE SOCIETY.

Chicago, 307 Park Ave.

Meetings.

On Sunday, November 4, the Philosophical Society listened to a lecture given by W. F. Barnard. The speaker's subject was "The Folly of State Socialism."

The principal supports of the Marxian theory of economic evolution were examined at the outset, and while the lecturer found no fault with the arguments of the German economist respecting surplus value, the materialistic conception of history, the rights of labor, and the production of use-values, he took the decisive exception to that Marxian cornerstone, the dogma that the larger holders of capital are expropriating the smaller ones progressively, and must at last extinguish their effects. Following a suggestion to Tocqueville's work, "Pages of Socialist History," Mr. Barnard quoted from it extensively, proving that the number of smaller holders of capital residing in England, a capitalist country—had trebled since 1840.

After adding to these figures the evidence presented to the same effect by Malthus and Giffen, he went on to show that Marx had but built up an edifice to which this principle, progressive expropriation, was of the first importance; in other words, the principle fails to explain the whole structure of economic fatalism, with its promise of a monopoly by the people as the inevitable effect of monopoly by the few, would fail, and scientific Socialism become the mere result of personal responsibility in the case.

Marx, Mr. Barnard declared, had professed to follow Darwin in his demonstrations; arguing that from individualized industries controlled by fatalistic natural processes, capitalist forms of industry, which in turn gave way thru the same causes, natural laws, to monopolies; that monopoly was the natural condition of commodity production; that the struggle which followed was common to all species, and that the end of the economic evolution would be the capture of political power by the proletariat, who would then complete the transformation of monopoly by taking possession of the means of production and distribution and administer thru a majority-appointed State or government all industrial relations. Mr. Barnard declared, would never have coincided with such a conception of economic development or evolution; for to Darwin, as to Spencer, economic evolution was from limited freedom to absolute liberty and the appropriation of wealth to complete freedom for the creative individual; and that barring possible occasional reversions to a discredited type of economic life, such as complete State control of individual existence and activities, such a progress would be seen. The unfolding of the powers of the individual was the true work of social evolution, and their unfolding implied a constantly increased liberty. The complete liberty should be attained.

The Marxian idea was not even consistent with itself; the evolution of monopoly, if such evolution were allowed to go on, would end in ownership by all the remains of the world would be slaves; it would not end in public ownership, for that was the opposite of monopoly. Mr. Barnard showed that the boldest precedent of the complete monopoly or concentration existing in the great and scattering mass of financial and speculative ability of the world at large, which accounted for the steady increase in the numbers of small capitalists, and that this class of capitalists, as it increased in number would make an ever strengthening bulwark to resist all attempts to change the state of things through political measures. Marxism, he declared to be purely utopian.

The speaker went on to make it clear that the number of possessors of small capital was slowly increasing, that the number of the poor was increasing fast as well, and that the economic condition remained the same for the worker, as the difference in numbers between the workers and non-workers continued itself the increase of population. That exploitation was the true means of relief in economic misery. The ballot box was but a palliative, a subterfuge.

Coming on to more familiar ground, Mr. Barnard pointed out that the political Socialism logically implied the control of the individual in all of his affairs, that it implied a State code of education, a State system of morals, a State religion, State doctors, and all of the many evils of tyranny. The individual, he said, would then exist but for the pursuit of the State, and the faculties, which required liberty for their adequate development, would remain in a state of arrest for a time, only to deteriorate at length, when the regime of State Socialism did not come to an end.

His attack, the lecturer declared, was not upon Socialism itself, but only upon the false Sociology which sought to accomplish an accredited end with discredited means. A Socialism which was the outcome of liberty, a Socialism which broke every chain and left the way open for free initiative and solidarity, was a Socialism which every man should protest against and welcome enthusiastically when it came. Socialism was the hope of the world, but it must be a libertarian Socialism.

November 9, William Thurstorn Brown, who several months ago resigned from the pastorate of a prominent church in Rochester, N. Y., spoke on "What is Religion?". Religion, he said, was not a "sacred monstrosity", but the Bible was not religion as it usually was called. The founders of religion were no saints and had no idea that they were producing a "sacred monster". Religion was a primitive superstition, and "Jesus died as a criminal". Their life was their religion; but society had no use for Jesus. Religion could not be more defined than life. No man asks for a definition of the joy of living, beauty, art; why should we feel it. Religion must be universal, for it is nothing. Religion can neither be urged nor forced, but must be felt—it is life. It must inspire people with new hope, with greater opportunities of joy. No society can fill these requirements. Why should the building with a steeple be more sacred than the workshop? Why not everything be sacred? Men, women and children who could not understand truth can never get religion—no life. Man must find a way for life in which every expression is joy and hope, friendship and fellowhip. John Ball, the English priest, centuries ago said fellowship is the heaven, earth, and paradise divine. Churches are empty tombs for dead bones. Jesus found fellowship only among the outcasts. Religion is an awakening to a social self-consciousness. The human soul will not stand the strain much longer, for humanity will express itself sooner or later—it will have fellowship. Even our industrial life shall be joy, and then we will have a religion worthy of the name. Churches are sometimes more detrimental than saloons in murdering minds.

The last remark had stirred some godly, godly ladies, who wanted to know whether the church were not near the end, and which information was readily given. They were shown that the church had murdered people by the millions, for no other reasons than that they had not what was in the old creed. "The saloon is a blessing in comparison with the Church," remarked one critee. "Leave the saloon, and you are respected by all, but if you leave the church you must be cast out."
The Meaning of Liberty.

Before proceeding with my answer to Mr. James, who asks objections to my article, I must clear up some points in his last answer to me. He said in the first place that liberty consisted in doing as you like and taking the consequences. I replied that the nine operators were doing just that, now and taking the not altogether unprofitable consequences. Mr. James then asks me if they are doing so at their own cost. If he uses the word "cost" in the sense that Warren and Andrews used the word, (1) that the word cost has an ethical content, and I concede that the operators are not doing as they please at their own cost. But, I may ask, what has Mr. James to do with this ethical conception of Warren and Andrews, which according to him are metaphysical or a priori notions? Both Warren and Andrews were Individualists. If Mr. James accepts this Warren-Andrews conception, then there does not seem to be much difference between us—only a misunderstanding.

For Mr. James to say that the people of Pennsylvania are bearing the cost of protecting the operators because they superstitiously think a common judge can define equal liberty, "in which they generally profess to believe," is a base attack on a government. Suppose we eliminate the word "equal" and say that the people generally profess to believe in liberty, would that be a point against Mr. James? The people who support the government care neither for equal nor absolute liberty. Where they are not blindly submissive, and generally profess to believe in anything, it is a belief that government is "organized" for the protection of the weak, for the preservation of society, etc. Whereas, Mr. James knows that government is not organized for any such purpose, but exists for the protection of the privileges of the dominant class; and that the bulk of the liberty, dietary about equal rights, etc., is mere jargon, they knowing nothing of rights and justice except what they have written in the state laws.

With regard to Huxley, I brought him to testify that the law of equal liberty was a scientific induction, and I quoted from him just enough to prove that point. His opinion on tyranny, egoism, etc., is a different story, and I do not see how figure in this discussion. Having given his testimony, I could afford to pass him. But Mr. James has put such an ingenious interpretation on his words and theory for him—( alas, in such a way is history written)—that I must refer him to another. Huxley said he believed it desirable that a man should be free to act, provided he did not invade the liberty of others, "but I fail to connect that great induction of political science with the practical corollary which is frequently drawn from it, that the State has no right to meddle with anything but the administration of justice,

"That the suffrage of the majority is by no means a scientific test of social good and evil is unfortunately too true, but in practice it is the only test we can apply, and the refusal to abide by it means anarchy," says Huxley, and he further adds that it has a right to convert some moral obliqations into legal ones. Huxley was not an Individualist as could be learned from his criticism of Spencer in "Administrative Nihilism" and elsewhere. He was a believer in majority rule, and was inclined to favor socialism. But it makes no difference what his opinions were. He never thought of denying that the law of equal liberty was a scientific induction. As a scientific man he knew that it was an induction, but he rejected it as a practical guide for political action, because it meant nothing less than anarchy.

In my last letter the types made me say that Mr. James "demands of my statement, that tyrants have rights to the liberty they deny to others." On the contrary, I affirm that tyrants have no rights to the liberties they deny to others.

Not to trespass too much on your space, I must be permitted to continue in my next.

A. H. Stimson.

1. I submit that the coal operators were not doing as they liked "at their own cost," in any sense of the last clause. This discussion arises from the discussion of Warren and Andrews. Neither, as long as the government superstition reigns in Pennsylvania could it be said in any ordinary sense that the operators took the consequences of their perversity. Huxley’s government is founded on the equal liberty joker of a formula, they made the rest of us do it. I am not interested in scoring points against anyone, but only learning the truth. Yet I should like to ask who in Pennsylvania, except avowed Anarchists, professes to believe in absolute liberty? I will not believe without reference to chapter and verse that Huxley "as a scientist" rejected that as a practical guide which he pronounced a scientific induction? But if he did, so much the worse for him. His language was often very careless. Does Mr. Simpson himself not know what a scientist is? If so, he needs no Huxley and no James to tell him that what won’t work in practice is not a scientific induction, but a false and unscientific one, or else an a priori formula.

This is enough till after the conclusion.

C. L. James.

No country can rise to eminence so long as the check on power possesses much authority.

Bucke.
FREGE SOCIETY
Formerly THE PROPRIETAIRE
Published Weekly by...

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 331 WALNUT ST., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago post office as second-class matter under Act of Congress. 1872.

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

Anarchism - A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of men by means of the political idea, absolute individual liberty. - Dictionary Century.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 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.

ATTENTION.
A grand concert and ball will take place November 16, in Brand's Hall, 162 N. Clark St. Before the ball, Emma Goldman will speak on "The Students" and Panas. Riots in Russia," at 3 p.m., and Rudolph Grossmann will speak in German. The proceeds are for the benefit of the revolutionary movement in Russia and FREE SOCIETY. All comrades and friends are cordially invited to attend, and help make the affair a social and financial success. Admission 25¢.

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

The readers of FREE SOCIETY who are interested in the revolutionary movement in Russia should and fail to subscribe for FREE RUSSIA or Revolutionary Russia. The former is a 16-page monthly, published in English, and the latter consists of 28 pages, published in the Russian language. Both are full of interesting news from that far-off country. The subscription price of each is 50 cents a year. Order from Dr. Chas. Rayevsky, 727 E. Broadway, New York, or this office.

The pictures of Peter Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoy, size 22x17, will be mailed to any address for 25 cents each.

Boston.-Boston Social Science Club meets every Saturday, at 4 P.M., 2 Boylston Place. Free forum for all sociological subjects. Anarchist literature for sale. Memorial meeting for the fiftieth anniversary of the martyr's death on Sunday, November 16, at 8 P.M., in Faneuil Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton St. Second floor, New York, speaker.

Boston.—The Social Science Club meets every Friday evening at Central Hall, 410 Stone Ave. Discussion free to all.

Chicago.—The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday, 2:30 p.m., at Handel Hall, Randolph St. & Wabash Ave. Free discussion. November 16, John E. Whitney speaks on "Moral Improvement in Work in Jails."

The Progressive Club will hold a meeting every Friday evening at 331 Walnut St. Friendly discussions will take place.

The Tolstoy Club meets every Saturday evening at the home of Dr. Mary R. Carey, 827 W. Adams St. Tolstoy readings and discussions.

Workmen's Educational Club meets every Saturday night at 8 p.m., 278 Blue Island Ave. November 15, Max Brown speaks on "Anarchy and Humanity."

Philadelphia.—Social Science Club holds weekly meetings Friday evenings in Bricklayers' Hall, 707 N. Broad St. November 21, A. G. Morgolin on Socialism.

St. Louis.—Memorial in honor of the Chicago martyrs will take place on Saturday, November 15, in Grover's Hall, 2900 S. Broadway, southwest corner of S. and Lynch St.

An Appeal.
An appeal to the Supreme Court of New Jersey is to be taken in behalf of Comrades Wm. MacQueen and Rudolph Grossmann, who were convicted and sentenced to five years imprisonment in Paterson.

The verdict against them is the result of newspaper spite, general prejudice, and an itching desire to pocket fees on the part of the prosecuting officers.

Comrade Grossmann has such a well-established alibi that it is believed the verdict of a blood-minded jury will be overthrown in the Supreme Court. The verdict against Comrade MacQueen is based largely on testimony of police officers, and prejudice against anarchists, and there is a chance that it also cannot stand. The prosecutor laid special stress on the fact that these were anarchists, and it is a case of Americanism on trial.

These are active, able, and energetic comrades, and their imprisonment means a serious impairment to the movement. No stone should be left unturned in their behalf. Let all comrades who are able send in their mites to the defense committee.

Send moneys to H. Koede, 60 Gold St., New York N. Y., or Fernino Gallo, 90 Straight St., Paterson, N. J.

Spitfires.
The editor of the Truth Seeker says he never demanded the sheriff to eject strikers into working. No, of course not. Nor did his employer demand the sheriff for that purpose. Nor are injunctions sought for that purpose. Anz and Judge Jackson, also, would deny any such intention. All of them are moved by motives of tender solicitude for" freedom. But the fact of the matter is, as soon as in junctions, or thugs known as sheriffs and deputies are introduced into labor troubles, they are there for the purpose of cajoling strikers back to work, their protestations not to that effect, that they protected "freedom to work" in Lattimer and other places. Those who call for armed things to terrorize strikers—in actual fact, even if not in theory—should not be too cautious about the same methods from the other side, assuming that, for the sake of illustration, their allegations are correct. It savors too much of sanctimonious hypocrisy. The Anarchist is for freedom, but he knows that it is not to be found in the Pennsylvania mines, either for "scabs" or others, and it is idle to talk about it. The operators are certainly not fighting for it. The tactics used against them are a matter of efficiency, and not justice. The operators will let Mr. Macdonald's suppositions pass for the present, except to say that he is wrong in supposing I wish for riots; what I would like to see is a social revolution when the miners will take possession of the mines and operate them, in spite of "divine right," a la Bavaria and others.

Comrade Wm., in the Firebrand, refers to Kropotkin as "prince." Now, Comrade Kropotkin long ago repudiated that empty "title," like Tolstoy and few others. They should, therefore, and have every reason to expect to be regarded as MRs.

In Manila they do things in the old Spanish way, apparently, perhaps, to show that the American revolution in the Philippines is stepped into the shoes of the superseded Spaniards. Isabelo de los Reyes, a striiker, was accused of "wrongfully attempting to raise the price of labor," according to the Manila Civic News, issued August 24, 1902. The bosses are determined to land Reyes in jail, and the paper says they will prosecute him "in the partiests without regard to expense. Labor troubles keep pace with civilization."

The "Local Oligar" of the Socialist party at St. Louis submits a report to the membership that will give lessons in imperialism to the Republicans. Apparently what these officials are looking for is power to dominate the party in America from the central point of authority, without even a vestige of "local autonomy" anywhere. The International Socialist Review is amused at their "astounding impudence" and the "bullying language used toward the party membership by those who are but party empleadoles." The old story over again. "Employers," with power, such as kings in the past, have developed an "astounding impudence" which is "amazing" only to those who do not know the nature of authority. Given authoritative power, all history testifies to the fact that it will first be abused, and then arrogantly extended and usurped, unless a watchful vigilance overthrows it. The remedy is not to create and delegate power to ruler. ja.

How They Work in Paterson.
The Chicago Arbitration Sezont reprints a panel out of "Prosecutors' and Releasers' Releasers," by Frank and Rudolph Grossmann's "Alba." The author, who has issued it at his own expense, signs himself "G. H.," and declares he has been a Republican ever since he began to read history. Having had thirty years' experience in the German courts, during the sensational MacQueen-Grossmann trial, the curious overreaching him to compare judicial methods in the two countries was an interested spectator at the trial, making
himself familiar with all its features, even listening to witnesses after they had left the court.

He pays a high tribute to the defending attorney, Z. M. Ward, declaring that, in his address to the jury, he impartially considered all the facts and questions involved, and then drew a logical and convincing argument from the material. Even in considering the opposition witnesses, he dwelt only on the important points pertaining to the case, without once descending to personal invective or abuse.

The case is then summarised. The prosecution alleges inciting and participating in the riots in Paterson on June 18. It is admitted that Grossmann was in Paterson on the evening of June 17. But at 7 o’clock on the morning of June 18, the witness Wenzel Salberg accompanied him to the depot and rode to New York with him. The editor and the manager of the Republican Austrian Hungarian paper, Lüder and Greenbaum, testified that he had worked as usual in the office from 9 to 12 and 1 to 5 o’clock, writing a biography of Dr. Heliotz, which was produced in evidence. Further, F. P. Fleischer, a printing proprietor, and Carl Hoffer, a machinist, testified they had taken a meal with Grossmann in a New York restaurant between 1 and 2 o’clock, the same time the riots were taking place in Paterson. The evening of the same day is accounted for, when he was also in New York. Ten witnesses who were present at the meeting of the printers in Belmont Park, testified that he was not there. As to the trustworthiness of these witnesses, they know Grossmann only casually, but could recognise his person. They therefore could not be in error, while possessing no anterior motives to mislead.

The case for the prosecution rests on detectives and policemen, and one factory owner (Hall). The interest of the police is clear, for in all cases where they appear they follow their own course. The interest of the factory owner consists in that he is sustained pecuniary damages and cannot recuperate himself. Grossmann and MacQueen are convicted, and these witnesses did not know Grossmann personally, and purport to have seen him only at a distance, some declaring he had a moustache, and others that he had not. Only Hall alleges that he talked with him, and states Grossmann had a moustache, but he cannot remember his clothes. Now it is known to the police and the prosecution that Grossmann has a double in Paterson, and they have even named him, who wears a moustache, while Grossmann did not.

He states that in a German court, the witnesses are strictly contradicted each other, an inquiry would be made before further proceedings as to who is in error or committing perjury.

The prosecutor, notwithstanding all this, insists on his case, indulging in personal abuse against the defendants, calling Grossmann, for instance, a “twenty-six year old Jew,” and especially stating that they had been in Paterson at a certain time. Attention is called to the fact that the prosecutor receives $10 for each conviction, and Alois Linky received his fees, certainly not with right.

Closing the author of the little pamphlet declares MacQueen innocent also; finally he states that his observations have given him a disparaging mechanism, and that he will never again vote for the Republican party, nor indulge in politics at all.

This may lead us to the conclusion that, wherever Anarchism is placed on trial, it will prove victorious, even though there are victims.

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**Literature.**


After the high and profane praise that has been lavished on this book by the Socialist press, it comes somewhat as a disappointment. It may be that, overestimating the “high pedestal” from which the “intellectual giants” look down scornfully upon ordinary mortals, too much was looked for. At least it would be expected that an intellectual giant who mercilessly demolishes all before him would show a little charity to “pedants” and would not crush them to earth with an all-authoritative fiat about “doing more harm” by some errors than good by their investigations. A few errors in the first steps of an absolutely new science would naturally be expected and condemned—of course not by intellectual giants, who are above such mundane weaknesses. And Engels’ amazing reverence toward MacWhorter finds a climax in his attributing to Morgan a discovery which the latter “had not yet unearthened” in 1871, and which MacWhorter had already made in 1867 and published in the Fortnightly Review.

However, it must not be thought that the book is without merit. As a digest of Morgan’s “Ancient Society” it performs a valuable service to students of etymology; yet as a philosophical generalisation it will be found entirely inadequate, confined too strictly to the “antler,” and ignoring too much the complex social phenomena of primitive peoples to give the property development.

A broad view requires consideration of all their customs, superstitions, habits, mental progress and capacity, and external conditions, which all play their part in shaping man’s history.

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**Imperialism at the Grave of Liberty.**

In the discussion of this matter we must first determine what constitutes imperialism.

This word comes from imperial; as defined, it relates to an emperor, or empire, a monarch, possessing dominion over a disputed sway over an extensive territory. In Russia it means expansion to the limits of the empire. In England the word is used to include Britain, her colonies, and imperial parliament. Yet this English definition is not yet adopted by our congress. The congress is attempting to follow. And it must be remembered that it is England’s foreign wars, conquests and colonial possessions which are responsible for her enormous bonded indebtedness and unparalleled burdensome taxation. Language is never ripe; the dictionary definitions are not broad enough for the times. In its more enlarged sense, imperialism consists of the exercise of unlimited or unwarranted powers by one man, or by a body of men. As applied to the United States, the exercise, by the president, or by Congress, as the case may be, of the federal constitution, is imperialism. More especially is this enlarged definition true when applied to a people as subjects, not citizens.

In order to determine whether our congress or president, or both, have been, or are, exercising powers not delegated by the federal constitution, we must first examine the provisions of that instrument, and compare them on the questions herein involved. We must not lose sight of the fact that our federal government is one of limited powers; it may rightfully exercise the powers expressly conferred on it by the Constitution, and declared necessary and proper, but not others. The exercise, or attempted exercise of other powers, is non-empire—imperialism, and whether such exercise be by one man, or a body of men, as a congress, makes not the difference.

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**Congressional Powers.**

Article I, § 8, vests on congress the power to coin money and regulate the same there of, and to declare war.

Article III, § 2 declares that all criminal trials, except for impeachment, shall be by jury and held in the State where the crime is committed.

Article IV, § 3 declares that no new State shall be formed or created within the jurisdiction of any other State without the consent of the legislature of the State so created. Further, that congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States.

In the Declaration of Independence it is asserted that the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted; deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. It is on the principles avowed in this preamble; that our constitution and government rest. They have ever been held sacred and inviolable as the constitution which superseded the unchristianized rule of the English king; as a reason for our rebellion against his authority, it is declared that he has created a multitude of new offices and sent a swarm of officers to harass our people and cut off our substance, and that he inconsiderably large bodies of troops among us. All of these things, and many
more of like nature, our president and congress have for the last five years imposed on us.

EARLY EVENTS LEADING UP TO IMPERIALISM.

A few political events in our history which led to our civil war, ending in imperialism, will now be in order. In 1798, Jefferson, then secretary of State, asserted that government had been founded on truth, justice, and the rights of man. By the use of this language, he undoubtedly meant all right-thinking governments. When in power, as president, Jefferson adhered to these views.

Alexander Hamilton, a monarchist at heart, when secretary of the treasury, attempted to found what he called a strong government modeled on the English plan; he and his friends brought forward several schemes in the interests of capital; among them a protective tariff, national bank and bonded indebtedness. These things have always been in the interests of the monied classes. The tariff, like other subsidies, is but a scheme to rob the many for the enrichment of a few. As true and as apparent as this seems, the friends of capital have often been successful in hoodwinking a majority of the voters in defense of this scheme. Washington, a good man, wavered in his opinions between monarchy and republicanism. John Adams, an aristocrat, favored the alien and sedition laws, giving the government dictatorial power over immigrants, and power to punish anyone who should speak ill of the president. Kentucky and Virginia rose in their might against the encroachments on such measures, foreseeing that they would end in despotism.

In spite of this early warning our congress has caused to be established in the Philippines, thru a commission, sedition laws in their most odious form. Nor has the Anschutz act of the last congress, fallen far short of the old alien and sedition proposed laws of Adams.

Jefferson in power, 1801, the question came up for the purchase of Louisiana; it could never have been too much compting; but it was the opening wedge of empire; expansion was in the air. The power for the purchase of foreign territory had not been established in the federal government. Jefferson, a true republican, suffered through this mistaken scheme, of the people, hesitated; he called for an amendment to the constitution, but the event was too important, and the time was then irrevocable.

The purchase was consummated and Jefferson gave his consent: but not without warning the people that such uncontrolled powers must not be repented. The territory thus bought embraced all known lands west of the Mississippi; $15,000,000 was the price paid.

In 1812 the south part of this new acquisition was admitted into the American Union as State on equal footing with the old States; and the war succeeded Jefferson and was re-activated in England, by the aggressions against foreigners was revived. At this time England set up right of search on American ships for English deserters and enforced a system of impressment into her service of men found on our ships. For this, America declared war and invaded Canada. In 1814 the English ceded the whole Gulf of Mexico to us, without success. Following this, in 1815, peace was restored by the treaty of Ghent, and the right of search was not settled by that treaty.

FREE SOCIETY.

In 1819, Monroe being in power, our government having exceeded its powers in the purchase of Louisiana, made a second venture in that line, and purchased from Spain Florida and all other Spanish claims east of the Mississippi. Here, our government gave up all claims to Texas, California and New Mexico. Here Monroe announced his memorable doctrine of non-intervention of European nations in the affairs of this continent. And now we behold Mr. Roosevelt, traveling over the country, as an itinerant, offering this Monroe fulmination to exchange for American votes at the next presidential election. In this election of bombastic Mr. Roosevelt has probably forgotten his San Juan bill grass eating.

With the end of Monroe's administration came an end to good feelings. Between Clay and Jackson, and Crawford, neither received a majority of the electoral vote. Congress elected Adams, who appointed Clay secretary of State. Corruption, for the first time, was charged; and for the first time, Adams' administration was a stormy one. The system of protective tariff and internal improvements by government aid came up as an issue; but in this, Adams did not go with his party. In 1828 Jackson was nominated, on the doctrine that to the victor belongs the spoils, a most unenviable claim; but he offered a bold front to nullification by the States. At the same time he continued for the people the monied power, which in limited extent was making itself felt. From this time on, came the struggle between the North and South.

The ordinances of 1787 prohibited slavery north of the Ohio river. The admission of Louisiana as a slave state gave little thought. Missouri, under a compromise, came in, 1820. In the acquisition of Louisiana some vague clauses were set up to the territory between the Sabine, Rio Grande and Arkansas rivers. In 1837 Texas revolted, thus having no war to set up a government, followed by a war, forced on Mexico by us, over this disputed territory. In 1843 Texas came into the Union; after which, in 1845, under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848, the war ended and Mexico ceded to the United States the southwestern part of Texas, all of New Mexico, the lower part of Arizona and Alta California, for $15,000,000. To this territory a third slave state, by purchase, was added, known as the Baden purchase. By these several acts of acquisition, the imperialists had established a precedent for further expansion. Following this we settle the northwest boundary with England.

In 1850 congress passed the fugitive slave law, which opened up a new source of irritation, when all, or nearly all, of the northern States passed nullifying laws, thus pitting the North in deadly conflict with the lawful acts of the general government. In the contest thus aroused the Democratic party supported the law, while the opposing party adhered to the nullification laws. The decision in the Dread Scott case in 1856, of which more will be said hereafter, caused the split in the Democratic party, which permitted the election of Mr. Lincoln in 1860, although by a large minority of the popular vote. This, as all know, was followed by our civil war, which threw open the floodgates and brought to the front a host of vultures and brutes political demagogues, hangmen, jobbers and thieves. The opportunity had presented itself; dishonesty was rife, and the interests of the shrewd men, rich and poor, combined to rob the government. During this crisis the few amassed gigantic fortunes and then filled the foundations for future combines and syndicates, which, today, rule the country. They own the congress and move the president at their bidding.

According to a contemporary, our civil war cost the people 600,000 lives, and $6 billions of dollars. (See Statesman's Year Book, 1892.) All of this loss of life and expenditure of money, should have been, and might have been, saved, if the statesmen in party war at the head of our government. That suicidal war is the prime cause of all our present woes. Without it, our congress of today would never have been filled with a class of pigmies, bent on expansion, plunder, conquest, subjugation, and all other evils which imperialism implies.

In 1867 Alaska was purchased; expansion was on again. In 1884 Cleveland came into power: for a time the land-hungry peoples of empire and stopped the consumption of the steals of the Hawaiian Islands, which was begun under Harrison's administration, by the land-hungry peoples of empire, by the revolutionaries of those islands. Later Mr. Harrison submitted for ratification, his treaty with those island rebels. Mr. Cleveland in power in time to withdraw that document, which for four years had closed the hands of the imperialists. The most of the people, always cattle thinking thru their horns, placed Win. McKinley in power; one of the weakest of men ever at the head of our government; but he had a struggle to make. He was a member of the lower House. Mr. McKinley in power, with the aid of congress, unnecessarily and unjustly, forced a war on Spain, on the pretended grounds of cruelty on the Cubans, in their war with the Spaniards. As a result of this war, the United States has been placed in a war by the criminal agitation of brutes demagogues and the incapacity of rulers. It has aimed against humanity and civilization. No words could have been more apt or opportune, nor spoken by a greater statesman, leader and humanitarian. If living, what would that great statesman now say of the ruthless slaughter of men, women and children, armed and unarmed; the burning of their towns, cities and plantations, in the Philippines during the reign of McKinley; but little better under Roosevelt; all sanctimonious talk to the last, the most reckless despots ever assembled under the name of congress.

The question of today, is not one of retaining our liberties, but of regaining them.

ACTS OF IMPERIALISM.

Ever since our civil war the congress, step by step, has been slowing, but surely, exterminating powers not quadern on that body. In fact the war by the North, made on the
The North was in power; the first blood had been spilled; the times were ripe for the half mad, the more reckless and impulsive politicians to inaugurate a general system of public plunder. Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were trampled in the dust. The old Democratic party, which had for nearly a century steered the ship of State clear of the rocks, and left unsoiled the liberties of the people, was driven with no money in the treasury, the civil war had turned the brains of the people; the republic had been forgotten, the old landmarks were gone; empire was in the air, the stars and stripes no longer stood for liberty; our destiny lay in the midriffet islands of the ocean; an empire was at our bidding; monied kings and soulless corporations were to be our masters; poverty could have no share in such a government; the favored few had erected an imperial mill in which labor was to be ground.

The Republican party, made up of the scattered forces of Alexander Hamilton and other imperialists, joined by political plunderers and the monied power, boldly struck for an anempee—an oligarchy—a power which could control and subjugate the middle and working classes. How successful they have been is now to be told.

When the civil war was brought to an end, the country, for Northern expenditures remaining unpaid, was in debt some four billion dollars with no money in the treasury to meet its obligations. Mr. Salmon B. Chase of Ohio, being in Congress, introduced a bill, which became law, authorizing the government to issue bills, almost in infinitum, which were to be legal tenders for the payment of all debts and obligations. This was the constitutional provision concerning the federal government power to coin money and regulate the value thereof. No lawyer ever supposed that Congress, under this provision, had power to issue bills of credit as money. Even Mr. Chase, the author of the bill, did not pretend that Congress had power to make such bills legal tenders, for when the question involving this power came up before the Supreme Court, Mr. Chase was on that bench, where he rendered the majority opinion declaring that act unconstitutional.

The congress, not to be beaten, added two new judges, pledged in advance as is believed, to the seventh on the bench, who, in obedience to their master, nullified the majority and reversed the constitution and the local tender act. A masterly stroke of usurpation was thus declared to be among the delegated powers. The congress holding the people by the throats forced the submission of the great majority of the people of this State, California, always having been on a gold basis, seeing the mischief which would result to this State from the local tender act, passed an act, which, in effect, nullified the act of Congress. This California act having come up before the United States Supreme Court, was sustained by that tribunal, as it is the supreme court of the United States, in its judgment, unparalled in judicial proceedings. Thus have we an act which nullifies the act of Congress; both of which the same court holds to be the equal of a declaration of war.

The civil war ended, the Republican party in power, sent a swarm of carpet-baggers South, who, in violation of every principle of self-government, for four long years, forced at the point of the bayonet despotic government on the people.

Pending the civil war, Virginia, in violation of the express provisions of the constitution, was by Congress divided into two States.

In 1867 Alaska was purchased by Congress, without any authority therefor. Under the present rule of the Democratic party, internal improvements had to depend on private enterprise, which is always on hand when such improvements are called for. The Democratic party never believed Congress had power to use the people's money for general improvements; but with Republican party in power, the people's money has been lavishly squandered on public works, and even expenditures in foreign countries. This state of things has been going on unchecked until the recent in Congress have come to the conclusion that there is no limit to their right to plunder the people. Hence the $800,000,000 appropriated by the last Congress. This is not imperialism we should like to know what act constitutes imperialism.

FEDERAL INJUNCTIONS.

The long and rapid strides of unwarrented powers by the Congress and the president, on political subjects, law, to some extent, become contagious, for the federal courts are following their lead and usurping their position. While they may be no doubt of the power of the federal judiciary to issue injunctions in proper cases, where the complaining party is a foreigner, or resident of another State, and in cases where the rights of federal property are concerned; but to warrant the issue of this writ in any case the threatened injury must be made manifest and clear of reasonable doubt; it must appear that the threatened injury is immediate, not remote, or doubtful, and it must further appear that the threatened injury is irreparable in damages. It would seem that some of the federal court injunctions have therefore been granted without merit, if not in excess of power.

THE WAR ON SPAIN.

While power is, by the constitution, conferred, in general terms, on the congress, to declare war; it was never contemplated by the makers of that instrument, that the war power should be given into existence, except in self-defense; defense of persons or property. In fact, and according to the views of all writers on this question, no war is justifiable in any other grounds. The talk of war to sustain national honor, in the nearest subterfuge; to often referred to as "the war of all wars." War, at best, is but licensed murder; murder is never justifiable except in self-defense. Under all international rules, Spain had a right to use force to suppress the Cuban rebellion. No had we any business to interfere by force of arms. If that war was being carried on with unnecessary cruelty, it was no more our concern than all of the rest of the world; besides Spain had complied with all our demands,树林 had not been for made, up largely of blind, meddlesome demagogues bent on plunder, we should not now have the talk of that cursed war on our hands, with its imperialism, its slaughtered Filipinos, its commission in transit, its bombardment and its disgrace. Nor would the treaty with Spain have been entered into on the basis of war for peace, or any less, people, several thousand miles from our shores, who have been forcibly defending their country; their homes, families and their all against a band of pirates and outlaws, for the apparent benefit of the Spanish government. Spain stood to the last for a longer price. War may be toll General Schimmelfeind said; but that blessed senator is a greater helter skelter.

THE HAWAIIAN WARS.

The acquisition of these islands is the result of a political steal. The Republican Senate, with the aid of Harrison and McKinley, procured them; by grand jury Harrison sent a ship, whose marines were landed to aid the rebellion of the people of Hawaii against the rightful authorities. The first act in this imperialistic move being a success, Mr. Harrison submitted to the Senate for ratification, a treaty for the annexation of this stolen property. Civilization coming into power, withdrew that submission and there, by delaying the confirmation of that piece of megalomania for four years, McKinley succeeding Cleveland, gave his consent to the annihilation of these islands, which we now hold as an imperial colony.

Parsons R. Laton, Alameda, Cal.

(To be continued next week.)

Here and There. The Reverend William C. Rand, who was found dead in an embrace with the missionary pastor of his church, Miss Bush, was a great champion against Anarchism and "free love." Comment is unnecessary.

The Drummers are not quite as "crude" as the press tries to make them out. They petitioned for a piece of land in British Columbia on which they could live, without being interfered with. Alto had found more religious freedom than in Russia, so they say, they have not found the freedom they were looking for. They will obey only their own consciences and do the work of God in Canada, which they cannot reconcile with their consciences. They are now in search of a "wild piece of land" where they can live without man made laws. The poor will not find it.

FRANCE—The arbitration commission has charged against the coal miners and the labor of the mine owners. The miners are, of course, dissatisfied and will bring their grievances to the charge of the Paris from Herod to Pilate. The strike is to be continued.
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