

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

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TRIUMPHANT CRUELTY.

Since the invasion by the wild Mongol hordes under Tamerlain in the 15th century, Europe has not seen so many sanguinary crimes committed by the governing classes as have occurred within the last ten or fifteen years. All have become cruel and brutal.

From the Sultan-assassin, glorified by his imperial brothers the Tsar and the Emperor William, prepared in their turn to repeat the Armenian massacres upon their Christian subjects, down to the French ministers and generals who killed thousands of inoffensive Malagasy; from the bandits of international capitalism, with Rhodes, De Beer, Eckstein, Chamberlain, Milner and other patented defenders of slavery at their head, to the Nonconformist clergymen who preach the massacre and extermination of Boer women and children, and the Christian missionaries who bless the assassinations committed by the German, Russian, English and other foreign invaders of China; from the comedians and music-hall professionals who prostitute their art to pander to the bloodthirstiness they help to create; from the lowest street vagabond to the Poet Laureate or the great ladies of society and the Court; from the brutal ministers of the Tsar to the avaricious and nepotist ministers of this country; from the inquisitors of Montjuich to our Liberal Imperialists,—everywhere, on every side, we see cruelty, slavery and brutality preached, glorified, committed.

Read the newspapers of the bourgeoisie, see their illustrations, listen to the sermons of their spiritual and political guides, and you will find nothing but falsehood, sport, military scenes, and the glorification of stockbroking thieves and of generals like Kitchener, the Herod of our days. Note, moreover, that with a few rare exceptions it is only the slavish press, savage generals and men favoring oppression who speak, write and act. Just and thoughtful people, friends of progress and social emancipation, suppress and conceal their opinions, and even if they venture to utter a cry of desperation and protest, their isolated voices are lost in the noise and wild uproar of the mad-dened upholders of a triumphing reaction.

What is the cause of this contemporary outburst of savagery? Why is it that twenty years ago, or at the time of the struggle for Italian unity, for the abolition of slavery in America and of serfdom in Russia, or during the creation of the International Workingmen's Association, the barbarians of today were silent and carefully concealed their hideous aspirations? Why was it just the friends of progress and enfranchisement who spoke loudly, while all others, even financial men, oppressors military and clerical, were obliged to put a good face on the matter?

Because the events of the great Revolution were not yet forgotten, as they seem to be in our days. Because the crowned oppressors, their servile ministers, military and clerical, and the financial swindlers remembered too well what the nations of Europe had taught them in 1848. They retained a wholesome dread of the productive masses when combined for action; they treated with no less wholesome respect the men of the opposition, the representatives of the Socialist movement, the progressive and united minority; and they knew, those enemies of humanity, that this advanced and revolutionary minority was supported by the people and was ever ready to maintain by force its political and Socialist aims. While today there is nothing to face the political absolutism and oppression, the military brutality, the ministerial and financial robbers, and a clergy hostile to free science and education, but a few insignificant groups, the scattered and disunited remnant of an opposition once so formidable.

Whereas the enemies of the people are more united than ever, the friends of progress, the advanced parties, are divided and subdivided into fractions only intent on quarrelling among themselves. Take whatever question of human welfare or point of most primitive justice you like, it seems hopeless to

unite the so-called "reformers" and "revolutionists" for collective action.

For instance, is it not a revolting spectacle to see how the would-be Socialists of the Fabian Society and of *The Clarion* together with the Moderates of German Social Democracy un-animously, yet in the name of progress and humanity, glorify the most atrocious war of extermination, the war provoked by the Capitalists and directed by Milner-Chamberlain-Kitchener—that triumvirate of lies, oppression and bloodshed? Or the more than strange tactics of the same would-be Socialist bodies during the parliamentary election, when they preferred to oppose the Radical and Liberal candidates, actually in this country giving their votes to the Tories and in Germany to the Jesuits and Clericals? Evidently they had forgotten that Toryism and Clericalism, either separately or united, are the worst enemies of Science, Socialism and the general welfare of humanity.

The division among advanced people goes yet further. Every worker knows that all the expenses of the bourgeois, clergy, aristocracy and of the State are paid from his annual work; that the modern State is the greatest burden on the shoulders of the people. Yet Radicals and State Socialists all over Europe mercilessly attacked the great evolutionary philosopher, Herbert Spencer, for his warning to the democracy against the increasing subjugation of rights, property and liberty of men and communities by the bureaucratic and all-powerful State.

Shall we continue to enumerate the points of division among the friends of progress? We think that everyone must recognise the sad truth that division of opinion exists amongst the advanced parties of the present day in theory and politics as well as in every-day practical agitation. On this division, on this mutual antagonism and hatred is based the success of Reaction, with its attendant cruelty and oppression.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

SPAIN, which has been more or less on the ferment for the past fifty years, has again frothed over upon the marriage of the Infanta with a Bourbon of the Carlist faction—that is, a hot upholder of State and Mother Church. The anti-Jesuit war-cry is ringing through the land, rallying the workers, for want for the moment of a more concrete revolutionary body, to the Republican banner. On the Continent the dream of revolutionists is always the replacing of a monarchy by a republic. With the object-lesson of such reactionary governments as those of republican France and the United States before their eyes, this is due less perhaps to stupidity than to the knowledge that in these dulcet days of decorum when men are more willing to pay a lawyer to wrangle out damages for outraged honor than to give an adversary an honest drubbing on the street, in like manner a people will more readily rise to throw off the yoke of one despotism though it may only mean harnessing themselves to another, if only that other seem the lesser evil of the two. Every republic is bound to mean a Socialist republic—on paper and in the brains of fools—and as the world has plenty of both, it stands to reason that it is better to have your head broken for a republic than for the happy millenium that men gladly anticipate but are more ready to argue about than to fight for. Bombs, which have done good to the glazier and harm to none, have sputtered before the doors of clerical sympathisers, and in Madrid especially the streets have for some days been lively with stone throwing and cavalry charges. Weyler, as Captain-General, has proclaimed martial law and states he will crush anything like insurrection with all the energy he possesses. We do not doubt it; he knows on which side his bread is buttered. Carlism, because it spells Clericalism, has no longer deep root among the people; this became patent in the rising of last year, which not only died of inanity but was ignored by people of districts notoriously Carlist. The real cause at bottom for the discontent glowing like molten lava under the green slopes of apparent peace is, as is well known, the poverty brought about by industrial depression and unjust taxation. The Catalan workmen, the proudest of their kind in Spain, never beg; they revolt. May the other provinces wake from their lethargy and join hands with them when the right moment comes!

The fiery Spanish blood is little akin to the sluggish fluid that chills dyspeptic Englishmen and there has never been much in common between the two nationalities. But no traveller returns from Spain but, like George Borrow, he writes eloquently of the dignity, independence and noble generosity of the Spanish peasant. Borrow looked upon him as very gold of the earth. As he was then so he is now, the backbone of his country. Up to the date of the Inquisition in Spain the citizens of every town were as independent and spirited, but the hideous cruelty and splendid organization of that most secret of all ecclesiastical courts so terrorised the entire population, rendered them through its superstitious grip of their minds so impotent to resist the slaying of their brothers and the plunder of their wealth, that everything—thought, erudition, freedom of opinion, manly self-assertion, had life crushed out of them for 300 years.

Spain which then was the first nation in Europe, with a teeming population, incalculable wealth, and the best equipped army and navy the world had as yet known, is today what we see her. The Jesuits bound her in chains, the Church fattened on her vitals, despair and superstition paralysed her brain. If each stone cast at a convent or seminary in Spain today could be weighted with one jot of the human agony and humiliation on which these communities were bred and fostered, there would nevermore be fear of a Black Invasion in Spain or the moral and intellectual degradation that follows in its train. Success to every Spaniard who handles stone or rifle in this the most supreme of all popular movements—the freeing of the human intellect from the influence of priestcraft.

FRANCE. Here also a stand is being made against the Black Brigade. Here also, as at the Vatican, the priests not content with spiritual aspire to win back political power. Less than thirty years ago the Jesuit Houses and affiliated associations in France (as also elsewhere) were proscribed to certain limits or so hedged within the Civil Power that the expansion of their ambitious schemes was considered impracticable. Nothing is impracticable to the Church of Rome. It is and ever has been a living witness of the tremendous force there is in organisation when founded upon obedience and secrecy, and the absolute loyalty to these sentiments evinced by every unit of this vast corporate body is more than worthy of admiration. Churches and sects which have risen and struggled to live in the purity of early Christianity or the liberal atmosphere of freethought, have lost their popularity or have died out under the slow march of time; but even time has been unable to suppress this weird organisation, which paralyses every energy of the laity once it gains the control of things temporal. Let us give the devil his due. In the dark ages when every man's hand was at his brother's throat and all the world went warring, the monasteries did a great and good work; they were the depositories for all the learning and most of the charity the world then had. The hunted man was safe when the convent door was closed behind him; the lord on the rampage among his wretched serfs could claim none for gallows-tree on whom the Abbot's eye of mercy rested; the children were fed, the sick tended, the beggars clothed. Today convent schools and universities have taken the place of the whilom monastery, and the determination to share political and temporal power with the State is the mainspring that directs every clerical action. Century after century, now here now there, the nations have striven to shake off the yoke of Catholic Clericalism; yet they always slip back into the toils. France just now thought she was controlling the spread of Jesuit teaching and growth of clerical wealth; she wakes up to find that in spite of every law framed for the purpose the clerical houses are richer than they ever have been, that the secret silent work of their seminaries has made a royalist of every noble and certainly of every officer in the army. A new law to further restrict the wealth and number of clerical associations is to be passed. A hundred such laws may be passed but the power of this strong secret combination of intellect and mysticism will not pass while there remains an ounce of ignorance and folly in the world. Clericalism of every breed is a vampire nourished solely by credulity and ignorance of mankind, and no law created by the Civil power, no coalition of the nations, will be able to crush so ably drilled and ordered an organisation. Some Anarchists ignore organisation, but under present conditions it is only the organised body that has any chance of doing any efficient propaganda or repelling the onslaughts of capitalism and oppression. No body of men were better organised than the early Christians—there was only this difference, they were organised by fraternal love and not by the compulsion that filled the ranks of the Roman army.

Of strikes there are many just now in France. The miners of Montceau-les-Mines have been out some time. Most of the pits are guarded by troops and many of the soldiers have been severely punished for fraternising with the strikers. As England was unable to produce sufficient black to clothe weeping admirers of the late Queen, immense orders were placed with foreign houses. It will not affect the toadies to title and fashion nor the Earl Marshal, should they hear that to meet this demand for black stuffs the factory children and women of France, who are compelled by law to work 11 hours a day, had these lengthened from 13 to 36 hours on end without a corresponding increase of wages. Our noble Duke naturally headed the 30 Catholic peers who sent a petition to the Chamberlain protesting they could not be present at the opening of Parliament because it affronted their consciences that the king should be called upon to take an oath professing non-allegiance to the doctrine of transubstantiation. So subtle and

permeating is the power of Rome today in England, that it was not surprising to find more than one Tory paper upholding the contention and suggesting an act of parliament to eliminate such oath. The blood of English martyrs dries up quickly.

Elsewhere mention is made of the student crisis in Russia. In regard to students in general, it is strange to note how alone of all the class those of Great Britain and America side always with the government and never with the people. We hear of the sons of wealthy foreigners coming to take a course of academic study at Oxford or Cambridge and speaking of the sense of suffocation experienced after the more liberal atmosphere of Continental universities. The seed of Socialist propaganda in Russia especially has always been sown amongst the workers by the college youth, and the cause of the people is ever championed as the cause of humanity by the generous-souled if hot-headed lads studying in foreign schools. Scotch and Irish universities hold aloof from "people's questions." In England the cause of the people being the cause of plebeians, as such is tabooed by the patrician class which alone has a long enough purse to pay for the coat of academic varnish required as the finishing touch to a public-school education. Imagine any popular movement today being headed by a band of Oxford or Cambridge students! Like their Scotch brothers they will flock valiantly together for a town and gown shindy, or to pelt and howl down some foreign professor who by a reporter's error has seemingly dared to suggest that England can commit a cowardly action; but the "common people" may starve and the Oxford student would be the last to lead a demonstration before a baker's shop or proclaim from the street that starvation means injustice. Once it was otherwise. In the days of Edward III., Oxford was not only the centre of learning but of political and social movements; Wycliffe openly preached Communism, and Oxford, proud, independent and free, chose to follow in his steps. The Peasant's Rising of 1381 was keenly followed by the young men of Oxford, and it was their devotion to liberty, to Wycliffe and freedom of thought, that finally led Church and King to suppress all three. Oxford from that day became and remains the champion of Church tyranny and statecraft. Lollardy migrated to Cambridge, and the religious reformation of the 16th century found its strongest supporters there. But the complaints of the people no longer touch an answering chord in the breasts of English university students or lead to a stir in their selfish round of mingled sport and pedantry. Here again we see the impress of the priest's finger.

Sipido's parents who once more petitioned Leopold and King Edward on the latter's accession for the pardon of their son, have been informed that neither king can extend the prerogative of mercy in this case. And yet, who so astonished as kings when the prerogative of mercy is not extended to them!

Dutch law signalled Queen Wilhelmina's marriage this month by a revision of the unjust sentences passed in 1896 on the three brothers Hogerhuis of Friesland. One has been liberated and the others have had their punishment reduced by six years. Domela Nieuwenhuis, who has been unremitting in keeping their case before the public, gave a vivid account early in 1899 in *Freedom* of the flagrant abuse of justice at the trial of these men.

Comrade K. Hansteen has sent us the first number of his new monthly, *Til Frihet!* published by him in the name of the group at No. 8 Vibes Gade, Kristiania, Norway. A firstborn of the new century, we wish it a long and prosperous career.

The Anarchists of Leghorn, Italy, write requesting financial help from sympathisers to enable them to republish their paper, *Sempre Avanti!* Contributions received at *Freedom* office. Persecution against Anarchists in Italy never ceases and the paper is wanted at Leghorn to voice local protest.

L'Avvenire Sociale of Messina also writes for assistance.

Comrade L. Michel asks us to state that she is receiving numerous letters requesting pecuniary aid in consequence of the appearance of the third edition of *La Misère*, but that having sold all the rights of this work to M. Anthelme Fayard, editor, of No. 78 Boulevard St. Michel, Paris, by a contract prior to the first edition, she is quite unable to give such pecuniary aid, receiving herself nothing for this third edition.

Free Society, having removed from San Francisco to 515 Carroll Avenue, Chicago, starts the new century 8 pages weekly.

SOCIALIST PARTIES AND THE STATE.

Report presented by Freedom Group to the International Revolutionary Workers' Congress at Paris, September, 1900.

In these last four years we observe a certain division in all the national organisations of the State Socialists. On one side we find the men of a revolutionary movement—of 1848, as Liebknecht and his friends; of the Commune, as Vaillant and Guesde; or of the Russian

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NOTES.

USE AND ABUSE OF CO-OPERATION.

It is encouraging in times like these to find that, however much the majority of advanced movements suffer, Co-operation at any rate continues to make steady progress. Taking only those societies that have sent returns to the Co-operative Union—that is to say 1,613 separate societies—Mr. H. W. Wolff tells us in his pamphlet, *The Spread of Co-operation*, that membership has increased during the year from 1,646,078 to 1,729,976 and annual sales have increased from £35,460,871 to £69,835,000. This increase is almost entirely in the retail distributive societies; whilst, unfortunately, productive societies make but little progress. Now, however, that the Leicester societies are turning their attention to the land, agricultural and industrial Co-operation may mutually aid each other. If, indeed, Co-operators would look more to the genuine advancement of the movement and less to that wretched system of getting five per cent on share capital they might establish, as a great object lesson for the world, a self-supporting commune, wherein would be shown all the advantages of their methods and ideas over those of the present wasteful and degrading competitive system. And it could be built up quite naturally and healthily out of the present means of organisation. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished; but, of course, the conservative element in the movement would have to be stoutly fought to obtain even a hearing for such a scheme. Nevertheless, Co-operators may rest assured that the many evils they complain of in the movement—evils that are inevitable while they continue to compromise with capitalistic methods that will sow corruption broadcast in the movement as they sow it in the outer world—can only receive their death-blow when production and consumption rest alike on a Socialistic or Communistic basis.

LIVE AND LET LIVE.

Let us be very practical for once. Let us not speak of high ideals and abstract principles, but as the worthy Gradgrind would say, let us stick to facts. If we do this perhaps we shall be able to bring ourselves on a level with that great man whose greatness is only equalled by his goodness—Bernard Shaw. Now, Mr. Shaw is a Borough Councillor. Whether he was born so, or whether he has acquired the Councillor's point of view by a process of evolution—supposing these creatures *do* evolve—we cannot say; but as is not unusual with these gentry, they are at war with the costers of Camden Town, and Shaw with that solicitude for the poor and the oppressed which has always characterised him is for the abolition of the coster. So are we when society has the decency to offer the poor coster a life worth living. But this is not Shaw's position. The coster must go, he says, because he is an obstruction. (So is the Council, but that by the way.) The fact is, however, by removing the coster the Council is fighting in the interest of the shopkeepers; and, at the time he was a Socialist, Shaw would have been the first to have said so. Now all is changed; and first the Boers and then the costers have fallen under the ban of the man who has given up the struggle for existence to live at his ease and make jokes.

We only wish all this shabby respectability and crass stupidity, as Morris would call it, could be taught the same lesson by the costers that it has been taught by the Boers.

If you want to be respected you must fight when your liberties are assailed.

PARASITISM *ad nauseam*.

It is amusing to hear the objections sometimes raised against Anarchism: the awful things that must result from people enjoying so much liberty, etc., etc.; and this cry is raised the

while these same good folks see around them the most revolting evils arising from customs and institutions they religiously support. M. Brioux has written a play, just produced in Paris, which exposes a state of demoralisation quite unsuspected, or at any rate unprobed by those superficial minds that hate the trouble of tracing cause and effect. "Les Remplagants" is a play exposing the evils of what we in England would call wet-nursing. The bourgeois women, whose wealth and consequent unnatural habits of life induce them to evade the suckling of their own children, are logically responsible for what is one of the many social sores—cancers, we should call them—that are destroying both the physical and moral life of the people. The results can be given in a few words. The healthy woman of the people who leaves her own child to take its chance while she nourishes the offspring of the bourgeois woman who pays her a high fee for her trouble, often sends home her earnings to keep the husband in idleness. The consequences must be obvious to the dullest minds. The home demoralised, the child neglected; misery of the worst kind, and the poor woman returning perhaps to bury her child and to find her husband a victim to drink. No wonder that for every rich child three of the poor die, and that "the village cemeteries are filled with tiny graves no larger than cradles."

Now let the enemies of Anarchism show us one bad effect resulting from liberty that can be compared to this.

"TRUSTS"—AND AFTER.

A thousand millions of capital invested with the object of creating the greatest monopoly in the world, sounds very like a confirmation of the theory of the "concentration of capital"; but on looking more attentively into economic conditions in the United States it will be found that above the masses of the proletariat there is still plenty of room for a thriving and well-to-do class of small capitalists who are not by any means debarred from becoming bigger ones by the billionaire monopoly. As a matter of fact, we might quite logically adopt the idea of our friend Nieuwenhuis and speak of the Pyramid of Wealth as truly as of the Pyramid of Tyranny. Indeed, they are the twin pillars of the present system; and in both cases it is the passive immobility of the foundation (the enslaved workers) that ensures the stability of the superstructure. For that reason all agitation of the base must be suppressed.

But do we find in the United States, where trusts and monopolies are perhaps most powerful, that tendency toward a peaceful solution of social problems through political means which the Marxian theory of economic evolution upholds as the one and only road to "true" Socialism. Quite the reverse. For there is no civilised country where the labor struggle takes a more brutal and bloody character than in the United States; and instead of that peaceful transition from capitalism to State Socialism, which was to be like the graceful gliding of a new ship launched into smooth waters according to the Marxists, we shall see the class war waged with more bitterness as time goes on. And the reason is plain: the workers in the States are no more free politically than economically, and they *must* become revolutionists to gain their emancipation.

THE SLAVE SPIRIT.

William Morris used to say that unless you read the papers or the placards you could never tell, so far as your own conditions were concerned, whether you were being ruled by Liberals or Conservatives. The same may be said of the stupid puppets who in this country play at being kings and queens. They come and go and cost a lot of money, but in all other respects they are nonentities; and, from the Anarchist point of view, they attain the pinnacle of absurdity and only attract attention in so far as they are used by the political powers who, in England at any rate, really control affairs. The stream of nauseating cant and hypocrisy that has been poured out recently by press and pulpit and has been sucked in by the fools who at the present moment answer to Carlyle's description and constitute the majority of the people, proves to us how easy it is to cultivate the slave-spirit while imperialism holds sway. Curse and kill the honest Boers in the Transvaal, whilst at home you lick the boots of the most unspeakable gang of rogues that ever betrayed a country; gape and fawn on royalty and pretend—yes, *pretend*, you generation of hypocrites—to mourn the loss of a person who was not as useful a member of society as the poorest washerwoman who earns her daily bread by washing your dirty linen. All this you English people are doing today, and you call yourselves a great nation!

On **TUESDAY MARCH 19**, at the WORKINGMEN'S CLUB & INSTITUTE, Clerkenwell Road (next to Holborn Town Hall), **A MEETING** will be held to commemorate the **30th anniversary of the Paris Commune**.

DOORS OPEN AT 7.30. COMMENCE AT 8 P. M.

AMERICAN NOTES.

There is a most interesting budget of news from America this month. *Free Society* has removed from San Francisco to Chicago in the hope of improving its condition and doing better work for the cause. Chicago is a larger city and nearer the geographical centre of the United States, and the paper can be distributed to much better purpose than from San Francisco. Our best wishes go out to our brave comrades in their new venture, and we hope the associations connected with our martyred comrades may help them in their struggle to spread the light.

It is to be hoped that if Chicago gives to the paper a more revolutionary tone it will be none the less clear in its exposition of principles.

Discontent, our other paper, published by the colonists at Home, Lake Bay, Wash., has had a visit from Uncle Sam who arrested Chas. L. Govan and fined him \$15 and costs for an article by Henry Addis on the sex question. We are a virtuous people and Mrs. Grundy rules the roost, so look out for squalls when you touch the question of relations between the sexes.

The New York *Sun* has progressed since Charles A. Dana left for Hell to publish a paper there. The issue of Jan. 6th of that erstwhile conservative paper contains an interview, of over three columns, with Emma Goldman on the subject of Anarchism. The report is very sympathetic and, what is still better, is intelligently written. We must be a living force to compel such a rock-ribbed, dyed-in-the-wool, moss-backed conservative journal as the *Sun* to give us such a puff. We've got no votes to give you, Mr. Editor! The article is not perfect, and the reporter has slightly mixed Emma Goldman's opinions on violence. For the benefit of those who have been misled on this point by this interview (and there are some) Emma writes to me of the reporter's mistake, and to say that her ideas on that subject are too well known to need a contradiction.

Emma's return to New York has been marked by a revival of the Social Science Club, who are now holding weekly meetings which are splendidly attended and, what is more important, attended mostly by Americans. The Italian comrades arranged an Eleventh of November meeting which was broken up by the police, the comrades proceeding from one place to another—ultimately holding a small meeting at Schwab's saloon. As a protest against this interference a meeting was arranged in a large hall where Emma was to lecture on "The French and American Republics." On the night of the meeting the hallkeeper refused at first to let them have the hall; but the meeting (my informant neglects to say whether the hallkeeper was bullied or persuaded) was held and was a rousing one. The hall was rented in the name of the Social Science Club, and that body is now under the surveillance of the police.

Meetings are being held by some of the young Jewish element in New York, Brooklyn and Newark, and comrades Goldman, Zolstaroff, and Mr. and Mrs. Morison are booming them along amid considerable enthusiasm.

The news from Philadelphia is brief but good. Voltairine de Cleyre has reorganised the Ladies Liberal League into the Social Science Club of that city, and they have been holding some splendid open-air meetings (what has Jack Turner to say to that?), until the inclemency of the weather compelled them to cease; they are now carrying on weekly meetings indoors. Philadelphia has a good few comrades, and the winter promises to be lively there.

Emma Goldman has been to New London, Connecticut, where she had the distinction of delivering the first lecture on Anarchism, in English, that city ever had.

Dear old Justus Schwab is dead. *Old*, did I say?—well, not so old; for he was fifty-three, and his heart was barely twenty. Who has ever heard of the movement in New York without hearing of Schwab? and now he of the lion heart and lion head is gone—reduced to a handful of ashes. His entrance into the movement is too long ago for me to remember—yes, it must be long ago for I, too, begin to feel old. He it was who first brought John Most to America nearly twenty years ago, and he has been a pillar to the movement ever since. My pen falters in writing obituary notices of old friends; I fain would leave that to Voltairine de Cleyre who knew Justus many years. Edelman, Schwab and Berman in one year! my heart grows sad at the loss both to the movement and myself. Schwab died on Dec. 17th and was cremated Dec 20th, 1900, two thousand people following his body to the crematorium.

The Prophet of Peace at Home.

All the world knows the ways and doings of Russian despotism. Last year we saw the government torturing the Doukhobors, tearing children from Dissenter parents, destroying national life and welfare in Finland.

But it seems that Tsar Nicholas II. was still not satisfied with such a glorious record of his five years' reign. He and his ministers have now committed an act of cruelty and barbarism which certainly will be one of the most monstrous acts even of the annals of Russian despotism.

By decision of the ministers and by order of the Tsar, 385 young students of the Kiev University are sentenced and deported to the military convict service in the remotest and wildest part of Eastern Siberia.

What offence had those young victims of Tsar Nicholas committed? Did they provoke a rebellion in the street? Or did they offend the barbarous laws and customs of existing Tsardom? Nothing of the kind.—They had held some meetings in the university itself for the purpose of petitioning for the removal of a temporary substitute of a professor who had proved himself to be ignorant and incapable of delivering the lectures; they also complained of the strenuous and brutal police regulations in their university life. That was all.

There was no crime, no offence against law, and the students could not be prosecuted even before the Russian law courts. But Emperor Nicholas, under the influence of Pobiedonostzeff the evil genius of Russia, declared himself an avowed enemy of science and universities; some time ago he threatened to close them all. And this deportation as convict-soldiers of 385 students is his first move toward the abolition of higher education and the extermination of the enlightened youth of Russia.

Will the Tsar and his ministers succeed in this fight against science and human conscience? If the whole of Russian society, the parents and relatives forsake their duty of protecting their children and will, cowardlike, submit themselves to the cruelty of ministers and Tsar; if the teachers and professors of high-schools and universities will continue in solidarity with the executioners of our youth, certainly the Tsar will succeed.

But will the parents continue to forsake their duty? That is the question.

Otherwise Nicholas II. is capable of going on till the end. His moral and intellectual capacity is identical with that of his great-grandfather, Emperor Paul. He imitates the latter's decrees and acts. And it will be only natural if history preserves for him Emperor Paul's glory and fate.

W. TCHERKESOV.

As we go to Press a *Times*' telegram informs us that Bogolepoff, the Minister of Public Instruction, has been shot by Karpovitch.

SOCIALISM THE REMEDY.

A Lecture delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony, by Henry Glasse.

Socialism is a theoretic system which proposes to remedy the evils of existing society, and it begins by asserting that our present social system, the arrangements under which people live, the relations they bear to one another, the laws and usages which bind and constrain them are wrong, unjust and hurtful; because they do not conduce to human happiness, but, on the contrary, entail suffering on a large number of persons and interfere more or less with the wellbeing of all.

Our present social system, this commercial and industrial form of society under which we live, has as its main characteristic the division of the people into two classes: the haves and the have-nots; on the one side those who possess everything that is needed for the production of the necessities of life, on the other those who have nothing but their powers of mind and body, and who consequently have to crave permission to use those powers on the property of the possessing class, a permission only granted under conditions eminently favorable to the latter.

Under the feudal system which immediately preceded the present one, the tenants or serfs attached to their lord's estate were allowed to cultivate portions of ground for their own benefit on condition of working a certain number of days for him and for his exclusive profit. Under the present system this is altered; instead of the landlord compelling his tenant to plough or sow his (the landlord's) private domain, he simply exacts rent; he takes, that is, money instead of service, and in so doing he is the gainer, for he ceases to share with his tenant any risk with regard to the market or the season, he has to get so much money and he takes it, any loss occurring through scarcity of crops or other misfortune has to be borne by the tenant alone. This is the simplest form in which the division of classes manifests itself; but there are other forms which really are of exactly the same nature. The first distinction between rich and poor having originated in the appropriation of the land by certain individuals, and these individuals having thereby amassed wealth, a number of them or their sons or persons to whom they lend a portion of their wealth proceed to devote it to industrial purposes, and, if they themselves worked on the materials which they had thus procured, they would indeed make a very decent living; but they would not be able to amass wealth in their turn, and that is precisely what they desire to do—and to do more rapidly than the landlord even. Around them they see a vast crowd of persons who have nothing but their labor to offer in exchange for the necessities of life; here is their opportunity and they avail themselves of it. Without doing a stroke of productive work themselves here is the royal road to the constant increase of their wealth and, consequently, to their continued advancement in power and social position. The process is simple: they know the average amount of value which these "hands" can by their labor or skill add to the raw materials set before them, and then offer them a less amount as wages; the balance is theirs and goes to augment their pile. This profit is a surplus which, though made by the worker, is pocketed by the employer who, in fact, employs him only in order to get something more out of him than the equivalent of what he pays him. In this manner inequality is maintained and the two classes of owners and masters on the one hand and of toilers and slaves on the other are not only perpetuated, but the abyss between them is constantly deepened.

Here is the significance of the "brazen law of wages" which will not allow wages to rise permanently beyond what is barely necessary to support the worker's life and strength and enable him to breed children to inherit his slavery. The same brazen law will not, it is true, allow the worker to receive permanently less than this minimum, for the simple reason that unless men have a certain amount of strength they cannot work, and if they cannot rear families their class dies out. This is evident; but it may not seem to some persons so clear that wages cannot permanently rise beyond the average mentioned. Yet, if we ask ourselves why it is that wages are extra good in a particular place or trade, we shall soon observe that it is because labor is scarce in that place or line of work, and that therefore higher wages are offered in order to attract more workers, which, in time, it is bound to do, either by drawing men from other lands where wages are lower, or by inducing a larger number of persons to take up the trade which demands more hands and offers more money.

It is to the division of mankind into rich and poor that we may rightly attribute the vast proportion of the evils with which society is cursed. Society, indeed! what a shocking misuse of the word. The word "society" means by its derivation a union of comrades and partners. What irony! I ask in the name of common sense: Does this monstrous agglomeration of rich and poor, high and low show much comradeship or partnership? Does the lord or the squire regard the village folk as his comrades? Does the manufacturer or the trader treat his operatives or his customers as his partners? The idea is ludicrous; yet it is sad to see the world so different from what it would be if it were only constituted in accordance with its name.

However, let us use the word "society" in default of a better one, and let us return to what has been already asserted, namely, that the evils which afflict humanity are mainly the consequence of this division of classes into rich and poor, and that they mostly result directly or indirectly from luxury or from poverty, or at least from the fear of poverty or the desire for luxury. The evils referred to are specially: Crime, Ignorance and Disease.

Let us consider the first of these, Crime. The great bulk of legal offences are offences against property. A man is poor and in need of something, so he robs another, finding that to be the easiest way of satisfying his want; perhaps he does the same thing repeatedly, and if so he finally becomes a confirmed thief glorying in his smartness. Would he in the first place have taken to stealing if he had not been pressed by want? Not in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. Or a man, who has not the excuse of poverty, embezzles funds with which he is entrusted, or takes part in some swindle; what makes him do so? Is it not in the great majority of cases the longing to put himself out of the danger of a possible descent into poverty—to escape from the fear of reverses or bad times which is such a worry to many persons in apparently comfortable and even prosperous circumstances, or else is it not the desire to vie in luxury or ostentation with others higher than himself in the social scale, and possessing ampler means? As for crimes against the person, crimes of violence, by far the greater number are committed for the purpose of obtaining the property of another, and are thus connected with theft and robbery. The balance can mostly be attributed to a brutality which is bred of ignorance, another evil which is maintained by existing social conditions. Ignorance is readily associated with poverty, for how can he who is constantly associated in the struggle for daily bread, and who has to employ all his time and all his wits in solving the problem how to exist, how can he be expected to improve his mind and enlarge his faculties by reading and reflection, or by attentively listening to truths intelligently expressed? It is too much to expect of such a one, and there are millions of such. Disease is in the vast majority of cases the result of insanitary conditions, unsuitable food, deficient clothing, damp, overcrowded and ill-ventilated lodgings, exposure to extremes of weather, overwork or too much confinement, or again it is often due to worry and anxiety. Poverty subjects the poor to all these evils, while luxury at the opposite social pole—luxury which is the scourge of many among the rich, leads them to disease through the vices and excesses which it engenders. Therefore, the division of classes which is the fundamental law and inherent element of bourgeois, middle class society, the society of today, is responsible for practically all the evils which afflict humanity, exception being made of evils which are purely natural and which do not depend upon man, his habits or his institutions.

Before stating the manner in which Socialism proposes to remedy the unnatural and artificial evils wherewith man in his ignorance or perversity has thought fit to afflict himself and his fellow man, let us first examine certain other professed cures for these same evils, cures which have been laid before the world with authority and seeming sincerity.

Many have taught that Christianity would save the world; they have held that the precepts and example of Christ, and a sense of the brotherhood of men under a common Father, together with the salutary influence of a number of holy men counselling and directing the Christian flock, would of necessity so work on men's hearts and so mould their characters that, without any interference with the existing social order, all things would be rendered harmonious and sweet peacefulness, neighbourly love and heavenly charity unite all classes, all conditions in one holy happy family. The Christian religion in its varying forms has now predominated throughout the civilised world for at least one thousand years; but do we yet see anything like the picture which has been presented to us of its beneficent effects? After one thousand years of Christian rule, does not the Christian usurer still exact his interest to the uttermost farthing? Is business any the less business

because of Religion? Is there more humanity in man's treatment of his fellow man, more honesty in his dealing with his neighbours? Is not the religious man as hard a man to deal with as any, and has he not to be as carefully watched as any? There is one saying in the *New Testament* which I think must be purely ironical and intended to be taken in a contrary sense, and that is: "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." If there is, however, one scriptural quotation which is not ironical but strictly and to the letter true and proven, it is that other saying of the founder of Christianity: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth, I came not to send peace but a sword;" and certainly from the time that the Christian church became the dominant party in the old Roman empire, the sword of the warrior has never been far from the gown of the priest. Read the history of the crusades and follow on through the records of long centuries of devastating wars, always will you find the same story, even down to this present Chinese war waged to avenge and protect missionaries or to acquire and exploit new markets and forcibly push fresh trade—which is it? Probably both, but especially the latter; for the missionary with his cross or his bible, as the case may be, is the pioneer, next follows the soldier with his flag and then the trader with his trickery.

If it be objected that Religion has not had a fair trial, or that it has hitherto been misunderstood, and that it still has its mission of reforming and regenerating the world before it, I can only say that it is late in the day to come with that tale; surely those who were nearest to its origin and to whom its teaching came with more directness must have had the best means of learning its true inwardness and understanding what was or was not in accordance with its spirit. Thus it is vain for new teachers to arise with new interpretations; and if at a time when the churches had a practically universal control over the civilised conscience they were so powerless to reform social abuses as we know them to have been, what can we expect from them now that they are more and more losing that control and are regarded with indifference or hostility by a constantly increasing section of the people?

(To be Concluded.)

THE RISE OF THE MOVEMENT IN CHICAGO.

(From the Report on the American movement presented at Paris 1900)

In the state of Illinois we have the great city of Chicago, at all times the breeding place and headquarters of leading Anarchists, the great storm centre in the United States. A detailed account of the many interesting and notable events which have occurred in the radical movement in that city, would fill a volume. It is therefore impossible to do more than touch upon them. As has been stated already in this sketch, the dissatisfaction of Chicago as early as 1880 manifested itself in the ballot as a means of reform, mainly as a result of the fraudulent deprivation of Frank Stauber to his seat in the city councils. This feeling of discontent brooded in the minds of the more radical Socialists, and prepared many of them for their ready acceptance of the revolutionary ideas propagated through the *Pittsburg Manifesto*. Indeed, even before the famous Congress was held at Pittsburg, the spirit of Anarchism had become manifest. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* which, under the editorship of the brilliant Paul Grottkan, was distinctly known as a Socialistic journal, had changed hands, and August Spies had become its editor-in-chief, causing a marked change in the policy of the paper in the direction of revolutionary ideas. On March 22nd, 1879, a monster meeting was held in the old Exposition building. It is estimated that between 25,000 and 40,000 people were in attendance at that meeting, which lasted all day and far into the night. As a result, the sum of £9,000 was realised and this amount was used to convert the *Arbeiter Zeitung* from a tri-weekly to a daily. The holding of the Pittsburg Congress was immediately followed in Chicago by the organisation of several groups of the International and the starting of the *Alarm*, which paper Albert Parsons was chosen editor at a salary of \$5 a week, which was afterwards raised to \$8. The *Alarm* continued without intermission until May 4th, 1886, wielding a tremendous influence wherever it was carried, and it found its way into every industrial centre of the country. During the frequent agitation trips of its devoted editor-in-chief, which often lasted for weeks at a time, the paper was conducted by the associate editor, Lizzie M. Swank, who afterwards became Lizzie M. Holmes, wife of William Holmes.

Determined, energetic and incessant agitation accompanied the organisation of the Chicago groups, of which there were some eight or ten in existence, with a total membership of not far from 2,000. The famous American Group, the members of which were nearly all English-speaking people, among whom were a number of intelligent, active women workers, was organised a few weeks after the Pittsburg Congress. It seems invidious to select from a large body of more than ordinarily intelligent men and women, a few names for mention in this history; but it seems necessary to state that to this group belonged five of the eight martyrs, namely, Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer, Samuel Fielden and Oscar Neebe, as well as a number of others whose names were more or less widely known in connection with the tragic occurrences of 1886-7, among whom were William and Lizzie Holmes, Lucy E. Parsons, Sarah E. Ames, William Snyder, Thomas Brown, William Patterson, Dr. James D. Taylor and M. D. Malkoff. In June, 1884, William Holmes joined the group and was immediately elected secretary, and Samuel Fielden was made treasurer. These were the only regular officers. About this time the group had enrolled about 140

members; meetings were held regularly every Wednesday at the hall of meeting. Soon after the organisation of the group outdoor meetings were also begun on the lake front, and these meetings attended by many thousands of people were continued when the weather permitted every Sunday afternoon until the Haymarket meeting; at these meetings thousands of copies of the radical papers, as well as special leaflets, cards, etc., were distributed. Meetings were also held under the auspices of the American Group or arranged by its most active members in different parts of the city, and every occurrence out of the ordinary was made the pretext for calling a meeting.

The most extraordinary means were employed to spread the agitation. Huge posters were printed with which the walls of the city were placarded, challenging the leading ministers, editors, lawyers and public men to debate. At one time 25,000 leaflets, embodying Victor Hugo's famous address to the rich and poor, were printed and gratuitously circulated. Thousands of cards, containing on one side the advertisement of the American Group meetings and on the other side selections from well known authors, provoking thought, were also scattered broadcast. Immense public parades and picnics were arranged and entertainments for the assistance of the radical press were held. On Nov. 25th (Thanksgiving Day 1884) an immense mass meeting was held in the open air, at which the poor outcasts of the city slums were especially invited, and after the meeting a parade was formed, which was nearly a mile in length. The line of march was through the most aristocratic parts of the city, where the poor outcasts exhibited their rags and poverty to the rich gazers on the avenues. At the house of ex-Minister to France, Washburne, a demonstration was made which probably forcibly reminded him of the Paris Commune which he so shamelessly vilified and misrepresented. No violence was attempted, however, and the procession disbanded after another speech by comrade Parsons driving home to his hearers the great contrast between their condition and the rich whose homes they had seen. At this parade the black flag of hunger was first carried in Chicago.

Another remarkable demonstration was the occasion of the opening of the Board of Trade, in the spring of 1885, when a parade was formed and marched right up to the great building, where the *élite* of the city—the rich gamblers in life's products with their wives and companions—were holding a grand ball and supper. A strong body of police was called out and guarded every approach to the building. The parade disbanded when it reached the office of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, from the windows of which comrades Fielden, Parsons and Spies addressed the crowd. These street parades were a peculiar feature of the agitation in Chicago prior to 1886. As many as 3,000 to 4,000 persons frequently participated, and every one was decorated with red ribbons and rosettes, while hundreds of scarlet banners were carried, and many mottoes setting forth the grievances and hopes of the proletarians. All these demonstrations were made the means of distributing thousands of copies of leaflets, radical journals, etc. In preparation for what was deemed an early and inevitable conflict with the authorities, armed groups had been formed, and the Lehr und Wehr Verein, an association apart from the International Groups, but composed of revolutionary Anarchists and Socialists, had supplied themselves with arms (as they had a right to do under the constitution of the State and the United States) and drilled regularly. But the authorities, becoming alarmed, easily stopped this move by having laws passed making it illegal for any body of men to carry arms except the regular military companies authorised by the State, and the Lehr und Wehr Verein was forced to disband.

On January 1st, 1886, *The Anarchist*, a weekly paper in the German language, was brought out by George Engel assisted by comrades of the most revolutionary groups. In addition to the daily *Arbeiter Zeitung* the German comrades also published the *Vorbote* and *Die Fackel*, both weekly papers under editorial management of comrades August Spies and Michael Schwab.

The first of May, 1886, had been selected by the organised Trades Unions as the time for an attempt to inaugurate the eight-hour day, and our comrades were not slow to take advantage of this opportunity to spread the gospel of Anarchism. From the beginning of the year 1886 down to the fatal 5th of May of that year meetings and demonstrations were almost continuous, and the city was in a constant state of agitation. Then came the climax; the 4th of May; the fatal bomb with its accompanying slaughter; the arrest of our comrades and the escape of Parsons and Schnaubelt; the voluntary surrender of the former; the farcical trial, conviction, and sentence; the long months of waiting for the final decision, the rulings of the State and United States Supreme Courts, and the final fatal end. All this has been told by others, and but mere mention of it can be made here.

THE PYRAMID OF TYRANNY,

By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

Recruited from the people, paid by the people, the army, if necessary, is used against the people. That is the lesson we can learn from all this—if we are willing to see and to hear what the actual circumstances show so clearly and distinctly.

So it is not the possessors themselves who defend their property, they seem to be too cowardly and too effeminate for that; but they transfer this task to the non-possessors. If they had a sense of honor, they would not do so, to be sure; if they possessed courage, they would not even confide this task to others.

Now they have succeeded in arranging it so shrewdly that they use one part to keep the other down without incurring any risk

themselves. But this very militarism, with its all-devouring mouth, will prove to be one of the means by which capitalism will ruin itself. Indeed, it continually demands new and ever increasing sacrifices which involve it in a fatal circle. In order to oppose Socialism militarism is hailed; and, in its turn militarism causes discontent, which throws many people into the arms of Socialism. So the means of opposing Socialism becomes a nursery of new Socialists. In the long run, militarism must lead to State-bankruptcy; for it is insatiable in its demands, and if you give it one finger it seizes the hand, arm, everything. Its demands are boundless, for it requires everything or nothing.

So it is a double-edged weapon which may be turned at the decisive moment against him who uses it. The iron discipline, the strong organisation must keep all together, and if once the soldiers are arrayed in files, they must listen to the orders of their superiors upon pain of death. But who can prevent them from firing in the air over the people's heads? It will also be necessary to take care that they do not enter the ranks, and he who is able to cause the greatest confusion possible will prevent the soldiers from forming an army. It should be borne in mind that nothing is so much hated among the working classes as being soldiers, and this dislike will prove a great ally. Development of the mind will be the best means, as Frederick of Prussia justly said: "If my soldiers think, none of them will remain in the ranks." So he teaches us that knowledge is the greatest enemy to militarism. Of course, thinking men will not suffer themselves to be used as tools in the hands of others. By means of knowledge the best trenches are dug to undermine the whole stronghold of militarism. It is true what Tolstoi says: "How is it possible with a view to their personal safety that men even suffer that heavy, cruel and murderous power which represents every organised government relying on the army? The most bloodthirsty gang of highwaymen is not so much to be feared. The captain of a gang of robbers is, indeed, limited by the fact that the members of his gang at least enjoy some liberty and are able to protest against committing deeds which are against their consciences. On the other hand, the men forming part of an organised government are not limited by any obstacle—owing to the support of the army. There is no crime which the men belonging to the government or to the army are not ready to commit at the command of him whom chance has placed at their head."

Militarism is a cancer gnawing at the welfare of the nations, and yet it is kept in existence for the sake of the money-bag: which wields and rules and spends all, while the people, good enough to do the work from which everything is born, are permitted to see others enjoy—being destitute of all that ennobles and civilises life and makes it agreeable. And all this for the sake of great Capital, which absorbs everything and which uses kings and emperors, ministers and statesmen, like puppets to do what the really powerful and mighty of our time (the misers or bankers and financiers) require. Everything is submitted to them; and so they are the monarchs and rulers of the world who, with millions of invisible threads, hold the fate of millions of people in their hands.

We have examined the means of power which enable a handful of men to rule over everything and all, the spiritual means as well as the violent ones, and although there remains much to be said, we think we have explained sufficiently how they have succeeded. An artful net of tyranny has been made in which every little tyrant has a small dominion of his own, ruling over it on condition that he obeys a greater one, who in his turn finds room for his tyranny, until we arrive at the top of the pyramid where capital has its throne. All this is artfully constructed. All these things are like the links of a chain. And if you ask, by what means this edifice is kept together, we mention with Tolstoi the following four means:

1. *Intimidation*, so that people fear every change, which is represented to them as a bugbear.
2. *Bribery*, so that the people are sucked out to fatten some few, who assist one another and use the artless workers for their sport.
3. *Hypnotism*, by which the masses are drugged, for which everything must serve, religion as well as patriotism, the school as well as the church, the material means of brutalisation—tobacco and alcohol—as well as the amusements in theatres and public performances, the spiritual prostitution of the press and of science as well as that of the body.
4. *The power of the army*, which closes the circle of violence.

What are the means to deliver us from all this?

By opposing tyranny, by loosening every authority, each in his own manner and wherever he is able to do so. If some one should say that such protests are of no avail if they are not practised on a large scale, we should answer: "How will you succeed in doing it on a large scale if you do not begin on a small scale?" We believe that every refusal of military service, that every opposition to the great and small tyrants helps to undermine the whole edifice of authority. Don't forget that the example of the brave who venture to do this work will be contagious; for such protests are scarcely spoken of when they are imitated here and there and everywhere. What else would be the reason that such a deed is kept secret as much as possible.

No doubt much influence, a mysterious but strong influence is exercised by the men and women who have strength enough, even with great sacrifices on their part, to break the bonds in which they

were kept. Let us never forget this truth: A people is what it deserves to be. If a people is in bondage, it is because it deserves no better fate, because it consists of slaves. Not the tyrant makes the slaves; but a servile people makes it easy and possible for the tyrant to reach his aim. How could it be possible to rule as a tyrant only for one week over a people who are really and truly free? It would not support tyranny for one day. But the people begin to make tyrants, and, if these act as such, the people utter complaints of their own work and are cowardly enough to yield to circumstances.

Does not Multatuli justly say, in his *Essay on Millions*:

"Tyrants; to be sure, they exist; but who render their existence possible? Their surroundings, the people. All the tyrants mentioned in history could not have existed if the people, the surroundings in which these monsters lived, had not enabled them to play their tyrant's parts from age to age. They, the people, the surroundings—the chaff, as they are called—crouched, fawned, dissembled, applauded every arbitrary deed, every despotic action of the tyrants—where an ox grazes there must be grass, and the people have always been *willing* to be the grass which the two-legged oxen—beasts of prey—nibbled and trod. A people, therefore, deserves the fate it has. No tyrants, no bloodsuckers could exist if the people would not suffer them, would have nothing to do with them. The people have always remained the same. When Nero set Rome on fire, the people shouted. It was the people who cried: "Crucify Jesus; set Barrabas free!" Leaders, preachers of new ideas have ever been abused and thrown at with filth by the Schmoels and Judases among the people."

Before all other things it is necessary to become aware of our condition. First, we must feel the bondage in which we are kept; for no means are sought to get out of it before that is the case. That is the reason why we have, in the first place, to revolutionise the heads, so that the people understand it will not be so difficult for the ninety-eight to get rid of the two who cling to the others in order to suck up the best vital fluids and who cause the tree to pine.

Hypocrisy is a great obstacle in the way, and it puts on such an attractive mask to draw the masses on the wrong track. "So much is done for the people,"—that is the common saying, which becomes a pretext to lull oneself asleep. But without taking into consideration that all this is philanthropy—and this always demoralises the giver as well as the receiver (being nothing but wholesale stealing to give back in detail) and afterwards being praised as a benefactor of the human race—as soon as we begin to analyse it, it is rather insignificant while the greater part give from their abundance without denying themselves anything.

Tolstoi saw through the game, and therefore wrote: "Temperance is made much of, but in such a way that it cannot diminish drunkenness; education is made much of, but in such a way that, far from annihilating ignorance, it is increased; liberty and the constitution are made much of, but in such a way that despotism is not prevented; the fate of the working classes, but in such a way that they are not protected against slavery; Christianity, but only the official Christian faith which supports the governments instead of overthrowing them."

That is the reason why we also preach a crusade against hypocrisy—which has been called a homage to virtue, but which makes it difficult to discover the enemy in the right place. Hypocrisy has wound itself about humanity, like the climbing plant about the oak, to draw the best sap in its embrace and to thrive at its cost.

As soon as the feeling of self-respect awakes and grows, we will no longer suffer everything; we shall begin to be men in our own circle, men who distinguish themselves by thinking for themselves. We make ourselves free and involuntarily we shall rouse others by our deeds to endeavour with us to abolish some more tyrants.

To rule means to exercise violence, to do what he on whom the violence is practised does not like and what he who uses the violence would surely not suffer himself.

To submit means to bear, to suffer that which you do not like.

Let us therefore shout: "Down with Tyranny!" It is better not to live than to throw oneself away and be nothing in order that other people may be all. Repudiate all the tyrants of to-day, high and low.

THE LATTER-DAY DEVIL.

The devil, like everything else, has passed through many transformations in the course of time. He has "evolved," so to speak; and to-day we find him used by economists as the personification of all the evils that overtake the unfortunate wretches who are left behind in the competitive struggle under capitalist rule. "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost," is a phrase which one often hears on the lips of the pharisaical upholders of the present-day competitive system. It had its origin, most likely, in that beautiful Christian teaching: "Many are called, but few are chosen." With this ennobling and encouraging precept in their minds, with cunning priests continually painting in the most lurid colors pictures of the terrors of hell, conjuring up in their imaginations a devil "who went through the world seeking whom he might devour," it was only to be expected the poor ignorant dupes would try to escape from "the wrath to come" by bribing the men of god to intercede on their behalf; and the priest joined with the other robbers in relieving them of the fruits of their toil, which economists call "surplus value."

After the Reformation, the devil no doubt began to take on a different complexion in the minds of the multitude. The bible was then open to all in theory if not in fact. Reason, who had been an outcast, was elevated to the position of a guide; each and all were to form their own opinion in matters of not merely worldly importance. Authority received at that time a blow from which it has never recovered; the fortress of Superstition was attacked in a vital spot, bit by bit were the old beliefs changed, and in some cases dropped altogether; and our old friend the devil has now assumed quite a different form.

It is no longer in matters of religion that the devil gets his own, but also in the industrial struggle for the means of subsistence. It is the cripple, the weakling, the "too old at forty," who are his victims of today as, likewise, that vast army of unemployed, who form the reserve on which the capitalists can call in times of strike.

Then, Satanic one, claim as thine own those poor, immolated victims of the religion of the flesh, who by the force of economic conditions over which they have no control have had to sell all that makes life dear for a mess of pottage.

Hell is not below, nor beyond, nor in "the life to come," but here in this life, in this world, not always known by that name perhaps, but always in fact the same, and across its portals might as truly be written (as over the door of the fabled Hell): "Abandon hope all ye who enter here;" for there does the "devil" (who is known as the "taskmaster") rule supreme, there none may say him nay, for whosoever dares rebel will find himself or herself inside a dark and padded room, with a waistcoat on like the path of virtue—"straight."

The Christian marriage service says that not till death do them part, shall man and wife be put asunder; but they forget the Relieving Officer is there to usurp the function of death. Our present method of caring for the aged and helpless is quite in conformity with our present grab-all system; it is part and parcel of it, and it will only go when the worker realises that it is only by expropriation that he will be able to turn the robber from his workshops and his mills, claiming the products of toil for the toilers. Then will that modern Bastille, the workhouse, totter to the ground, fitting emblem as it is of "Man's inhumanity to man."

M. KAVANAGH.

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