The Red Flag.

Banner of national freedom, the flag of national distress, the emblem of the Socialists, the Red Flag. To France it means: From the 17th of September, 1789, and later. To the world at large: The cry of the people of every country, every race. To the nations, the Red Flag becomes a symbol of freedom and independence.

The Labor War.

Bellamy, in "Looking Backward," prophesied that a labor war would be the outcome of labor conflicts (not of parliamentary warfare), and for the last thirty years labor warfare has been in progress in order that it should be so. More than thirty years ago, then, in the International Workingmen's Association, the Paris sections brought before one of the congresses of the great association the question of a general strike, as a necessary preliminary and appropriate beginning of the revolution. A revolution which would not merely change the government, but would reconstruct the state, the factories, the mines, and the railway systems in those who bring them into the service of man to the laborers themselves.

Accusations of hopeless utopianism met this proposal; but the federalist and revolutionaries sections of the International made it a prominent point of their program, while among the workers themselves, on the most unswerving propaganda of the general strike idea has been going on since for thirty years, not withstanding all the opposition of the politicians, and with the excellent results that we see now in Europe and America. This propaganda took all possible names. In America, in 1877, it was the Knights of Labor who worked hard promoting it, and from America the movement spread to Europe, finding an especially favorable ground in Belgium. Later on, when Powderly had discovered the good name of the Knights of Labor, he turned himself to the middle classes, the movement took other names; but it was continued and soon honeycombed the labor movement in Belgium and parts of France and Germany, and also, apparently, in Poland and Western Russia. The Knights of Labor, in the absence of a general strike movement, that for the greater strike movements which now break out with such a wonderful unity in action.

At the same time, several attempts at forming upon the capitalists an eight-hour day were made quite independently of the May-day feasts. The great strike of the London engineers, the munitions workers, well-prepared and enthusiastically supported, by which the Barcelona trades have succeeded in re-introducing the eight-hour day which many of us had lost through the terrible Montmartre persecutions; and finally, several great strikes of miners—all these were as many preparatory steps.

Gradually, but surely and steadily, the international alliance of all the free trades (the miners, the dock laborers, the weavers, the railway engineers, etc.) and between all trades is being established. Robert Owen's "International Trades' Union" (union of all men) is in an excellent way of progress. The recent strikes; their extension and consistency; their amount of support, both national and international, which they have found; the bodies which have been formed; the Knights of Labor's union of different nations and races and in the congregations of the labor press have been on the way to establish the conference of the labor press and the conference of the labor press, and not to be disturbed by the worst of the Old International.

The very same was distinctly brought to light at the French Syndical (trade union) congress, from which the political agitation carried on by Socialists was absolutely excluded, while the general strike of trade unions was admitted. It is to be hoped that the French unionists will take this lesson to heart.
the subject of full discussion and sympathetic votes. And the same again was apparent at the miners' congress at Commen-
try, where the miners stood for an immediate strike, while the politician leaders presented an appeal of conciliation and calm. The miners had no desire to compromise their parliamentary position in a strike which may end no one knows how. And it was still more evident at the labor congress. The workingmen, too, notwithstanding the efforts of the politicians, are also going to join the great international wave of labor revolt. Nay, even in dull Geneva, we have lately seen a general strike breaking out, merely for the support of a few striking comrades.

Of course, all the strikes which have lately disturbed the digestion of the capitalist slave owners—notwithstanding the admirable and often touching features of workingmen's solidarity which were displayed during them—are not yet "The Labor War." The workers themselves look upon them as upon preliminaries of their struggle for the growth of workingmen's solidarity irrespective of trade and national distinctions. More trials of his force by the shambler giant. More warning and merely a foretaste of the coming struggle. More hunger for victory, and the workers are still following their way, to the future. They don't know yet how to pass from the present private ownership to the collective ownership by the workers themselves. The way, and the most appropriate idea, too, have yet to be found, and to be fully discussed. But as this will not be done by the Social Democrats, who are too absorbed by elections and do not care at all for a revolution, the duty of doing it consequently falls upon us.

Everyone knows that the most active men in the labor movement in Spain have always been Anarchists, and that the two labor papers, Tierra y Libertad and Rivera Blanca, are Anarchists. It is the same now in France, both in those syndicates which show real signs of life and in the chief labor papers (La Réforme et Révolution, etc.). The same is also in Geneva paper, L'Émancipation, where all the fault of the last strike was thrown by the local politicians—not upon the citizens, but upon the Anarchists. That much has been done, and so far it has been found that those of our comrades who directed their efforts to work among the trade unions were right. But now, a further step is required. Taking advantage of the intellectual movement which goes on in the labor unions, we must try to formulate the ideas which develop inside the unions as regards the best ways of abolishing private ownership and of organizing production by the workers themselves without the interference of the State. This task is incumbent upon us.

The position, Spencer, is right. Yes, the labor war will go on growing. Yes, it will bring about a social war. Yes, it will bring about the Social Revolution. Our duty is, then, to strain all our activities toward that. The question of action should be a real, substantial step toward the abolition of State and Capital. Not only that it should be successful—all revolution is not; but each of them abolishes some evil of old; but that the success should be as great, as wide, and as durable as possible; that it should go to the root of the evils—Freedom, London.

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Anarchism vs. State Socialism.

We cannot too often contrast our theories with State Socialism, nor too often insist upon the fact there is no other Socialism but Anarchism. There is a large and growing class who claim to be Socialists while advocating Anarchist theories. It should be our pleasure to set these people right, to show them that, in favoring political action, they are aiding and abetting the enemy. We should seek to demonstrate the fallacy of the State idea; for the political Socialist is just as much a governmentalist as the Republican or Democrat. In fact more so, as their government is to be in all. Their late demonstration would seem to indicate that their party is coming into power. Will liberty-loving Socialists aid them to establish their power? Their ideas are in contradiction with all political action, they are for the workers; and they follow all former parties in great promises. Their chief concern, then, to "get there." All politicians are "the laborer's friend," but the Socialist goes one better, he is the servant of the people, the "monarch of all be severs." And the laborer, always fooled, still is tempted to try them once again.

In the State idea we should attack. Calling it an "administration," an "industrial centralization," or "social organism," in no wise alters the nature of the beast. Whatever the nature of the State, the fact remains that it is administered by individuals invested with sovereign powers.

We should insist that government, "pure" government, is in itself not only an evil, but an unnecessary evil; and this evil is the result of giving men power over their fellows. It is the history of all organization that with power comes abuse. The Socialist organization can be no exception. Its power is exercised by individuals. Its State is composed of individuals. Its centralization is by individuals. Is this in any wise different from those who administer our present State? Why should these "class-conscious" individuals be any more worthy of power than any other? These facts of government our Socialist friends ignore, or seem to think will be obviated by the system they are to inaugurate. They ignore the fact that this system must be inaugurated by politicians. And will politicians do anything to spoil their trade? Our Socialist foes forget that whenever the socialist party comes into power, it will be by and through our present politicians uniting with them. Can the leapt change the spots? Our liberty-loving Socialists are wasting valuable time in advocating political action. Their theories will be lost sight of the moment that political success is assured. Such is the history of all parties. Their principles are simply used to draw into power, then sacrificed to retain power.

Are the Socialists favoring political action to advertise the error of abusing their theory stronger than the policy of parties? If so they are doomed to disappointment, may more, they are making liberty more impossible of realization by giving the politician power over men.

Admitting for one moment that this Socialist scheme would prove the benefit they expect from it, what hope would there be of its realization when the present politicians rushed into it and controlled it, as they are bound to do? A late Appeal to Reason exclaims: "If not a sledge-hammer, then a heavy club is needed to rush into our party the moment success is assured." There was no thought of any danger in this exodus from the old parties, in which demonstration was soon to follow. But party success was really the motive of the writer. I would not infer dishonesty in this respect. Socialists who urge political action are no doubt perfectly sincere. They work for political success, believing in this way their theories may have practical application. But the importance of success overshadows their principles. In their eagerness for votes they welcome to their ranks the riffraff of politics—the irresponsible vote; but really a welcome in unnecessary: this vote is sure to be added to any party that has any chance of success, and it is this vote whose allegiance is always commanded by the trickery of the politicians.

What is there in the Socialist party that is not has not been in all parties? Honest reform originates them all—a sincere desire to do something for the public good, says: "Politics signifies cunning, intimating the State is a trick." The principle of politics ignores any intent of its originators. Its object is success, and its means are always adapted to the end. When the men enter politics they may score a point by "fighting the devil with fire," but they soon find that reforming the devil in his own element is an impossibility. They soil their own principles, and in the end are left in the dust. In politics the law of Darwin, "the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest," is applicable; and the fittest is always he who can develop the most intrigue. The policy of all parties who seek political control are very similar, and have very little to do with the ultimate object of the party. And while politics is admittedly impure and can never be made pure, the most to establish government. Political parties holding different opinions must clash. War is inevitable, and in war everything is fair. Now, while good often results from evil, the question is, is it policy to work these principles to accomplish good results—can we gather fruits from thistles? I want our Socialist friends to study this idea, and to note how inconsistent the methods of politics are to the ultimate objects of Socialism. I sympathize with these, and believe them identical with Anarchism; that is to say, Anarchism is Socialism, to be accomplished by methods of liberty, instead of institutional force. Let us show how impossible liberty is under institutionalism; that powerful authority always defeats the objects of its inventors. Let us dwell on the importance of liberty, as a principle right and indispensable factor in the development of individuality. Let us draw the line between State Socialism and Anarchism. Our leaders should not neglect the necessity of abolishing centralization, but their immediate necessity is to do away with centralized power, which could only result from enslaved labor; to dependency more degrading than poverty; the other to liberty, equality, and fraternity; to independence, the only source to true manhood and womanhood.
A Question of Violence.

By the hope within as springing from the free will of a man’s soul, by that same, life being brought
Chains of freedom, death or life.

As a way to liberty, for him who has not felt

A. LE ROY LORIAL.

A Cooperative Colony.

A German daily gives some interesting details of a cooperative settlement in Peru.

Another story of the colony is the “Buena Amigos” (Good Friends), which was founded in 1852 by Jose Rodriguez, who came to the site with sixty-six of his comrades and settled on a large tract of land at the Colorado River, which was given to him by the government of Peru. The settlement was started in 1852, and the colonists were Peruvians, Americans, Englishmen, and Germans. Those who wish to join must contribute fifty dollars. The majority of the source of their income is from the Rubber in the colony. There are over a thousand inhabitants. The colonists are above all a community of workers. They work five days a week. The workday is eight hours, but no one is compelled to work longer than four hours. Those who work over four hours receive extra for it. They are free to work for it if they so wish. The land, the tools, the supplies, as well as the produce from the goods, belong to the community. That mode of compensation is not the only one. Marriage laws and regulations they have none. They are free to make arrangements without any formalities. Before a confinement the woman goes to the hospital and stays there until the child is weaned. The latter remains in the hospital under the care of trained kindergarten teachers. After this, the women are allowed to take care of the children. The police have said that it is ready to learn a profession, the choice of which depends upon its talent and inclinations. The compensation for all sorts of work is the same.

Buenos Aires, April 4—A dispatch from the Russian frontier states that the situation between Cossacks and strikers at Rostov on the Don, where the Wall of Cossacks was more sanguinary than stated in the official reports. The truth is that the outbreak was not a strike, but an open rebellion. The proposed rebellion near Rostov was suppressed, the rebellion spread and the menace is critical.

FREE SOCIETY

Contrasts.

Is it possible that these are human beings and that these are the people whose lives are in the hands of others? On the one hand, there is the crowd of men who are forced to work long hours for very little pay. On the other hand, there is the crowd of men who are free to make their own decisions, to work in a way that suits them. The contrast is stark.

A friend of mine, a man with a good heart, once told me that "there is no such thing as respectability." And I agree with him. It is as if we have lost our way, and we are adrift in a sea of chaos.

VIENNA, Dec. 4—A dispatch from the Russian frontier states that the situation between Cossacks and strikers at Rostov on the Don, where the Wall of Cossacks was more sanguinary than stated in the official reports. The truth is that the outbreak was not a strike, but an open rebellion. The proposed rebellion near Rostov was suppressed, the rebellion spread and the menace is critical.
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Anarchy - A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of men by men as the political idea, absolute individual liberty - Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1902.
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ATTENTION.
Entertainment and ball will be given by the Progressive Club, Saturday, January 3, 1903, 8 p.m., at the Bohemian Club Hall, cor. Robey and 12th Sts. Russian songs in the program. Tickets in advance, 15 cents, at the door 25 cents.

Notes.
An error was made in announcing Revolutionary Russian as a monthly. It is a 28-page weekly, printed in the Russian language, and the price is $2 a year. Order from Dr. Chas. Rospavyev, 272 E. Broadnwy, New York, N. Y.

To anyone sending no $2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber, we $2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

Boston - Boston Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 4 p.m. at 724 Washington St., room 9. Free forum for all sociological topics. Anarchist literature for sale. Subject for December 21, "What is Property?"

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

Chicago - The Philosophical Society will meet Sunday evening, December 14. Particulars will be announced in the dailies. All interested in the society are requested to present all the Progressive Club on Friday, December 12.

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 E. 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. December 13, Moses Hatman speaks on "The Social Question."

Philadelphia - Social Science Club holds weekly meetings Friday evenings in Bricklayers' Hall, 707 N. Broad St.

FREE SOCIETY

New York - Radical Reading Room, 250 Forsyth St. Lectures and free discussions every Sunday at 3 p.m.

Comrade A. Lopatiner will visit the dailies subscribers, and we hope the readers will not let him spend time and call for ice in vain.

By the Wayside.

Last Tuesday, December 9, Comrade Peter Kropotkin celebrated his sixtieth birthday. Thousands and thousands of the poor, the disinherited, have celebrated this day in silent adoration. The toilers of all countries remembered Peter Kropotkin, the scientist, the unerring soldier of freedom, the friend of the oppressed, the revolutionist, who cheerfully left rank and splendor and luxury behind, in order to battle in the ranks of the toiling slaves for truth and freedom. Prison life has not broken his rebellious spirit and enthusiasm, nor fame corrupted his mind. Wherever his words are read he inspires enthusiasm and hope in the soul of human brotherhood. "May he live to see the dawn - the ideal of his life - rising on the horizon. Greetings, comrades!"

Neither the capitalist dailies nor the "revolutionary" social democrats can press this city a word to say when the police arbitrarily violated the right of free speech and assembly, and is it refreshing to see that the Union League and the Chicago street railway men, had the courage to protest against the police outrage. It says:

A certain body of culture and humanitarian instinct, with whom the editor is personally acquainted and in whom he has every reason to believe their views, the press, the streets, all doors of the Aurora Turner Hall closed to be by the police last Sunday afternoon, when she was invited to lecture. And this is free America, where your fearful are free? The apathy, ignorance and cowardice displayed by the toiling, starving and degraded workingmen of this city in nearing that not get awakened enough to preserve the very stones to rise in envy.

But in the face of these outrages, the editor still advocates and urges these two radical movements and referendum. Look at Switzerland, Brazil. There the people enjoy the blessings of that superstition, and what do we see? Strikes are shot down, Anarchists expelled from the country. The editor is sent to prison for advocating the general strike.

The State Charities Aid Association of New Jersey coincides with the Anarchists, and "external aid" is now in order. In its report to the governors, it is stated that jails and prisons are a great success, "as schools of crime," but a complete failure as reformatories. The report concludes:

With the alternative, county jail or freedom, judges conference choose the greater evil, the jail. Yea would see the demoralization of the jails at May's Landing and Camden cannot doubt for a moment that a brutal and filthy institution produces prisoners, and there, has harmed, to society, these jails to which the law confines them.

This fact has been observed by Anarchists decades ago, and they hold that society must remove that which produces so-called criminals, instead of dealing with its effects. This is the true reformatory is the abolition of government, and property, rights, the creators of inequality and crime.

Thus the destruction of the Social Democratic parties, the strike of the miners in France has been lost; but fortunately not without a lesson to the miners. The Socialists denounced the miners to submit their grievances to the government for arbitration. They succeeded and loudly rejoiced over the "moral and parliamentary victory of Social Democracy." Yes, victory for the bosses! The arbitration commission concluded that the mine did not succeed on the point of starvation, and could not afford to pay higher wages. The disappointment of the miners is great, and they will hardly be fooled again by Social Democratic politicians.

INTERROGATION

A Card.

To all those who have expressed surprise that I had nothing to write about our dear friend Kate, I would like to say that human language is inadequate to express my sorrow over the loss of one who to me was, of all the women I have met in my public career, the most beloved friend. It is easy to speak of the activity of a public man or woman; of the force of logic and depth of intellect he or she may have had; but who can do justice to a great personality, to a beautiful soul?

Kate was not the Anarchist, the rebel, the thinker, the writer; she was a mother, a friend, one to whom I could go for rest and peace when surrounded by the cares of life and hard battles. She was all to me; how, then, can I sit down to write about her? No, no, Kate is dead; a noble soul has ceased to be; and those who have known and loved her can mourn but not talk.

EMMA GOLDMAN

MEETINGS

Last Sunday afternoon, Comrade Grossman spoke on "The Labor Press: Its Purpose and Aim," at Wooton's Hall, before an attentive audience. The police were present, of course, to see that the rules would not be flouted, any more than they should regulate the daily habits of the workers. The police would have no cause to interfere, and the socialists would have no reason to object to overthrow capitalism and despotism. While the dailies, as a matter of what political opinion, were all united in upholding exploitation and wage slavery, the workers often tried to ruin their press simply on account of difference regarding the remedy proposed. But in spite of these evils, the labor press is asserting itself, and becoming a factor in social revolution - a barrier against the contaminating influence of the capitalist press. A true revolutionary press could not confine itself to a party, a sect, or a clique, but must embrace the interests of all workers - oppressed humanity. Democracy creates hatred and corruption and thus weans the cause its pretends to represent.

As long as one party or faction of workers claims that there is no salvation unless all come under the flag of the party or sect, the party ticket, the beautiful words, "workingmen of all countries unite," remain a lie and cannot be realized. Parthenon has been the curse of the world, and any party which...
claims to possess an exclusive remedy, condemns itself. The press which purports to liberate mankind cannot belong to a party, nor adhere to a program. People who insist to save the workers by political methods enter into the footsteps of the old parties—a step which leads to compromise and ends in corruption. The task of the revolutionary press is to reveal all that is noble and use for the benefit of humanity—freedom must be freedom for all. A party with a program must necessarily become narrow and despotic: “our party, right or wrong,” applies to all parties alike.

It is to be regretted that this excellent lecture cannot be given or published in pamphlet form, for it would surely serve as an eye-opener to many of our Socialist friends. It is no argument to say that the Social Democrats, who timidly suggested that the ballot was simply used to determine the strength of the “Socialist” workers. But the speaker replied that the “struggle for freedom with freedom” among the “Socialist Socialists” into mere reformers, with so many nonentities as voters. In Germany the Social Democratic party is numerically the strongest, and it is the smallest body of influence. When the leaders recently were asked why the party could not do nothing for the five strikers who were unjustly and arbitrarily condemned to fifteen and twenty years' imprisonment, Belau replied: “True, we have two and a half million voters, but there are only about 200,000 Socialists.” Political action, concluded the speaker, has made it possible that a Socialist minister could work in union with a Galliède—the wholesale murderer of the workers in Paris—and the Bavarian Social Democrats even compromised with the Catholic party.

Emma Goldman finally delivered her lecture on “Modern Phases of Anarchism” in Ullrich's Hall last Sunday. Altogether the police did not interfere this time, the prospect of again being sent away on account of a close resemblance of many of the audience to the audience was rather small. The text of this lecture has been reported on a previous occasion in these columns, and the subject is of great importance in the shortness of the people who will hear it.

Here and There.

The New York Herald reports Paris judgments continuing at a case where a couple evaded the law prohibiting divorce when it is decreed by both parties. It seems a case of men wiser than their position.

The Paterson “rioters,” Giovanni Masison, J. Maelzer, S. Delong, Schindler, and Castellucci, who were charged with the “crime” of Conrado MacQueen and Grossmann, were found not guilty by the jury. The two were owned anarchists—hence the leniency.

The strike of the dock laborers in France is spreading. At a meeting of 30,000 strikers it was resolved to ignore the proposal of the government to submit their grievances to the commission of arbitration, and fight the ship owners to the bitter end.

Again seventeen men have been killed in the workhouses of the Pennsylvania mine owners. Will these wholesale murderers be “exterminated”? Not much? Governments and its satellites—the multi-millionaires—have the privilege to murder and pillage.

President Roosevelt has pardoned Gideon W. Marsh, the Philadelphian banker, who was five years ago sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment for embezzlement. It is certainly a better way to liberate people from prisons than to imprison them; but will the president think of those poor devils who suffer in prisons for stealing when their families were starving? The proof, “birds of a feather flock together,” can safely be applied in this case.

Literature.

A. R.

Letter-box.

Our name Teudl, Potsdam-Schoner, Germany—Thanks for the last number! Another paper, the periodical of which rejuvenates young and old alike. Because it would be impossible to acquaint the Americans with the writings of the memorable Robert Blaeu, which would include the spirit of freedom in every vigorous soul; but we are hampered by both lack of time and financial means to make extensive and intelligent translations from his immortal essay. The “other-minds” is still the invisible but most important worker in the cause of science. She sends her greetings, and hopes Our name Teudl will have a widespread circulation. As you will have seen, S. C. has just been in Chicago, and “heard of” again. She expresses surprise that she has heard nothing from you; and wonders that the paper may be sent to her at 50 First St., New York.

Every reform has to pass thru a stage of ridicule before it is accomplished. If the reform is one which proposes to take away any privileges enjoyed only by the few or to narrow the gap between the classes this stage of ridicule, which lasts only so long as the reform is in its infancy, is followed by determined opposition when there is even a faint prospect of its success. The more nearly fundamental the reform, the greater the opposition—Florence A. Bergh.

The State must go. That will be a revolution which will find me on its side. Undermine the idea of the State, set up in its place spontaneous action, and the idea that spirit of a common end makes for unity, and you will start the elements of a liberty that will be something worth possessing—Dögen.
The Land Despots of England.

1. Man should not be mistreated or killed, but his enemies must be destroyed.

2. Know your enemy and kill with ease.

3. The true meaning of man's existence is to serve his master.

4. Peace is not a virtue, but an obstacle to progress.

FREE SOCIETY.

In the public square at Ripon is a tall monument erected by William Aislabie to himself during his lifetime. The key to such an amusing phenomenon lies in the word "thick-skinned." As for the family of the Marquises of Ripon, who owns almost every building above ground thereabouts. The inscription states that Aislabie paid for the shaft; but, to save his feelings, a wordly world is further informed that the town ordered the inscription to be carved.

In 1816, before the Corn Laws injured the farmers' prospects, it happened that a very different man from land brought forth such a fluxion of wheat and other grains that the farmers decided to expand a part of the proceeds in raising a shaft to their landlord, Hugh, duke of Northumberland, and respect for the words, "By a Grateful and United Testimony." It stands there today in the village of Alwwick, near the great castle of the Percy, and goes by the name of "farmers' folly." I inferred it had on it the old cantonier of the Percy, "Espenac e Die." But as the Scott-killing brigand, Harry Percy, relied on his sharp sword more than on his God, so the particular representative of his Stuart line, Thomas Tuffy, who landed at Hastings to whom the farmers had put their monument relied more on the modern substitute for the sword—pounds, shillings, and pence—and, finding a fund of cash, immediately proceeded short to raise their rents, where at a great laugh arose all the country round at the expense of the simple witted rustic.

But the "Northern Factor, new style," is, in this case, a very old and well-tilled field. The new farmer asks scornfully, "What's a gentleman born?" If the gentleman happens to be born with a silver spoon in his mouth, the farmer has a certain respect for him. Three or four thousand generations of poverty and oppression have-been humbled his brain. Those brains are thinking, and they are on the shoulders of honest men. Let the land thieves look to it.

Religion has been so crassly entwined with the feudal system that one supports the other. The nobility, gentry, and clergy, the lords spiritual and the lords temporal, stand or fall together. Hence the bitter opposition of the titled folk to disestablishment. Hence also the reluctance on the part of the people to touch the land question. To abolish primogeniture or constitute the game preserves would be equivalent to melting down the communion plate and desecrating the graveyards. From childhood up the people praying in the churches for the feudal lords, at the head of whom is royalty; and it would jar on their religious feelings to unlock the priest, understand the clergy and decent human beings. The person, one of the highest members of the aristocracy, makes himself useful in the commons, and forms a link in the chain that binds the landless workers to the commonalty. The village parson always has on his mind a parsonage, higher up than the rest of the houses in the place as the castle or hall is superior to it. Livings are bought and sold, and occasionally a scamp gets possession, or a vicar has a drunken wife; but the rough sporting parson of old days is practically unknown.

The intimate union between Church and State is well exemplified by the relation of the Gladhuston estate to the parsonage of Aldershaw. Here in the midst of the Gladhuston lands, four by five miles in extent, are the ruined castle of his wife's ancestors and an enormous modern castle, the late state resident's residence. A wide, white park, dotted by oaks, beeches, chestnuts, ash, and threaded by streams, with here and there a heavier belt of timber and blue vistas of far-off fields, contains the "Grundel de Man," lived in by an atmosphere of disquieting, sly influence conservative and making for repress—immemorial customs, ancestral park, antique castle, feudal system. Think of his walking every morning during those fifty years to prayers in the church, and so ordered in his piety that he would never travel on Sunday. He is justified by the laws of this church of which his son is vicar. I have just read in the porch a notice requesting the visitor: "not to go away without some short prayer[,] for the clergy and the people, the first steps in the last steps for morning prayers, and a young and worldly-looking priest, face evidently flushed with much meat eating and liquor drinking, shouted but on head and prayer—book shouting. The idea of his vicarage near by to officiate in the services. You may call this all horrible English cast, if you choose; but there it is, a fact to be reckoned with. Generally, church and village are the property of the vicar, the vicar being theBusy man's religion, the priest's business is one of the lawmakers of the realm. Do you not see how on attack on the government you attack the church on religion at the same time? Do you perceive the secret of the preservation of both? Always knows when he is approaching one of the old feudal parishes. The true that except the parson has come into possession, whose name may be Smith or Jones, the he has bought and wears the title of a lord. One notices that the great castles have usually built in the most fertile regions, far enough apart to permit each vampire a sufficient range for his operations. (As one instance out of hundreds, recall the group composed of Dolemore, Castle, Hardwicke Hall and Longdon.) Looking at these strongholds of superstition, as so impressive to the imagination, one is astonished that even a Cromwell dared to attack so majestic and well-entrenched a position. The parson—William Shaw Kenneth, in the Conservator, Philadelphia, May, 1900.

The Duke of Devonshire is the patron of forty-two villages; forty-five clergymen; the creatures of this silly, cynical, refined state of a statistician.
Organize to Defend Liberty.

The question as to what is an induction, or deduction, may come up later in this discussion. Meanwhile let it be noted that Mr. James's absolute abolition of all law is a scientific induction, but denies that equal liberty is such.

However, much in the way of absolute freedom to all the propensities of man is a question of the court stops all that force is justifiable in all cases—when passion gives out or highly indifferent—when they will resort to force. If they have no rational guide or form, they are as likely as not to destroy liberty as to defend it. Now, force being inevitable (until the time shall come when all men will be so developed as not to desire to infringe liberty) it becomes a practical question to those who understand liberty now and have the desire to infringe on other's liberty, what they shall do to defend their own liberty. (1) Those Anarchists who accept equal liberty as a guiding principle believe in agitating and educating along that line. When a sufficient number of them have got clear ideas they will organize a defense association, and will aid each other in many ways. This will be the line that will require a judge or a government, says Mr. James. Well, there are judges and judges. There are judges at horse shows, and there are good judges and poor judges of whelp etc. In the same sense that judgment will be required to distinguish between invasive and non-invasive acts, it is true there will be judges—indeed every member will be a judge. To be sure the car may be a miscarrying person. But without waiting for what Mr. James means by government, I deny that it will require government. We lay down no law as to what people shall do, but we do insist on a few things that they are to do toward us, in full that they shall not invade us, or compel us to do their will.

What acts are clearly invasive the members of the defense will with propriety agree to. What acts are not so clear will not be so equally agreed on. But what of that? We act upon what we agree upon. But everybody can agree upon what is right and wrong. I don't think Mr. James says invasive acts are clear. In the first place, there is no such thing as an invasive act, and in the third place, I think his first reply to me be asks who is to decide whether refusing to be vaccinated, singing a bawdy song, keeping a drunken, etc., is an invasion? Now I ask Mr. James if there is any man who will seriously maintain that refusing to be vaccinated is an invasion; that keeping a drunken man is an invasion of, and whom? And why a bawdy song, rather than a sacred song? Do not even the advocates of compulsory vaccination, of prohibition, and of suppressing "obscene" literature admit that they are invaders of equal liberty, and that they are justified in infringing on the ground of general welfare, safety of society, public morals etc., etc.,—any pretense, but never on the ground of equal liberty? Why does this word "equal" cause such agitation? (2) Perhaps Mr. James will say he disapproves of compulsory vaccination, etc., are violations of absolute liberty, will he be in doubt? And suppose I ask him again who is to decide whether these acts are in violation of equal liberty, he will tell me that all the objections above mentioned against equal liberty are as cogent against absolute liberty, unless you mean by absolute liberty the right to do as you damn please regardless of the equal liberty of others. (3)

On the contrary there is a great deal of ground as to equal liberty, but that necessitates the study of the corollaries of the law of equal liberty, and does not necessitate its rejection. Take a practical example. A woman would not be justified in taking her lover, shooting, poisoning, butting or pinning, or anything she finds expedient to resist rape; but no person is justified by equal liberty in suppressing the singer of a bawdy song. Will Mr. James contend that there is no difference in these cases, and that a force is unjustifiable in either case—that singing a bawdy song is as much an invasion as rape? Will he argue that the woman in resisting the desire of the rapist is restraining his liberty? Will he deny that the rapist is an invader or assister that the woman is as much an invader as far as he knows about invasion? (4)

A. H. Simpson.

1. Yes, this is a practical question. How is it to be answered? I reply, by the method of trial by evidence and experiment; or, to avoid any possible suspicion of the pedantic and unintelligible, it can be answered only by trying, and by observing the results of other people's attempts. Now what is the experiment? I mean an experiment large enough to test the truth or falsity of equal liberty. The experiment of a woman to make night fancies with a Charistian band and is not invasion to make day fancies with a Black Crook poster, that's because he does not wish to join the band and rather likes the poster. So it comes round at last to the will of the strongest mob, which we usually presume is the biggest. We may very rationally resolve against having anything to do with mobs, especially in the active contagious form of mobs; but to make mobs rational will always be a labor of Sisyphus.

2. Mr. Simpson appears to be my witness that no one doubts what invasion of absolute liberty is; while the non-existent anti-law or anti-law book will show him that substitution of "equal" for "absolute" makes the question unanswerable. Surely, then, literal equality alone is a strong argument for the "absolute" formula.

3. A woman, Mr. Simpson informs me, is "justified" in doing anything to resist rape, even to knocking out the man in the case with poison, as the beautiful princess Badilda also did the African magician. But no one is "justified" in suppressing the singer of a bawdy song. This is his view of equal liberty; for which he gives the reason usual in such cases, that none is at all. As to what I think about it. I wouldn't much blame the woman for cutting short a bawdy song which annoyed her, with a parrot employed like a shilled. (C. L. C. James.)

A coachman, hearing one of the wheels of his coach make a great noise, and perceiving that it was the worst one of the four, asked him how he came to take such liberty. The wheelman answered that if he ever had the beginning of time to make anything, he would have taken the privilege of the weak.—(S.)

But what about the wheels which are too well to crack—the American "sovereigns"?