

INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LETTER FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

TRANSMITTING

IN RESPONSE TO A SENATE RESOLUTION OF OCTOBER 17, 1919, A REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AGAINST PERSONS ADVISING ANARCHY, SEDITION, AND THE FORCIBLE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT



NOVEMBER 17, 1919.—Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary
and ordered to be printed

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1919

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., November 15, 1919.

SIR: I have the honor to send you, herewith, a report upon the activities of the Bureau of Investigation of this department, in response to the Senate Resolution No. 213 of October 14, 1919, adopted October 17.

Very respectfully,

A. MITCHELL PALMER,
Attorney General.

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

NOVEMBER 14, 1919.

To the SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

I hereby acknowledge receipt of, and make response to, Senate resolution No. 213 of October 14, 1919, adopted October 17, 1919, which said resolution reads as follows:

Resolved, That the Attorney General of the United States is requested to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken legal proceedings, and if not, why not, and if so, to what extent, for the arrest and punishment of the various persons within the United States who during recent days and weeks and for a considerable time continuously previous thereto, it is alleged, have attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States; who, it is alleged, have preached anarchy and sedition; who, it is alleged, have advised the defiance of law and authority, both by the printing and circulation of printed newspapers, books, pamphlets, circulars, stickers, and dodgers, and also by spoken word; and who, in like manner, it is alleged, have advised and openly advocated the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property in pursuance of a deliberate plan and purpose to destroy existing property rights and to impede and obstruct the conduct of business essential to the prosperity and life of the community.

Also, the Attorney General is requested to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken legal proceedings for the arrest and deportation of aliens who, it is alleged, have, within the United States, committed the acts aforesaid. And if not, why not; and if so, to what extent.

As I understand this resolution, you request the history of my activities against persons who, it is alleged, have:

1. Attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States.
2. Preached anarchy and sedition.
3. Advised the defiance of law and authority (*a*) by printing and circulating literature, etc.; (*b*) by spoken word.
4. Advised and openly advocated the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property, in pursuance of a deliberate plan and purpose to destroy existing property rights and to impede and obstruct the conduct of business essential to the prosperity and life of the community: (*a*) By printing and circulating literature, etc.; (*b*) by spoken word.
5. Being aliens, committed the acts aforesaid.

In order that I may respond fully to your resolution as above analyzed, I beg to discuss the subject from the standpoints as follows:

1. The condition of our legislation.
2. The deportation of aliens.
3. General activities of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

THE CONDITION OF OUR LEGISLATION.

ESPIONAGE ACT.

The espionage act (being an act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917, as amended by an act of May 16, 1918) might possibly be invoked against seditious utterances and acts, but I have felt that it was limited to acts and utterances which tended to weaken the waging of actual hostilities. This view seems to be generally accepted, even by Senator Poindexter, who introduced this resolution, and who, in Senate bill 3090, introduced by him, seeks its repeal. Four other bills, to wit, House bill 238, introduced by Mr. LaGuardia; Senate bill 81, introduced by Senator La Follette; House bill 1697, introduced by Mr. Voigt; and Senate bill 1233, introduced by Senator France, all seeking the same repeal.

Nevertheless, I have caused to be brought several test prosecutions in order to obtain the final ruling of our courts as to the espionage law and its application to acts committed since the cessation of the activities of our armed forces.

Our general statutes as to treason and rebellion, in my opinion, do not apply to the present radical activities.

The only remaining existing statute possibly applicable is section 6, Federal Penal Code of 1910, as follows:

SEC. 6. If two or more persons, in any State or Territory, or in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, conspire to overthrow, put down, or to destroy by force the Government of the United States, or to levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the United States contrary to the authority thereof, they shall each be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than six years, or both.

This act, of course, does not cover individual activities and it is incumbent upon the Government to prove conspiracy to use force against the Government as such, and this practically destroys its usefulness in dealing with the present radical situation, even under its most favorable interpretation. However, I caused the following test case to be brought in order to obtain an interpretation of the extent of the usefulness of this statute.

The El Ariete Society was an anarchistic organization in operation in Buffalo, N. Y. Three of its members were indicted there under section 6, for circulating a manifesto in Spanish, a translation of which is hereto attached and marked "Exhibit 2."

Said manifesto, as a whole, clearly constitutes an appeal to the proletariat to arise and destroy the Government of the United States by force and substitute Bolshevism or anarchy in place thereof. It calls for "the proletariat of all countries to unite to precipitate the revolution." "For all of us who suffer the evils of servitude join in the conflict." "To attack the State directly and assail it without hesitation or compunction." It threatens the officers of the Government as follows:

Cauntbals, your hour of reckoning has arrived. You have fattened before having your throats cut like hogs. You haven't lived and consequently can

not die decently like men. You are at your wits' end at the prospect of millions of human beings everywhere rising and not only asking but demanding and executing vengeance for the promotion of your usurped interests. Yes, they will overwhelm you. We are convinced that rebellion is the noble vindication of slaves; that from generation to generation the shameful reproach of slavery has now come. Make way for Bolshevism, for the department of labor, mines, railways, fields, factories, and shops. Let the Soviets be organized promptly. The ideal is not converted into fact until it has come to consciousness, after having been acquired by the sacrifice of innumerable voluntary victims. Dear reader, man or woman, whoever you may be, the era of social vindication has arrived; do not remain passive; root out once for all superstition; forward, forward, at once, for the time for parleying with wolves of the chamber and the amphibious creatures of the swamps has passed.

Proclaim yourself openly an anarchist. Let the revolution come. Hail to the immaculate and redeeming anarchy.

On July 24, 1919, the case came before Judge Hazel, of the western district of New York, on motion to dismiss the indictment. After hearing counsel, the court dismissed the case and discharged the defendant. A copy of the court's opinion is hereto attached and marked "Exhibit No. 3."

In his opinion the court, after citing section 6, said:

I do not believe that the acts and deeds set forth in the indictment and the evidence given in support of it establish an offense such as this section which I have just read contemplates.

This provision of the law was proposed in 1861, when this country was in strife with the Southern States, and when it was sought to put down conspiracies in various States of the Union to overthrow the Government and put it down by force—it was then this statute was passed, and Congress in passing it did not have in mind, in my judgment, the overthrowing of the Government, putting it down, or destroying by force by the use of propaganda such as we have been considering here.

The manifesto in evidence contains many objectional phrases—phrases of disloyalty, phrases which are seditious—but it also contains much reading matter prefatory to the objectional passages, which are not in violation of any statute to which my attention has been called.

The manifesto contains a dissertation on historical wrongs asserted to have been committed by kings, monarchs, and other potentates against the workingman, first, in the pagan period, and later under the guise of Christianity, and seems to dwell upon revolutions in the field of labor brought about by inventions in the arts and sciences; in sarcastic terms and scornful allusions belittle our democracy and form of government; claims that capital in this country oppresses labor; is abusive of the officials of the Government; advocating a soviet government; that is, a government by class, commonly known as the workers or proletariat of the country as distinguished from middle or property-owning class, and at the end of the document, and other places, it advocates anarchy, and advocates the destruction of the institutions of society, but there is nothing contained in it that advocates the destruction of society by the use of violence, and it is open to the construction that it was designed to be sent out for the purpose of bringing about a change in the Government by propaganda—by written documents.

Of course, the manifesto is to be highly condemned. In this country we believe in democracy, we have been successful under it, and we are thoroughly satisfied with it; we are opposed to anarchy—and by that term is meant a Government without a ruler—no Government at all.

In the Century Dictionary we find the definition of anarchy to be, "the state of society in which there is no capable supreme power, and in which the several functions of the State are performed badly, or not at all; social and political confusion."

An anarchist is defined to be, "one who advocates anarchy, or absence of government as a political ideal; a believer in anarchic theory of society."

In the popular use—that is, the manner in which the term was used in this case—it is meant, "one who seeks to overthrow by violence or external force the institutions of society and government, all law and order, and seize property with the purpose of establishing another system of government in the place of that destroyed."

Huxley defines the term and says, "Anarchy is a term of political philosophy and must be taken in the proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or crime."

In this case we have to deal with anarchy that has to do with disorder and crime, and my view is that this provision of the statutes under which indictment was found does not make it an offense to circulate or distribute literature of this kind.

A penal statute ordinarily is to be strictly construed. The rule of the law on that subject is that a strict construction is required, except where it can be fairly ascertained what the intent of Congress was in enacting the law.

I do not think that Congress, when it enacted this law, had in mind such situation as that—had in mind the circulation of literature such as this; I do not think, giving the provisions a fair interpretation, that it embraces any such offense as this at all. There may be a statute of the United States which makes it a crime for any person to conspire for the circulation of literature of this character, but my attention has not been called to it.

I might state, however, that upon the failure of the prosecution under this decision, the entire record was placed by me before the Commissioner of Immigration and that deportation of the individuals involved therein, who happened to be aliens, was recommended.

Taking up and considering the different classes of alleged radical activities as set forth in the resolution in the light of existing criminal statutes (exclusive of the espionage act) I beg to advise you:

1. Those who have "attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States" have committed no crime unless their acts amount to treason, rebellion, or seditious conspiracy. This is defined in sections 1, 4, and 6 of the criminal code above quoted.

2. The preaching of anarchy and sedition is not a crime under the general criminal statutes of the United States.

3. Advising the defiance of law is not a crime under the general criminal laws, whether the same be done by printing and circulating literature or by the spoken word.

4. Nor is the advising and openly advocating the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property a crime under the United States general statutes.

I might state that this opinion has been formed by me only after consultation with and advice from the leading criminal lawyers of the country.

On June 14, 1919, I appeared before the Judiciary Committee or subcommittee thereof, at its request, and outlined the conditions that confronted us. I then recommended that legislation be passed which would make sedition and seditious utterances and publications a crime, whether committed by an individual or by two or more in conspiracy. Such legislation has never been enacted by Congress.

I felt, however, that Congress was fully aware of the condition in the country, and that this was shown by the introduction of some 70 bills bearing upon the situation, which are now pending undisposed of by Congress. They are as follows:

Senate bills 33, 156, 1216, 1327, 3206, 3090, 2896, 2604, 2549, 2524, 2430, 2321, 2099, 2098, 2097, 2096, 1720, 1686, 1567, 1515, 1472, 1444, 1443, 34, 69, 81, 106, 159, 28, 204, 3222, 3233, 3297.

House bills 9782, 9779, 9623, 9594, 9416, 8572, 7877, 6750, 6557, 6545, 6514, 5642, 5645, 5644, 5643, 5640, 5212, 4643, 3473, 1440, 1106, 1240,

1347, 1107, 563, 405, 61, 9949, 9975, 10010, 10066, 10210, 10234, 10235, 10379, 10155.

House resolution 865.

I hesitate to add to the number of these bills, but your resolution seems to imply a request that I submit a proposed draft of a bill which in my judgment is adequate to cover the situation without infringing upon the constitutional rights of freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

I therefore submit for your consideration a proposed bill, to be entitled "A bill defining sedition, the promotion thereof, providing punishment therefor, and for other purposes," a copy of which is hereto attached, marked "Exhibit No. 1."

I venture to suggest that the Congress of the United States recommend to the several States the enactment of similar statutes, so that the services of the law-enforcing machinery of the several States may be availed of to meet the present intolerable situation.

Many States, however, have already passed such acts, namely, California, Indiana, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, and West Virginia.

Copies of these States' laws are hereto attached and marked "Exhibit No. 4."

The several States through their law-enforcing machinery have at their command infinitely greater forces than the United States Government for detecting and punishing these seditious acts. For example, New York City alone has over 12,000 policemen, all of whom are charged with the duty of investigation, and the district attorney of New York County has a force of over 50 prosecuting attorneys, while under the appropriation granted by Congress to the Department of Justice the maximum number of men engaged in the prosecution of the violation of all United States laws by the Department of Justice is limited to about 500 for the entire United States.

DEPORTATION.

In the second paragraph of your resolution of October 14, 1919, I am requested to advise and inform you whether or not this department has taken any legal proceedings for the arrest and deportation of aliens who, it is alleged, have within the United States committed the acts set forth in the first paragraph of your resolution.

The sections of the immigration law applicable to the deportation of aliens committing acts enumerated in paragraph 1 of your resolution are to be found in the act of Congress approved October 16, 1918, amending the immigration laws of the United States:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That aliens who are anarchists; aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; aliens who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or that entertains or teaches disbelief in or opposition to all organized government, or that advocates the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States, or of any other organized

Government, because of his or their official character, or that advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property shall be excluded from admission into the United States.

SEC. 2. That any alien who, at any time after entering the United States, is found to have been at the time of entry, or to have become thereafter, a member of any one of the classes of aliens enumerated in section 1 of this act, shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the immigration act of February 5, 1917. The provisions of this section shall be applicable to the classes of aliens mentioned in this act irrespective of the time of their entry into the United States:

The administration of this law is entirely within the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor.

However, under the existing conditions of our laws, it seemed to be the only means at my disposal of attacking the radical movement and, as Congress had seen fit to refuse appropriations to the Department of Labor for its enforcement, I have cooperated with the immigration officials to the fullest extent.

My appropriation became available July 19, 1919.

Detailed instructions were immediately issued to all agents of my department, setting forth the requirements necessary to satisfy the Immigration Bureau in a deportation case, and much has been accomplished under such instructions.

I annex hereto a copy of these instructions, marked "Exhibit No. 5," in order that you may understand that under the immigration law each deportation case must be established and proved as in any criminal prosecution.

The accused is entitled to hearings, to be admitted to bail, writs of habeas corpus, and to appeals even to our highest courts, so that it may well be a matter of months before any specific case can be completed.

As examples of the detailed preparation necessary in these cases, I am attaching hereto copies of the evidence prepared by the Department of Justice in the Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman cases.

Since the organization of the radical division, a more or less complete history of over 60,000 radically inclined individuals has been gathered together and classified, and a foundation for action laid either under the deportation statutes or legislation to be enacted by Congress. I should, of course, communicate to you but little of this information. However, it is at the disposal of Congress for proper and confidential use. The record in the Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman cases is marked "Exhibit No. 6" and "Exhibit No. 7."

One of the first matters receiving the attention of the radical division after its organization was the various societies in the United States adhering to anarchistic doctrines. Principal among these was the organization known as the Federation of the Union of Russian Workers. The investigations made by this department soon led it to the conclusion that this organization was formed for the sole purpose of destroying all institutions of government and society. It was necessary, however, in order to prove the anarchistic nature of this organization, to secure copies of its constitution as well as copies of documents and literature published and circulated by it. It is impossible for me to set forth the methods by which same were secured owing to the extremely confidential nature of these investigations. After definitely establishing the fact that this organization

was anarchistic in tendency and in teachings it then became necessary to locate the officers of each of the locals and to establish their membership to this society. Again this department experienced great difficulty in establishing membership, as the members had been advised to carefully guard against information connecting them with the organization.

After thorough investigation in this matter the cases of the persons who were actively identified with the Union of Russian Workers were submitted to the Department of Labor and that department issued warrants for the arrest of these persons. On November 7, 1919, simultaneous arrests of over 250 officers and members were made in 12 different cities of the United States upon the warrants issued by the Secretary of Labor charging these persons with advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

I am attaching hereto, marked as "Exhibits Nos. 8 and 9," two translations of publications issued by the Federation of the Union of Russian Workers, one entitled "Manifesto of Anarchists-Communists," and the second "Fundamental Principles," which clearly indicate the purpose of this organization and which justify the drastic action taken by this department in the matter.

PUBLICATIONS.

One of the most potent and far-reaching influences in stirring up discontent, race prejudice, and class hatred in this country is the large number of radical newspapers and other publications which are given wide circulation. Many of these publications frankly urge the overthrow of the Government. The editors of these papers and the writers of these books have a subtle way of placing this propaganda before their readers. But the reader understands what is meant.

There are 222 radical newspapers published in foreign languages in this country at the present time, and 105 radical newspapers published in the English language. In addition, 144 radical newspapers published in foreign countries are received and distributed to subscribers here. This number does not include the hundreds of books, pamphlets, and other publications which also receive wide circulation, many of them published in foreign languages. The number of these radical publications and the language in which they are printed follows:

Armenian	1
Bohemian	9
Bulgarian	3
Croatian	4
Danish	4
Estonian	1
Finnish	11
French	1
German	21
Greek	2
Hungarian	23
Italian	27
Jewish	20
Lettish	11
Portuguese	1

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Roumanian	16
Slovenian	8
Spanish	8
Lithuanian	15
Polish	7
Swedish	6
Ukrainian	8
Yiddish	15
Total	222
Papers published in foreign countries	144
English papers in the United States	108
Total	240
Grand total	471

All of these radical publications are read and translated by the Department of Justice in cooperation with the Post Office Department. A force of 40 translators, readers, and assistants is employed for this purpose, and daily reports are received on the radical articles that appear. It may be interesting to point out here that the I. W. W. now circulates 13 papers printed in the English language and 19 papers printed in foreign languages.

These newspapers and publications, more than any other one thing, perhaps, are responsible for the spread of the Bolshevik, revolutionary, and extreme radical doctrines in this country. Every effort is made to get them into the hands of persons who it is believed will be swayed by their teachings. The reader or subscriber of a radical newspaper uses his paper not only for his own information but as a means of propaganda to educate his fellow workman and inoculate him with the doctrine of anarchism, communism, and radical socialism, and thus enlist his services in the revolution.

The radical foreign language press during the war was kept in check by means of the espionage act, approved June 15, 1917, and amended May 16, 1918, the purpose of which was to protect the interests of the United States in prosecution of the war. While the Post Office Department, through a rigid enforcement of this act, was able to prevent the dissemination of propaganda directed against the Government through the mails, the publishers of these newspapers and publications found other ways to get this propaganda into the hands of their readers.

This act, however, was essentially a war legislation and was not drawn with the present radical movement in contemplation, nor is there any existing law to-day which provides an effective means to prevent the dissemination of radical publications by means of which it is sought to create a social and industrial revolution and forcibly overthrow the Government of the United States and establish, if possible, a so-called dictatorship of the proletariat.

The radical press has adopted the expedient of using the express companies for the transmission of their papers. These papers are being sent in bulk to cities all over the United States to be distributed by hand. From the date of the signing of the armistice, a wave of radicalism appears to have swept over the country which is best evidenced by the fact that since that date approximately 50 radical newspapers have commenced publication. A large number of these papers openly advocate the destruction of the United States

Government and encourage and advise their readers to prepare for the coming revolution. It is also a noticeable fact that a great many of these publications are practically devoid of advertising matter, which indicates that they are receiving money from outside sources to further their propaganda.

Section 19 of the trading with the enemy act, approved October 6, 1917, provided that—

It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, corporation, or association, to print, publish, or circulate, or cause to be printed, published, or circulated in any foreign language, any news item, editorial, or other printed matter, respecting the Government of the United States, or of any nation engaged in the present war, its policies, international relations, the state or conduct of the war, or any matter relating thereto: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to any print, newspaper, or publication where the publisher or distributor thereof, on or before offering the same for mailing, or in any manner distributing it to the public, has filed with the postmaster at the place of publication, in the form of an affidavit, a true and complete translation of the entire article containing such matter proposed to be published in such print, newspaper, or publication, and has caused to be printed, in plain type in the English language, at the head of each item, editorial, or other matter, on each copy of such print, newspaper, or publication, the words "True translation filed with the postmaster, etc."

This section of the law was rigidly enforced. This act is also war-time legislation and expires upon the termination of the war. It has given an insight into the character of the foreign language press that could not possibly have been obtained by any other means.

Upon the expiration of this act the foreign language press will no longer be put to the necessity of filing translations and will be given the long-sought opportunity to publish radical propaganda of a more violent character, without being held accountable for its publication or distribution. The Government of the United States will therefore be confronted with an extremely difficult and serious problem in dealing with this propaganda upon the expiration of these laws unless some effective means are found to prevent the publication and distribution of matter of this character aimed at the destruction of the Government itself.

Practically all of the radical organizations in this country have looked upon the Negroes as particularly fertile ground for the spreading of their doctrines. These radical organizations have endeavored to enlist Negroes on their side, and in many respects have been successful. Attached will be found a report recently made to me by my bureau of investigation upon this branch of radical activity. The report is marked "Exhibit No. 10."

A few copies of radical and Negro newspapers taken from our files with cartoons and articles marked, are appended, in order that you may understand their general trend. They are marked "Exhibit No. 11."

I have caused a number of other lines of activities to be pursued by my department which from the confidential nature thereof I can not disclose at this time.

Respectfully submitted.

A. MITCHELL PALMER,
Attorney General.

EXHIBIT No. 1.

A BILL Defining sedition, the promoting thereof, providing punishment therefor, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: Sedition: Whoever, with the intent to levy war against the United States, or to cause the change, overthrow, or destruction of the Government or of any of the laws or authority thereof, or to cause the overthrow or destruction of all forms of law or organized government, or to oppose, prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or the free performance by the United States Government or any one of its officers, agents or employees, of its or his public duty, commits, or attempts, or threatens to commit, any act of force against any person or any property, or any act of terrorism, hate, revenge, or injury against the person or property of any officer, agent, or employee of the United States, shall be deemed guilty of sedition, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$10,000, or by imprisonment for a period not exceeding twenty years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 2. Promoting sedition: Whoever makes, displays, writes, prints, or circulates, or knowingly aids or abets the making, displaying, writing, printing, or circulating, of any sign, word, speech, picture, design, argument, or teaching, which advises, advocates, teaches, or justifies any act of sedition as hereinbefore defined, or any act which tends to indicate sedition as hereinbefore defined, or organizes or assists, or joins in the organization of, or becomes or remains a member of, or affiliated with, any society or organization, whether the same be formally organized or not, which has for its object, in whole or in part, the advising, advocating, teaching, or justifying any act of sedition as hereinbefore defined, or the inciting of sedition as hereinbefore defined, shall be deemed guilty of promoting sedition, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$10,000 or by imprisonment of not exceeding ten years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. Aliens to be deported: Any alien who shall be convicted under any of the provisions of this act shall, at the expiration of his sentence, be taken into custody under the warrant of the Secretary of Labor and deported in the manner provided by the immigration laws of the United States then in force, and said alien shall forever thereafter be debarred from again entering the United States or any Territory or possession thereof.

SEC. 4. Denaturalization and subsequent deportation: The conviction, under any of the provisions of this act, of any naturalized citizen shall be deemed sufficient to authorize the cancellation of his or her certificate of naturalization in the manner provided by section 15 of the naturalization act of June 29, 1906. It shall be the duty of the United States attorney in the district where said naturalized citizen is held in custody or resides to institute and conduct such proceedings immediately upon the entry of final judgment of conviction. Upon the cancellation of the certificate of naturalization, the alien shall become subject to the provisions of section 3 of this act.

SEC. 5. The Department of Justice shall furnish the Secretary of Labor such data as will enable him at the proper time to effect the deportation of those made subject thereto by the provisions of this act.

EXHIBIT No. 2.

MANIFESTO.

Let us go forth to meet it.

The moment for the settlement of accounts has come. Let the proletariat of all countries unite to precipitate the revolution and obtain by its own forces what it has so long desired.

We all know that we all have a right to the banquet of life and we propose to take our place without the permission of those who without any right have made themselves masters of the social edifice.

The conflict which has been carried on since remote ages between capital and labor is the war of the classes, the warfare of hunger against affluence, the struggle of the slave against the master, that of the weak against the strong; and all of us who suffer the evils of servitude should join in the conflict.

Neutrality in these moments of sublime abnegation is the denial of our claim to civilization. We all know our common enemy; it is the league formed of the three elements, state, bourgeoisie, and religion; its support is the state, and we should attack the state directly and assail it without hesitation or compunction whatever.

The life of the governments is soiled with the blood of the proletariat, and they are destined to go to the tomb bathed in the same blood, driven by canine hydrophobia. Oh, governments! Associations of corruption, dens of assassins, adulterers of purity, deformers of angelic innocence, sensibility, virtue, and honesty; I demand of the spirits of light for culture, art, literature, and science, the solidarity of the human ideal, mutual support among all human beings, without distinction of races or frontiers, as international as are the principal elements of life—air, sun, the sea, and the earth * * *.

Sacred redeeming ideal, which illuminates the clouds, and sheds its fecundating rays like the sun's generous heat; sublime ideal which offers a prosperous and infinite robustness to life, dignified and purified by the balm, the fragrance, the delight of free love, saturated and fortified by its germs of maternity, which is pure liberty, product of the needs procreated by the evolution of marvelous nature itself. Yes; you know it already, functionaries of the State, directors and pompous, officious asses, wind-bag rhetoricians, lackeys of the needy, vicious, frivolous, and lascivious lineages of wretches, selected castes of gentlemen swindlers, counts, marquises, princes, etc., mad plague of executioners, you who form the aristocracy, controllers, and monopolizers of other peoples' rights, rights which nature, the common mother, conferred upon the whole human race for the normal life and development of every human being. Miserable cut-throats, all gentlemen and lackeys, fed and refreshed by the blood of the peoples! Cannibals, your hour of reckoning has arrived. You have fattened before having your throats cut like hogs. You haven't lived and consequently can not die decently like men. Crazy by

the horrible guilt for so many crimes, your last hour impends over you. You are already aware that the social question besets you, besieges you, and in your offices you are at your wits' ends at the prospect of millions of human beings everywhere rising and not only asking but demanding and executing vengeance for these holocausts of assassination which you have committed for the promotion of your usurped interests. Don't you suppose that so many thousands of martyrs whom you sacrificed for the only fault of thinking freely and the millions of youths whom you caused to be slaughtered in Europe will be witnesses of your abominable crimes and will bear down upon you and crush you? Yes; they will overwhelm you. We are convinced that rebellion is the noble vindication of slaves, that from generation to generation the shameful reproach of slavery has come to its last days which we can now count; but the strife between capital and labor has never been so intense as now, and we are indeed certain that capital will be defeated, for the simple reason that it has no independent basis of existence, and all that is without its own source of vitality and has become decrepit dies.

In Europe capital has fallen, never to rise; the capitalists themselves confess it, because they can not deny it. We in America also have our hopes (and those stand who do not die of fear) that the renovating and regenerating ideas will be welcomed and will soon produce the desired fruit, rich and luxuriant fruit, for the circumstances are propitious for obtaining the success of the just desires of the great culmination of human liberation.

We can not believe that the American proletariat, in spite of the deep roots which the political teachings have thrown into its mind, will remain indifferent to the transcendental occurrences which are shaking the tranquillity of all that is old, routinary, and anachronistic, to which as unjust and useless we wish everlasting subversion.

We can not believe that they will consent to live longer like cowards and imbeciles under the yoke of barbarity, injustice, confusion, and pillage, of sleepless nights, vigils, and burdens for arbitrary and deceptive religions and interests of fatherlands, which for the workers, in spite of the latter forming the armies and the producers, have no existence.

Make way for Bolshevism. For the departments of labor, mines, railways, fields, factories, and shops. Let the soviets be organized promptly. Between Bolshevism and anarchy there is as much difference as between the yard and the meter.

The revolution.—The ideal is not converted into fact until it has come to consciousness, after having been acquired by the sacrifice of innumerable voluntary victims.

E. RECLUS.

(From *Man and the Earth*.)

From the time of the first social injustices, which had their origin in the first brutality of the strong against the weak, politics gave their sanction whenever the strong and astute combined together to form a government.

It was the principle of the herd, superiors and inferiors, those who commanded and those who obeyed. From that time the ambition has continued to develop for power and property over the tribe or class.

The pride of the chieftain has led to the development of arbitrary and egotistical impositions; in proportion as the contingents increased, the States became great, and as a greater misfortune, the chieftains, acquiring power over the majorities, to obtain greater prestige, invented the fiction of religions and made them respected willingly or by force. In proportion as the power of the chieftains, becoming ever more imperialistic, increased in strength, the religious mythology became more and more positive and mandatory, inculcating the worship of fetiches of stone as being deities with capacity to provide the means of life and to give victory in battles.

In the course of time the accursed ambition of the chieftains, now called kings, became ever more unrestrained. But rebellions arose against these cruel tyrannies, and when the different regions became independent of one another, each region or tribe took a colored piece of cloth, called a flag, as symbol of its common honor.

We may say common honor in the plural sense, or the collective sense, in the national sense, as at present it is used in the patriotic sense.

But the advantages gained, whether of extensions of territory and inhabitants, were always for the profit of the orders, and became the property of the chief, and the herd, without any personality, possessed only the right of being obedient to the orders of the chief and devoted to the fetiches which they had made it believe were the representatives of the deity which sent the light of the sun, and bestowed the food, and inspired valor to be victorious in battle, as history relates of Charlemagne, the restorer of the Roman Empire of the West. Twenty centuries before Christ there had appeared Mithras, who, like Christ, was represented as a worker of miracles, although in reality they never saw him perform any; likewise Mahomet, and Buddha; in short, there have been a great number of religions, each with its omnipotent god, maker of the sky and earth, punisher and rewarder of men. In reality God never punished any sinner for the very good reason that the only sinners in the world have been His ministers. In His name they have laid hands on the government of the earth and of the fortune of the unfortunate herds, which have always formed phalanxes of toiling slaves, the producers of social wealth.

From these remote times down to our era there has been a never-ending change of Governments, and in spite of the fact that the Governments have separated from the church, they have understood perfectly well that they could not live long without the support of religion, and to-day it may be affirmed that the Government is the body of society, capitalism is the stomach, and religion is the soul.

Throughout the 25 or 30 centuries down to our days humanity has passed through a veritable Calvary of inexpressible vicissitudes without having had the advantage of a revolution to emancipate the crucified people. The people, deprived of the right of a scientific and rational education, has submitted like a flock of sheep to the orders of tyrants masquerading with the designations of honor and nobleness. It is true that intellectuals like Gutenberg, with the invention of printing; Copernicus, with the discovery of the rotation of the earth, denying the tradition that Joshua made the sun stand still; Newton, with the discovery of the law of gravitation; Kepler, Galilei;

Christopher Columbus, with the discovery of the New World; Fulton, with the invention of the steam engine; and many other intellectual workers whom it is not necessary to name, have created a veritable revolution for the good of humanity.

Machinery has directly benefited the economic usurpers, throwing every time more laborers in the street. Now, as in the Middle Ages, bands of laborers, ragged and hungry, without shelter, falling from faintness, literally dying of hunger and cold, naked, in the great cities, in the midst of the enormous accumulations of wealth of every description, the product of the labor of these herds of unfortunates, we are the victims of the unjust laws, which stamp upon our foreheads the seal of inferiority, as though we were an amorphous and inorganic mass. Let the people continue believing in the laws. They are the crucible in which iniquity is cast, the bulwark protecting all the vampires that feed on the blood of the producers of social wealth.

In speaking of the legal rights incorporated in the law and the liberty conceded by the Governments, we are face to face with the consequences of the policy which has brought us to the apex of the conclusions.

✓ In the United States of America the great democratic Republic rules.

Democracy means government of the people and by the people. The people is sovereign, then; let us see. Here the primary schools are obligatory; the fathers of families are driven by the lash of exaggerated exploitation and are gradually used up by misery and weariness; while the children with wasted countenances go to school to learn only to read the vulgarities of corrupt society. There awaits them at the school a school mistress prepared to inculcate Catholic mythology, military exercises, and the homage due to the flag, etc. This, forsooth, is democracy!

There is no liberty of speech or press here or of anything else worthy of mention; autocracy alone reigns; it is the true condition of modern slavery. Against freedom of thought there are formed inquisitorial processes with their torments, as in autocratic Russia under the Tsars and in inquisitorial Spain; the five prosecuting attorneys ask the tribunals to shut their eyes to reason and pronounce judgment without pity. This is the so-called democracy!

Those shut up in the prison houses of the tyranny of democracy are employed in forced labors, and thousands of the condemned are turned over to feudal proprietors.

Is this democracy? It is the democracy of 29 tigers with religious scapularies hung about their necks; 29 tigers with human forms are the masters of the United States. Upon their inhuman instincts depend the fate of millions of human beings condemned to the monotonous and systematic life of living exclusively for work. This is democracy. Augustus, Theodosius, and Nero, governors of the Roman Empire; Queen Isabella, the Catholic, and her successors, the Philips—all those fateful types have been disinterred and here in America exercise authority under other names. Oh, if these are now terrified by their abominable and cruel deeds, they know perfectly well that all their institutions have reached their limit. They with their egotism have raised the wrath and fired the torch of the revolution of vengeance of the humble and enslaved classes against the power of the unjust Roman dogma and code.

Dear reader, man or woman, whoever you may be, the era of social vindication has arrived; do not remain passive, overthrow popular errors, root out once for all superstition; forward, forward; at once; for the time for parleying with the wolves of the chamber and the amphibious creatures of the swamps has passed.

Proclaim yourself openly an anarchist; make your brain a formidable battering ram, capable of destroying all the institutions of society with all the tyrants who sustain them with their Machiavellian policies.

The great social revolution is already under way; it is the apocalyptic call proclaiming for all the unfortunate and disinherited of the universal patrimony a place in the academy, in the university, and at the banquet of life for all, with equal rights and equal duties. To work! Every day's delay is a link added to the chain of slavery. Let the revolution come. Hail to the immaculate and redeeming anarchy. Courage high!

For the anarchistic group (battering-ram or butting group):

ARIETE.

NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.

NOTE.—Every intellectual may collaborate with the people, and if he so desires, he may be admitted as a master, but not to become a chief, because all the delights of chieftainship only lead to tyrannies.

EXHIBIT No. 3.

RULING OF THE COURT ON MOTION TO DISMISS THE INDICTMENT, IN THE CASE OF UNITED STATES v. JOSE ASO, ET AL., TRIED AT THE CITY OF JAMESTOWN, N. Y., JULY 17 TO 24, 1919. (EXHIBIT B.)

By the court: There is always a grave responsibility resting upon the court before a case is finally submitted to a jury. The jury, true enough, are the determining factors of the evidence; it is their duty to ascertain what the truth is, and when the witnesses have testified diametrically opposite to each other, the responsibility rests upon them to determine who has testified to the truth, and this, oftentimes, is a very difficult thing to do. Jurors are not mind readers, and the only way they have of ascertaining whether a witness has testified to the truth fully, or not, is to take into consideration the interest which he has in the outcome of the controversy or in its prosecution, the manner of testifying—whether clearly or hesitatingly and with embarrassment. These are the earmarks by which a jury may obtain some idea as to the truthfulness of the narrative.

Primarily the duty rests on the court to explain and expound the law to the jury, and also to determine at the close of the case whether sufficient evidence had been adduced to justify submitting the case to the jury. The court is not a mere moderator to see that both sides properly conduct the proceedings, but the responsibility rests upon it to determine whether sufficient evidence has been adduced in the prosecution on the part of the Government to submit the controversy to the jury for its decision.

It may be that when the Government finished its side of the case, and the motion was made by defendants to direct a verdict in their favor, it should have been acceded to. I did not accede to it at that time, because I thought it would not be improper to ascertain the attitude of these different defendants, who are charged with a grave offense, and furthermore to give opportunity for ascertaining their state of mind at the time it is claimed by the Government this conspiracy in question was formed and overt acts committed in carrying it out.

Now both sides have rested, and a motion is made by defendants on two grounds: The first is, that there can be no conviction, under any circumstances, of these defendants, simply because the statute under which the indictment was found does not include the specific offenses with which they are charged. Second, that the evidence adduced on the part of the Government is insufficient to prove a conspiracy such as the indictment alleges.

I will pass on the ground first stated.

The statute reads as follows:

If two or more persons in any State, or Territory or any other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, conspire to overthrow, put down or destroy by force the Government of the United States, or levy war against them, or oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take or possess any property of the United States, contrary to the authority thereof, they shall each be fined not more than five thousand dollars, or imprisoned not more than six years, or both.

I do not believe that the acts and deeds set forth in the indictment, and the evidence given in support of it establish an offense such as this section which I have just read contemplates.

This provision of the law was passed in 1861, when this country was in strife with the Southern States, and when it was sought to put down conspiracies in various States of the Union to overthrow the Government and put it down by force—it was then this statute was passed, and Congress, in passing it, did not have in mind, in my judgment, the overthrowing of the Government, putting it down, or destroying by force by the use of propaganda such as we have been considering here.

The manifesto in evidence contains many objectionable phrases, phrases of disloyalty, phrases which are seditious, but it also contains much reading matter prefatory to the objectionable passages, which are not in violation of any statute to which my attention has been called.

The manifesto contains a dissertation on historical wrongs asserted to have been committed by kings, monarchs, and other potentates against the working man, first, in the pagan period, and later under the guise of Christianity, and seems to dwell upon revolutions in the field of labor brought about by inventions in the arts and sciences; in sarcastic terms and scornful allusions belittle our democracy and form of Government; claims that capital in this country oppresses labor; is abusive of the officials of the Government; advocates a soviet government—that is, a government by class, commonly known as the workers or proletariat of the country as distinguished from middle or property-owning class, and at the end of the document, and other places, it advocates anarchy, and advocates the destruction

of the institutions of society, but there is nothing contained in it that advocates the destruction of society by the use of violence, and it is open to the construction that it was designed to be sent out for the purpose of bringing about a change in the Government by propaganda—by written documents.

Of course, the manifesto is to be highly condemned. In this country we believe in democracy, we have been successful under it, and we are thoroughly satisfied with it; we are opposed to anarchy—and by that term is meant a government without a ruler—no government at all.

In the Century Dictionary we find the definition of anarchy to be:

The state of society in which there is no capable supreme power, and in which the several functions of the state are performed badly, or not at all; social and political confusion.

An anarchist is defined to be:

One who advocates anarchy, or absence of government as a political ideal; a believer in anarchic theory of society.

In the popular use—that is, the manner in which the term was used in this case—it is meant:

One who seeks to overthrow by violence or external force the institutions of society and government, all law and order, and seize property with the purpose of establishing another system of government in the place of that destroyed.

Huxley defines the term and says:

Anarchy is a term of political philosophy and must be taken in the proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or crime.

In this case we have to deal with anarchy, that has to do with disorder and crime, and my view is that this provision of the statutes under which the indictment was found does not make it an offense to circulate or distribute literature of this kind.

A penal statute ordinarily is to be strictly construed. The rule of the law on that subject is that a strict construction is required, except where it can be fairly ascertained what the intent of Congress was in enacting the law.

I do not think that Congress, when it enacted this law, had in mind such situations as that—had in mind the circulation of literature such as this. I do not think, giving the provisions a fair interpretation, that it embraces any such offense as this at all. There may be a statute of the United States which makes it a crime for any person to conspire for the circulation of literature of this character, but my attention has not been called to it.

In my judgment, the second ground upon which it is moved to dismiss the indictment must prevail, and would have prevailed, at the close of the Government's case, if it had then been urged. The indictment was demurred to, true enough, but did not specifically bring out that point. It was argued that the indictment was defective and insufficient, because it failed to allege the overthrow or destruction of the Government by force; and it was the view of the court at that time that, inasmuch as certain overt acts were set forth which implied force, that the evidence should be taken, reserving other questions until the close of the trial.

I think that the Government has failed to prove a conspiracy under the statute in question.

Conspiracy is a combination by two or more persons to do some unlawful act, either by lawful or unlawful means, and I think the evidence is entirely insufficient to show that there was a concert of action between the alleged conspirators.

It is not shown that the defendants announced any of these anarchistic statements set forth in the manifesto. It was not shown that any of them read it or were aware of its contents before their arrest; it was not shown that they had predilections toward such a subject. It was not shown that there was any incitement by them or others to join them, or that they affiliated with persons having such views. They were not shown to have any direct or substantial connection with the printing of the manifesto, or with causing it to be brought to the house of this man Rodriguez; and, I think, in order to establish the claim of conspiracy under this statute, assuming it applies it was necessary for the Government to go further than it did, and, gentlemen of the jury, in my opinion, there is nothing to be submitted to you. These defendants were indicted under a statute which does not embrace this particular offense.

The indictment is dismissed and the defendants are discharged.

EXHIBIT No. 4.

STATE LAWS OF CALIFORNIA, INDIANA, MICHIGAN, NEW YORK, OHIO,
PENNSYLVANIA, WASHINGTON, AND WEST VIRGINIA.

[Assembly bill No. 435, chapter 125.]

AN ACT To amend sections 182 and 184 of the Penal Code relating to criminal conspiracy.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. Section 182 of the Penal Code is hereby amended to read as follows:

182. If two or more persons conspire (1) to commit any crime; (2) falsely and maliciously to indict another for any crime, or to procure another to be charged or arrested for any crime; (3) falsely to move or maintain any suit, action, or proceeding; (4) to cheat and defraud any person of any property by any means which are in themselves criminal, or to obtain money or property by false pretenses or by false promises with fraudulent intent not to perform such promises; (5) to commit any act injurious to the public health, to public morals, or to pervert or obstruct justice, or the due administration of the laws, they are punishable as follows:

When they conspire to commit any felony, or to commit any act injurious to the public health, or to public morals, or tending to pervert or obstruct justice, or the due administration of the laws, they shall be punishable in the same manner and to the same extent as in this code provided for the punishment of the commission of the said felony or act, respectively.

When they conspire to do any of the other acts described in this section they shall be punishable by imprisonment in the county jail or State penitentiary not exceeding two years, or by a fine not ex-

ceeding five thousand dollars, or both, and cases of such conspiracy may be prosecuted and tried in the superior court of any county in which an overt act tending to effect such conspiracy shall be done.

SEC. 2. Section 184 of the Penal Code is hereby amended to read as follows:

184. No agreement amounts to a conspiracy unless some act, beside such agreement, be done within this State to effect the object thereof, by one or more of the parties to such agreement, and the trial of cases of conspiracy may be had in any county in which any such act be done.

Approved May 5, 1919.

[Assembly bill No. 131, chapter 101.]

AN ACT To add a new section to the Penal Code, to be numbered 403a, prohibiting the use of a red flag in aid of anarchistic or seditious activities.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. A new section is hereby added to the Penal Code to be numbered 403a, and to read as follows:

"403a. Any person who displays a red flag, banner, or badge, or any flag, badge, banner, or device of any color or form whatever in any public place or in any meeting place or public assembly, or from or on any house, building, or window, as a sign, symbol, or emblem of opposition to organized government or as an invitation or stimulus to anarchistic action or as an aid to propaganda that is of a seditious character is guilty of a felony."

Approved May 5, 1919.

CALIFORNIA.

[Senate bill No. 660, chapter 188.]

AN ACT Defining criminal syndicalism and sabotage, proscribing certain acts and methods in connection therewith and in pursuance thereof, and providing penalties and punishments therefor.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. The term "criminal syndicalism" as used in this act is hereby defined as any doctrine or precept advocating, teaching, or aiding and abetting the commission of crime, sabotage (which word is hereby defined as meaning willful and malicious physical damage or injury to physical property), or unlawful acts of force and violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change.

SEC. 2. Any person who (1) by spoken or written words or personal conduct advocates, teaches, or aids and abets criminal syndicalism or the duty, necessity, or propriety of committing crime, sabotage, violence, or any unlawful method of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change; or (2) willfully and deliberately by spoken or written words justifies or attempts to justify criminal syndicalism or the commission or attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to approve,

advocate, or further the doctrine of criminal syndicalism; or (3) prints, publishes, edits, issues, or circulates or publicly displays any book, paper, pamphlet, document, poster, or written or printed matter in any other form, containing or carrying written or printed advocacy, teaching, or aid and abetment of, or advising, criminal syndicalism; or (4) organizes or assists in organizing, or is or knowingly becomes a member of, any organization, society, group, or assemblage of persons organized or assembled to advocate, teach, or aid and abet criminal syndicalism; or (5) willfully, by personal act or conduct, practices or commits any act advised, advocated, taught, or aided and abetted by the doctrine or precept of criminal syndicalism, with intent to accomplish a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change, is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State prison not less than 1 nor more than 14 years.

SEC. 3. If for any reason any section, clause, or provision of this act shall by any court be held unconstitutional, then the legislature hereby declares that, irrespective of the unconstitutionality so determined of such section, clause, or provision, it would have enacted and made the law of this State all other sections, clauses, and provisions of this act.

SEC. 4. Inasmuch as this act concerns and is necessary to the immediate preservation of the public peace and safety, for the reason that at the present time large numbers of persons are going from place to place in this State advocating, teaching, and practicing criminal syndicalism, this act shall take effect upon approval by the governor.

Approved May 5, 1919.

INDIANA.

[House bill 296.]

AN ACT Making it unlawful to display or exhibit any flag, banner, or emblem symbolizing and intended to symbolize a purpose to overthrow the Government of the United States, the State of Indiana, or all government, and making it unlawful to advocate or incite the overthrow of the Government of the United States, the State of Indiana, or all government, and providing a penalty for its violation.

Whereas while liberty within the reasonable restraints of law, and the right of free speech, are among the unalienable rights of the American citizen, and no encroachment upon either should ever be tolerated, the claim to those rights should never be allowed to cover treasonable acts or utterances, the advocacy of anarchy, the overthrow of government, or the abrogation of constitutional means for the maintenance of law and order and the protection of the lives and rights of persons, or the advocacy of or the practice of sabotage; and

Whereas recent occurrences in Russia and elsewhere warn us that the toleration of such unbridled license of speech and of such practices involves great danger to civilization and to organized society and threatens a possible lapse into barbarism: Therefore

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:

SECTION 1. Prohibiting the display of certain banners, emblems: That the display or exhibition at any meeting, gathering, or parade,

public or private, of any flag, banner, or emblem symbolizing or intended by the person or persons displaying or exhibiting the same to symbolize a purpose to overthrow, by force or violence, or by physical injury to personal property, or by the general cessation of industry, the Government of the United States or (of) the State of Indiana, or all government, is hereby declared to be unlawful.

SEC. 2. Prohibiting the inciting of violence: It shall be unlawful for any person to advocate or incite or to write or with intent to forward such purpose to print, publish, sell, or distribute any document, book, circular, paper, journal, or other written or printed communication in or by which there is advocated or incited the overthrow by force or violence, or by physical injury to personal property, or by the general cessation of industry, of the Government of the United States, of the State of Indiana, or all government.

SEC. 3. Penalty for violation: That any person or persons convicted of violating any section of this act shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

(Approved March 14, 1919.)

MICHIGAN.

[Bill No. 422, introduced by Mr. Fitzgerald; House enrolled act 189.]

AN ACT Defining the crime of criminal syndicalism and prescribing punishment therefor.

The people of the State of Michigan enact:

SECTION 1. Criminal syndicalism is hereby defined as the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony punishable as in this act otherwise provided.

SEC. 2. Any person who by word of mouth or writing advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform; or prints, publishes, edits, issues, or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any book, paper, document, or written matter in any form, containing or advocating, advising, or teaching the doctrine that industrial or political reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism; or openly, willfully, and deliberately justifies by word of mouth or writing the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, spread, or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism; or organizes or helps to organize or becomes a member of or voluntarily assembles with any society, group, or assemblage of persons formed to teach or advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State prison for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both, at the discretion of the court.

NEW YORK.

ANARCHY.

160 P. L. Criminal anarchy: Criminal anarchy is the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by assassination of the executive head or of any of the executive officials of the Government or by any unlawful means. The advocacy of such doctrine either by mouth or writing is a felony.

161. P. L. Any person who, by word of mouth or writing, advocates, advises, or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of overthrowing or overturning organized government by force or violence, or by assassination of the executive head or of any of the executive officials of the Government, or by any unlawful means; or (2) prints, publishes, edits, issues, or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any book, paper, document or writing or prints matter in any form, containing or advocating, advising or teaching, the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force, violence, or any unlawful means; or (3) openly, wilfully, and deliberately justifies by word of mouth or writing the assassination or unlawful killing or assaulting of any executive or other officer of the United States or of any State or of any civilized nation having an organized government, because of his official character, or any other crime, with intent to teach, spread, or advocate the propriety of the doctrine of criminal anarchy; or (4) organizes or helps to organize or become a member of or voluntarily assembles with any society, group, or assembly of persons formed to teach or advocate such doctrine, is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

162. P. L. Assemblage of anarchists: Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrine of criminal anarchy, as defined in section 160, such an assembly is unlawful, and every person voluntarily participating therein by his presence, aid, or instigation, is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

OHIO.

[House bill No. 477.]

AN ACT Defining the crime of criminal syndicalism and prescribing punishment therefor.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

SECTION 1. That criminal syndicalism is the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage—which is defined as the malicious injury or destruction of the property of another—violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony, punishable as is in this act provided.

SEC. 2. Any person who by word of mouth or writing advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing indus-

trial or political reform; or prints, publishes, edits, issues, or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any book, paper, document, or written matter in any form, containing or advocating, advising, or teaching the doctrine that industrial or political reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism; or openly, willfully, and deliberately justifies by word of mouth or writing, the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, spread, or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism; or organizes or helps to organize or becomes a member of, or voluntarily assembles with any society, group, or assemblage of persons formed to teach or advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism, is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State penitentiary for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

SEC. 3. Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrines of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act such an assemblage is unlawful, and every person voluntarily participating therein, by his presence, aid, or instigation is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State penitentiary for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

SEC. 4. The owner, agent, superintendent, janitor, caretaker, or occupant of any place, building, or room, who willfully and knowingly permits therein any assemblage of persons prohibited by the provisions of section 3 of this act, or who, after notification that the premises are so used, knowingly permits such use to be continued is guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year or by a fine of not more than \$500, or both.

SEC. 5. This act is hereby declared to be an emergency act necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace and safety. The emergency necessitating the enactment of this act arises out of the fact that there are persons in, and also persons threatening to enter, the State for the purpose of teaching the doctrine of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act, and advocating such doctrine and the commission of the other acts and practices declared by this act to be unlawful, the tendency of which will be to destroy our institutions and Government, and put the people into a condition of unrest and terror.

CARL R. KIMBALL,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

CLARENCE J. BROWN,
President of the Senate.

Passed April 15, 1919.

Approved May 7, 1919.

JAMES M. COX, *Governor.*

Filed in office of secretary of state May 7, 1919.

PENNSYLVANIA.

[File of the House of Representatives. No. 1175. Session of 1919. Introduced by Mr. Flynn, Apr. 1, 1919. Mr. J. A. Walker, judiciary general, Apr. 1, 1919. As rereported from the committee on judiciary general, in the House of Representatives, June 4, 1919. Strike out in [], insert in italics.]

AN ACT Defining sedition and prescribing the punishment therefor.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same:

SECTION 1. That the word "sedition," as used in this act shall mean:

Any writing, publication, printing, cut, cartoon, utterance, or conduct, either individually or in connection or combination with any other person or persons, which tends—

[(a) To incite or arouse discontent against the Government of this State or of the United States.]

[(b)] (a) To make or cause to be made any outbreak or demonstration of violence against this State or against the United States.

[(c)] (b) To encourage any person or persons to take any measures or engage in any conduct with a view of overthrowing or destroying or attempting to overthrow or destroy by any force or show or threat of force the government of this State or of the United States.

[(d) To disturb the peace and tranquillity of this State or of the United States.]

[(e)] (c) To incite or encourage any person or persons to commit any overt act [of any character] with a view to bringing the government of this State or of the United States into hatred or contempt.

[(f)] (d) To incite any person or persons to do or attempt to do [any] personal injury or harm to any officer of this State or of the United States or to damage or destroy any public property [of any kind whatsoever] or the property of any public official because of his official position.

It shall also include—

[(g)] (e) The actual damage to or destruction of any public property or the property of any public official perpetrated because the owner or occupant is in official position.

[(h)] (f) Any writing, publication, printing, cut, cartoon, or utterance which advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of engaging in crime, violence, or any form of terrorism as a means of accomplishing [industrial or] political reform or change in government.

[(i)] (g) The sale, gift, or distribution of any prints, publications, books, papers, documents, or written matter in any form which advocates, furthers, or teaches sedition as hereinbefore defined.

[(j)] (h) Organizing or helping to organize or becoming a member of an assembly, society, or group where any of the policies or purposes there are seditious as hereinbefore defined.

[(k)] [(i) Knowingly or willfully renting by the owner, agent, superintendent, janitor, or occupant of any building, place, or room for any assemblage of persons for the purpose of engaging in any form of sedition as hereinbefore defined, or knowingly and willfully

permitting by any of the persons aforesaid any assemblage of persons for such purposes.]

SEC. 2. Sedition as defined in section 1 of this act shall be a felony, and any person convicted thereof shall be sentenced to a fine of not less than \$100 and not more than \$10,000 and to imprisonment not exceeding 20 years, either or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith be and the same are hereby repealed.

WASHINGTON.

[Senate bill No. 204.]

AN ACT Defining the crime of criminal syndicalism and prescribing punishment therefor.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Washington:

SECTION 1. Criminal syndicalism is the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony punishable as in this act otherwise provided.

SEC. 2. Any person who (1) by word of mouth or writing advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform; or (2) prints, publishes, edits, issues or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes or publicly displays any book, paper, document, or written matter in any form containing or advocating, advising or teaching the doctrine that industrial or political reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism; or (3) openly, willfully, and deliberately justifies, by word of mouth or writing, the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, spread, or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism; or (4) organizes or helps to organize, or becomes a member of or voluntarily assembles with any society, group, or assemblage of persons formed to teach or advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State prison for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

SEC. 3. Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrines of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act such an assemblage is unlawful and every person voluntarily participating therein by his presence, aid, or instigation is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State prison for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

SEC. 4. The owner, agent, superintendent, janitor, caretaker, or occupant of any place, building, or room who willfully and knowingly permits therein any assemblage of persons prohibited by the provisions of section 3 of this act, or who, after notification by the sheriff of the county or the police authorities that the premises are so used, permits such use to be continued is guilty of a misdemeanor

and punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year or by a fine of not more than \$500, or both.

WEST VIRGINIA.

[Chapter 24, acts 1910.]

AN ACT To foster the ideals, institutions, and Government of West Virginia and of the United States, and to prohibit the teaching of doctrines and display of flags antagonistic to the form or spirit of their Constitutions and laws.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Virginia:

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any person to speak, print, publish, or communicate, by language, sign, picture, or otherwise, any teachings, doctrines, or counsels in sympathy or favor of ideals, institutions or forms of government hostile, inimical, or antagonistic to those now or hereafter existing under the constitutions and laws of this State or the United States, or in sympathy or favor of the propriety, duty, or necessity of crime, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing economic or political reform, or in sympathy or favor of the overthrow of organized society, the unlawful destruction of property, or the violation of law.

SEC. 2. It shall be unlawful for any person to have in his possession or to display any red or black flag, or to display any other flag, emblem, device, or sign of any nature whatever indicating sympathy or support of ideals, institutions, or forms of government hostile, inimical, or antagonistic to the form or spirit of the constitution, laws, ideals, and institutions of this State or the United States.

SEC. 3. Any person violating any of the provisions of this act shall, for the first offense, be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, shall be fined not less than \$100, nor more than \$500, or imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding 12 months, or both, and, for the second offense, shall be guilty of a felony, and, upon conviction, shall be confined in the penitentiary not less than one nor more than five years.

Passed February 13, 1919. In effect 90 days from passage. Approved by the governor February 17, 1919.

EXHIBIT No. 5.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
Washington, August 12, 1919.

To all special agents and employees:

The bureau requires a vigorous and comprehensive investigation of anarchistic and similar classes, Bolshevism, and kindred agitations advocating change in the present form of government by force or violence, the promotion of sedition and revolution, bomb throwing, and similar activities. In the present state of the Federal law this investigation should be particularly directed to persons not citizens of the United States, with a view of obtaining deportation cases.

All aliens who fall in any of the classes hereinafter designated are subject to deportation by the Department of Labor upon a presentation in proper form of sufficient evidence showing liability to deportation. The fullest cooperation exists between the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor in the enforcement of the deportation laws, and in order that this cooperation may advantageously continue and confusion may be avoided you are instructed that all deportation cases originating by investigations conducted by this bureau will be presented by this bureau to the Commissioner General of Immigration in Washington.

While the fullest cooperation should exist between agents of this bureau and local immigration authorities, you will take no steps to obtain warrants for arrest in deportation cases without authority from the director or chief of this bureau.

Agents must make thorough investigation of all cases where they are credibly informed or have reason to believe that a specific individual is subject to arrest and deportation on warrant, with a view to securing proper evidence for such deportation.

While you are required to investigate particularly with regard to aliens, you should also make full investigation of similar activities of citizens of the United States, with a view to securing evidence which may be of use in prosecutions under the present existing State or Federal laws or under legislation of that nature which may hereafter be enacted.

(1) Aliens who fall within any of the following classes are subject to deportation (sec. 1, act of Oct. 16, 1918) :

- (a) Anarchists.
- (b) Those found advocating or teaching anarchy.
- (c) Those who believe in or advocate or teach the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States.
- (d) Those who believe in or advocate or teach the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law.
- (e) Those who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government.
- (f) Those who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials.
- (g) Those who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property.
- (h) Those who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States.
- (i) Those who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law.
- (j) Those who are members of or affiliated with an organization that entertains or teaches disbelief in or opposition to all organized government.

(k) Those who are members of or affiliated with an organization that teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals, or of officers generally of the Government of the United States or of any other organized Government because of his or their official character.

(1) Those who are members of or affiliated with an organization that advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property.

(2) The time when an individual became a member of any one of the classes of aliens above enumerated is immaterial. He is subject to deportation if he was such at the time of his entry into the United States or became such thereafter. (Sec. 2, act of Oct. 16, 1918.)

(3) Deportation laws apply to aliens only, and they must be sent back to the country from whence they came or to the country of their nativity. When any individual is thought to be within any of the classes enumerated, agents will first secure proper proof that the suspect is an alien, and, if so, the country from whence he came, the country of his nativity, the port of entry into this country, and the date of arrival. Usually individuals of this character will admit their alienship. In every instance inquiry must be made as to whether or not the subject is a citizen, and if citizenship is claimed, full information as to the time and place of naturalization must be obtained.

(4) In the investigation of all cases agents will report the evidence secured in form required by this bureau. In making daily or partial reports all information of every nature, whether hearsay or otherwise, shall be included. Inasmuch as gossip or said hearsay evidence is of no value in making technical proof, agents are hereby instructed to trace every piece of information to its source. The person knowing the facts must be seen, and, wherever possible, an affidavit or a transcript of a sworn statement containing the facts shall be obtained from such person. Where affidavit can not be obtained, corroborating witnesses should be used, and the statement of the person drawn up in writing and duly attested by the special agent and the corroborating witnesses.

MEMBERSHIP IN AN ANARCHISTIC ORGANIZATION OR IN ORGANIZATIONS THAT ADVOTATE OF TEACH THE OVERTHROW BY FORCE OR VIOLENCE OF THE PRESENT FORM OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OR OF ALL FORMS OF LAW OR OF THE UNLAWFUL DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.

(5) Generally speaking, those aliens embraced within the classes subject to deportation for radical activities will be found to be members of or affiliated with organizations of this nature. With the character of the society or organization definitely established, a general groundwork for deportation is furnished, affording in all instances deportable cases upon proof of alienship and membership in or affiliation with the organization.

(6) Investigations heretofore conducted have not disclosed instances of many bodies, associations, or groups of anarchists that can be regarded as organizations. Real anarchists are usually associated together, if at all, simply in groups or gatherings which have no constitution or by-laws and no officers other than a secretary-treasurer, whose duties usually consist more in handling voluntary contributions and in purchasing and distributing to the members of the group anarchistic and other literature.

(7) Some organizations, however, such as that known as the "Union of Russian Workers," have constitutions and by-laws containing distinctly anarchistic doctrines. Aliens who are members of or affiliated with the "Union of Russian Workers" and like organizations are subject to deportation.

(8) It will be found that many of the officers or members of the Industrial Workers of the World advocate, or teach, the unlawful destruction of property. Evidence has not yet been obtained, however, that the organization as such teaches or advocates that doctrine. Its constitution and by-laws have been adroitly drawn so as to avoid the possibility of construing it as teaching either anarchy or sabotage. In so far as members and officers of this and kindred organizations are concerned, deportation warrants will be based upon evidence showing that the particular individual concerned has either by action, word of mouth, or by distributing anarchistic or sabotage-teaching literature brought himself within some one or more of the clauses of section 1 of these instructions.

(9) The publishing house of the Industrial Workers of the World at Chicago, Ill., has issued different publications which have been distributed by many of the I. W. W., and especially by its organizers and delegates, which are regarded by the Department of Labor as teaching anarchy or the unlawful destruction of property. These publications are:

- I. W. W. Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent. Editions of 1916 and 1917. Sabotage (by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn).
- The I. W. W., Its History, Structure, and Method (by Vincent St. John).
- Sabotage (by Emile Pouget).
- The New Unionism (by Andre Triden).
- The Evolution of Industrial Democracy (by Abner E. Woodruff).
- The Revolutionary I. W. W. (by Grover H. Perry).
- Sabotage, Its History, Philosophy, and Function (by Walker C. Smith).

It will be found that many persons will admit that they have been distributing some, or all, of this literature. Where an admission can not be obtained their activities in this regard must be proved in other manner. Agents should endeavor to secure evidence of additional publications of this character, and particularly that one of the duties of the organizers, delegates, and secretaries, or other officers of the I. W. W. is to distribute literature of this nature.

(10) The character of an organization can be proved by its official organ. If the organization under investigation has an official publication which teaches anarchy or the unlawful destruction of property, this fact is evidence of the unlawful nature of the organization itself.

NATURE AND QUALITY OF PROOF REQUIRED.

(11) If the charge is one of those relating to membership in, or affiliation with, any particular organization of the character herein indicated, evidence must be obtained showing: (a) That the organization is anarchistic or sabotage teaching, or one that advocates the destruction by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all forms of law; (b) that the particular alien is a member of, or affiliated with, the organization in question. The nature of the organization itself need only be proved once, as such proof is the foundation for proceedings against any particular one of its members. It is highly desirable, if not necessary, to show further that the subject had knowledge of the nature of the organization or took part in its activities. However, special agents must not relax their diligence as to the nature of these organizations as they change from time to time.

(12) The character of the organization may be proven:

(a) By authentic copies of its charter, by-laws, or declaration of principles, official publications, and possibly by membership cards therein, if any. Proof may be made by the affidavit of anyone personally knowing the facts showing authenticity of the document referred to. The strongest proof possible should be obtained, and a number of affidavits from creditable persons should be secured.

(b) By affidavit stating in detail the facts upon which it is based of persons who are members of, or affiliated with, or who have attended meetings of, these organizations and can swear, from occurrences or things said or done at the meeting or meetings, that the particular organization believes in, teaches, or advocates any of the doctrines set forth in section 1 of these instructions.

(13) Mere proof that one may in general terms be said to be a Bolshevik, either by his own admission or by other evidence, is not sufficient. Additional facts must be secured bringing him within section 1 of these instructions.

(14) Membership in an organization may be shown by—

(a) Production of a membership card, together with proof and circumstances showing that it belongs to the person under investigation.

(b) Admission by the person under investigation that he is a member of such organization.

(c) Proof that the person under investigation, with more or less regularity, attended and participated in meetings of said organization.

(d) Assuming to act as officers or agents of such organization by seeking new members, collecting or disbursing money, or distributing its literature.

(e) Any other facts that would tend to prove or strengthen the proof of such membership.

(15) Special agents must not satisfy themselves with proof of membership in an anarchistic organization, but should seek further to establish against the individual himself a case under one of the clauses of section 1 of these instructions.

(16) Special agents will constantly keep in mind the necessity of preserving the cover of our confidential informants, and in no case shall they rely upon the testimony of such cover informants during deportation proceedings.

W. J. FLYNN,

Director Bureau of Investigation.

The following receipt to this letter of instruction shall be signed by the agent or employee receiving the same and returned to the Washington office of the Director of the Bureau of Investigation:

— — — — —, 1919.

DIRECTOR BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,

Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I hereby acknowledge receipt of letter of instructions dated August 12, 1919.

— — — — —
Agent (or employee).

EXHIBIT No. 6.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

BIRTH.

Emma Goldman, daughter of Abraham Goldman and Taube Goldman, was born at Popolan, county of Shavel, State of Kovno, Russia, on June 16, 1870, Russian date (American date, June 29, 1870). (This fact established in the investigation of Mr. S. G. Chambers, assistant United States attorney, Pittsburgh, and Mr. A. L. Zamosh, naturalization examiner, in March, 1908, by interviewing persons residing in Rochester, N. Y., who were intimate with the Goldman family.)

According to the statement made by Emma Goldman to the court in the case of *United States v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman*, on July 9, 1917, in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, she was born "about 1869." (Certified copy of minutes of pedigree taken in United States court, southern district of New York, on July 9, 1917, attached as Exhibit I.)

In the book entitled "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman, there is a biographical sketch by Hippolyte Havel, in which, on page 8, the following statement appears:

Emma Goldman was born of Jewish parentage on the 27th day of June, 1869, in the Russian Province of Kovno.

(This book was published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 226 Lafayette Street, New York City, of which Emma Goldman was the head. The publication contains the principal essays of Emma Goldman.)

PARENTAGE.

Abraham Goldman, father of Emma Goldman, was born at Shavel, county of Kovno, Russia, about 1847; lived in Kovno until his marriage, when he moved to Popolan, county of Shavel, State of Kovno, where he remained for about 9 years; he then moved to St. Petersburg, where he lived for about 10 years. In September, 1886, he came to the United States and went direct to Rochester, N. Y., which place he made his home. He declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States on September 28, 1892, in the Monroe County court, Rochester, N. Y., and was naturalized in the same court October 13, 1894. (It is to be noted that Emma Goldman by her own statement was 24 years of age at the time of her father's naturalization.) Petition for probate of the last will and testament of Abraham Goldman, who died on January 14, 1909, in Rochester, shows Emma Goldman to have been 24 years of age at time of her father's naturalization, in 1894. (Exhibit XIII.)

Mrs. Taube Goldman, wife of Abraham Goldman and mother of Emma, was born in Urberig, Russia, and is about 73 years of age. Abraham Goldman was her second husband, her first husband being one Labe Zodokoff. Her maiden name was Taube Binowitz. By her first husband she had two children, Lena and Helena. The former married Samuel Cominsky May 28, 1885, and the latter married Jacob Hochstein in 1888.

Abraham and Taube Goldman had three children—Emma, the oldest; Herman, a machinist in Rochester; and Maurice, a physician in New York City.

EARLY LIFE.

Emma Goldman remained in Popolan, the place of her birth, until she was about 7 years of age, when, according to the biographical sketch contained in the book *Anarchism and Other Essays*, she was sent by her parents to her grandmother at Königsberg, in eastern Prussia, where she remained until she was 13 years of age, at which time she removed to St. Petersburg, where her father and mother had previously gone. She remained in St. Petersburg until December, 1885, at which time with her half sister, Helena Zodikoff, she left for the United States and arrived at the port of New York from Hamburg on the steamship *Gallat* on December 31, 1885. She was at that time 15 years of age. On arrival in New York they left the same day and arrived in Rochester on January 1, 1886, and went directly to the house of Mrs. Samuel Cominsky, another half sister of Emma Goldman and a full sister of Mrs. Hochstein. She obtained employment as a tailoress in Rochester, at which trade she worked for about one and one-half years. In the meantime Emma Goldman's parents had left St. Petersburg and arrived in the United States on or about September 18, 1886, and went immediately to Rochester.

MARRIAGE.

Emma Goldman was married to Jacob Kersner in the spring of 1887. This ceremony was performed by Rev. Kalmon Bardin, who at that time lived at No. 12 Joiner Street, Rochester, N. Y. There is no official record in Monroe County of this marriage, nor of any license having been issued to these parties. It is further stated that the Rev. Bardin had no right to perform the marriage ceremony under the laws of New York, as he was not a regularly ordained minister or rabbi, but what is known as "shochet," a man who slaughters cattle for "kosher" meat according to the Jewish law.

In the latter part of 1888 or the early part of 1889 Emma Goldman and her purported husband were divorced according to the Jewish law by Rabbi Abe C. Levinson, at one time chief rabbi in Baltimore. After this divorce Emma Goldman and her husband lived together again for a few months until she fell in love with Alexander Berkman, with whom she has kept continued company except for the periods during which he has been incarcerated in penitentiaries and jails.

Jacob Kernser is the son of Abraham Kernser and was born in Niemirow, State of Kaminitz Podolsk, Russia, on the first day of the Jewish Easter in 1865, and came to the United States for the first time in the summer of 1882.

CITIZENSHIP STATUS.

Jacob A. Kersner, husband.—On October 18, 1884, Jacob A. Kersner received a certificate of citizenship in the county court of Monroe

County, N. Y. It will be noted that at the time he obtained his certificate of naturalization he was but 19 years of age and had resided in the United States for only a period of two years.

As a result of an investigation made by the naturalization authorities, suit was instituted against Jacob A. Kersner, April 8, 1909, to have his certificate of naturalization canceled for the reason that Kersner was not at the time he was naturalized and procured such certificate of naturalization entitled thereto and was not entitled to admission as a citizen of the United States of America, and for that reason was not a duly naturalized citizen of the United States of America. Certified copies of the decree of the canceling certificate of naturalization of Jacob A. Kersner, together with a certified copy of the findings of the court rendering such decree, are attached hereto and marked "Exhibits II and III."

Prior to the institution of the suit for the cancellation of Kersner's naturalization certificate of American citizenship there was some discussion as to the advisability of making Emma Goldman a party to the suit. Mr. William R. Harr, Assistant Attorney General, in a memorandum to the Attorney General dated February 2, 1909, assumed that Emma Goldman was the wife of Jacob A. Kersner, but advised against making Emma Goldman a party to the suit. The question that arose at the time of the institution of denaturalization proceedings against Jacob A. Kersner was as to whether or not it would be necessary to join his wife, Emma Goldman, in order to affect her citizenship rights. The act of Congress approved February 10, 1885, section 1994, Revised Statutes, provides that "any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and who might herself be lawfully naturalized shall be deemed a citizen." Prior to this act the courts had held that the naturalization of her husband did not confer citizenship upon the wife. The wife's citizenship, therefore, now depends entirely upon the rights given her under this act. If, therefore, the husband's citizenship be based upon fraudulent statements made at the time of its being procured (which is a fact in the Kersner case), it would seem that any superstructure such as the naturalization of a wife or children which might be based upon this fraudulently obtained citizenship would fall if the foundation should fall. Besides this, the act of naturalizing, being a proceeding in rem and the judgment granted thereon being a judgment in rem, it would seem that the action of a court which would denaturalize a party would inasmuch as this action also changes a status be a proceeding in rem. If it is a proceeding in rem, the judgment thereon would bind all parties interested, and, consequently, Emma Goldman.

In her case she acquired her status not by any act of her own, but merely by grant from the Government. This grant was based upon a condition that she married a citizen. In the eyes of the law it may be said that if her husband's certificate of naturalization was obtained by fraud he was never a citizen, and therefore his wife acquired no rights of citizenship. As pointed out above, the proceeding being one in rem, it is not necessary to join the wife in order for her to obtain the citizenship of her husband in naturalization proceedings. Consequently it would follow that it would be unnecessary to join the wife in a suit to set aside the husband's citizenship in order to affect her citizenship.

To recapitulate, two claims may be advanced by Emma Goldman to American citizenship: (1) That obtained through her father's naturalization; (2) that obtained through the naturalization of her husband. In answer to the first claim, it will be noted as pointed out above that at the time of her father's naturalization Emma Goldman was 24 years of age, and consequently could not obtain any rights to the naturalization of her father. In answer to the second contention, the fact appears that her husband, Jacob A. Kersner, was denaturalized on the grounds of having obtained his original papers through fraud. It, however, may be advanced by the subject that the Government in failing to join her husband with her in the denaturalization proceedings thereby erred and did not succeed in denaturalizing the wife as pointed out above. However, such contention is fallacious, as the wife's status is obtained through marriage to the husband and under section 1994 of the Revised Statutes such status is dependent upon the fact of the wife marrying an American citizen, which, in the case of Emma Goldman, was not effected, as the husband had obtained his American citizenship through fraud.

ACTIVITIES OF EMMA GOLDMAN.

ADVOCATION OF VIOLENCE.

I. Explosion at New York, July, 1914.—On July 4, 1914, there occurred in the apartment at 1626 Lexington Avenue, New York, a terrific explosion of dynamite, resulting in the complete destruction of the three upper floors of the house. This explosion occurred in the apartment of Carl Hanson and resulted in the death of Arthur Caron, Charles Berg, and Carl Hanson and Marie Chavez. It is conceded that the explosion was caused by dynamite, and that these three persons were in the act of preparing a bomb, and that through a premature explosion their plans for carrying out the details of their plot were frustrated. An examination of the copy of *Mother Earth*, volume 9, No. 5, July, 1914, gives an illuminating view of the connection of Caron, Berg, and Hanson with the Emma Goldman group. On page 130 appears an article entitled "The Lexington Explosion" and in which the three men referred to are spoken of as "comrades."

On page 133 appears a statement in which Alexander Berkman is stated to have announced that he regarded Caron, Berg, and Hanson as anarchists martyrs.

On page 135 it is stated that the ashes of the three comrades would be delivered to the offices of *Mother Earth*. It is to be noted that Emma Goldman was the proprietor of the *Mother Earth* organization at this time, such statement being contained on page 1 of the issue of *Mother Earth* for July, 1914.

On pages 136 to 137 are given the names of the various organizations represented at the Union Square demonstration, and it will be noted that the majority of them were organizations composed entirely of anarchists.

On page 138, Alexander Berkman, in his address at the Union Square demonstration, stated that the death of the three comrades might have been brought about either, first, through the agents of the capitalists; or, second, through the premature explosion of an infernal machine which the comrades intended to use. It is stated by

Berkman that he hopes the latter is the case, and he hopes the comrades themselves prepared the bomb intending to use it upon the enemy.

On page 143, Leonard B. Abbott, in his speech, states that if Arthur Caron and his friends decided to resort to violence they were not to be blamed, for they had exhausted all peaceable methods.

On page 144, Rebecca Eddlestone, in her speech, states that these persons died in the interests of the working class, and again, on page 145, she states that if their deaths were caused by a premature explosion, then it wasn't the comrades of which they must be ashamed but the society at large who would force the comrades to resort to such acts.

On page 145 the same speaker states that she believed in violence and would use violence whenever it was necessary; and again, on page 146, she stated that she hoped the day would not be far distant when the working class would say that they were in favor of using violence, for the real revolutionists are not afraid of the word "violence" nor even of the word "dynamite."

On page 153, Charles Robert Plunkett, in his speech, stated that he had often advocated the use of violence, and that he believed in the use of violence, not only "defensive violence" but "offensive violence," and that he was not afraid of proclaiming the probability that their comrades had met their death while preparing to strike a blow of terror at the hearts of the enemy, and in closing his speech he uses the following words:

To oppression, to exploitation, to tyranny, to jails, clubs, guns, armies, and navies there is but one reply—dynamite!

Immediately following this, on page 154, appears the following telegram signed "Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman," which was sent by these persons from San Francisco:

Our deepest sympathy with all oppressed of the world, of whom our dead comrades were the conscious and brave spokesmen. We honor the memory of our dead comrades, the victims of the capitalist system and the martyrs of labor.

It will be noted from the above that the Emma Goldman group which made its headquarters at the "Mother Earth publishing plant" heartily approved and sanctioned the theory that Caron, Berg, and Hanson had been killed by a premature explosion of dynamite. It will be further noted that throughout the speeches of the persons appearing at the Union Square demonstration open advocacy of violence was made and particular note is to be taken of the telegram from Emma Goldman, speaking of Caron, Berg, and Hanson as "dead comrades," and that she was "honoring their memory."

Another notation should also be made of the fact that these speeches openly advocating violence and the use of dynamite are contained in the publication of Mother Earth, of which Emma Goldman was proprietor.

On page 165 of the same issue of Mother Earth appears the following statement:

A large tenement house on Lexington Avenue was destroyed and three well-known anarchists—Arthur Caron, Charles Berg, and Carl Hanson—were killed. The ruin was evidently caused by a large quantity of dynamite exploding in the flat occupied by our comrades.

This quotation is taken from an article entitled "Dynamite," by Charles Robert Plunkett. In the same article, on page 166, appears the following statement:

Although we know nothing of the facts, we do not hesitate to admit the possibility nor fear to face the accusation that our comrades met their death in an attempt to retaliate upon the violence of the ruling classes in the only possible way—with violence.

If they did, we own them proudly and we honor them for their intelligence, their initiative, and their courage. They did the only logical thing, the only courageous thing, the only revolutionary thing under the circumstances. When free speech is suppressed, when men are jailed for asking food, clubbed for assembling to discuss their grievances, and stoned for expressing their opinions, there is but one recourse—violence. The ruling class has guns, bullets, bayonets, police, jails, militia, armies, and navies. To oppose all this the worker has only—dynamite.

In an article written by Alexander Berkman, entitled "A Gauge of Change," appearing on pages 167-168, are the following statements:

* * * I have publicly said in Union Square that I hoped that our comrades were not the victims of the enemy's conspiracy, but that they had planned to employ dynamite either in revenge for wrongs suffered or in the defense of the rights of themselves and their fellow workers, of labor at large.

* * * Do you still ask me what the anarchists have accomplished in the last quarter of a century? Just this: They have taught the people that violence is justified, ay, necessary, in the defensive and offensive struggle of labor against capital. * * *

On page 168 of the same issue of Mother Earth appear the following definitions:

Direct action.—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against or remedy social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

Anarchism.—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

Anarchy.—Absence of government; disbelief in and disregard of invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government.

The July, 1914, issue is typical of the issues of Mother Earth, and it will be noted that this publication was distributed and circulated through the instrumentality of Emma Goldman. The entire issue of July, 1914, is attached as Exhibit I.

II. *Los Angeles Times Dynamited.*—Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan are now serving sentences in the San Quentin Penitentiary, Calif., having been convicted of connection with dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times building.

It is interesting to note that Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan were both intimates of Emma Goldman and her group. Caplan and Schmidt were disclosed through the investigation of Donald Vose who, through close association with Emma Goldman, was able to obtain the information necessary to convict Caplan and Schmidt. The best exposition of the Caplan and Schmidt connection with Emma Goldman is expressed in her own words in the issue of Mother Earth, volume 10, No. 11, January, 1916, on pages 353 to 357 in which she gives expression to her views of Donald Vose, who obtained her confidence and met Matthew A. Schmidt in her own home.

In the issue of *Mother Earth*, pages 358 and 359, Schmidt and Caplan are pictured as martyrs to their cause.

On page 363 of the same issue of *Mother Earth* appears a list of the various anarchist publications appearing in the country, and it will be noted that these publications are ones which have advocated the extreme anarchistic doctrines and that Albert Parsons, the publisher of the *Alarm*, was also the expositor of the use of dynamite as an equalizing influence in society.

On page 374 of the same issue in an article written by Ben Mandell appears the following:

And anarchism has for its champion in this country Emma Goldman.

This article by Mandell praises Emma Goldman and her various doctrines.

On page 375 of the same issue in the same article previously referred to reference is made to the great demand for anarchist books as a result of Emma Goldman's lectures in Chicago.

The issue of *Mother Earth* for January, 1916, is annexed and marked "Exhibit K."

III. *Inciting to riot, September 9, 1893.*—On September 9, 1893, Emma Goldman was arrested in the city of New York under an indictment charging her with inciting to riot and unlawful assembly. She was convicted as charged on October 16, 1893, and sentenced to one year on Blackwell's Island, New York, by Judge Martine. A copy of the indictment by the grand jury is attached hereto and marked "Exhibit IV."

IV. *McKinley's assassination.*—On September 6, 1901, at Buffalo, N. Y., Leon Czolgosz shot and fatally wounded President William McKinley. Upon arrest Czolgosz was closely examined by the authorities and made a lengthy statement, giving in detail his history, together with the names of the persons with whom he had associated and the matter which he had read. Annexed hereto as Exhibit V is a certified copy of the statement made by Czolgosz at police headquarters in the presence of three witnesses—Frank Haggerty, a former court reporter, who is no longer living; John Martin, former chief of police of Buffalo; and M. O'Laughlin, a former officer connected with the district-attorney's office at that time. The exhibit attached contains an affidavit of Mr. O'Laughlin stating that the statement to which his affidavit is attached is the statement made by Czolgosz at that time in his presence, and there is also attached to Exhibit V an affidavit of Miss Clara M. Ragan stating that the statement is a true and correct statement and a part of the files of the district attorney of Erie County. Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit VI is another statement made by Czolgosz to Mr. Penney, district attorney at that time, and to which an affidavit of Horace E. Story, the stenographer who took this statement, is attached; also an affidavit of Miss Clara M. Ragan stating that she did make a transcript and true and correct copy of the statement attached and referred to of Horace E. Story.

Referring to pages 4 and 5 of Exhibit V, being the confession of Czolgosz, it will be noted that Czolgosz stated that he frequented a club in Cleveland, at which place he had seen Emma Goldman. He further stated that she talked about government and said "she didn't believe in voting and didn't believe in government." He further

stated that she had also made the remark that "government was tyranny," and that "she believed in anarchy." Czolgosz stated that he was an anarchist and that "anarchy," as he understood it, meant "self-government." It is to be further noted that Czolgosz states in his confession that the only time he saw Emma Goldman was in Cleveland. He further stated that Emma Goldman wrote for a newspaper in Chicago which he frequently read, entitled "Free Society." Referring to Exhibit VI, being the detailed statement of Czolgosz to the district attorney, attention is called to the following answers made by Czolgosz to questions put to him:

Q. You believe it is right to kill if necessary, don't you?—A. Yes, sir. [P. 4.]

Q. Did you talk it [assassination] over with anyone or say it was something you had read that suggested it to you, or something else?—A. Yes, sir. [P. 5.]

Q. Something you had read, was it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was the last one you heard talk?—A. Emma Goldman. [P. 8.]

Q. What did she say or what did she say to you about the President?—A. She says—she didn't mention no Presidents at all, she mentioned the Government.

Q. What did she say about it?—A. She said she didn't believe in it.

Q. You got the idea that she thought it would be a good thing if we didn't have this form of government?—A. Yes, sir. [P. 9.]

Q. Can't you give us some idea what first put it into your mind?—A. I didn't believe in government. [P. 9.]

Q. What was the name of the papers you were reading?—A. Free Society. [P. 10.]

Q. And the reason for your intention to kill him was that you didn't believe in having rulers over us or in having Presidents?—A. Yes, sir. [P. 15.]

Q. Didn't believe in our form of government?—A. Yes, sir.

Particular attention is called to the fact that Czolgosz stated that he had heard Emma Goldman speak at the Cleveland club and that he had heard her state that she was an anarchist and didn't believe in any form of government. Czolgosz in his statement said that the time he heard Emma Goldman speak in Cleveland was the only time he had seen her. However, it appears that this statement is an absolute falsehood, for, when referring to the copy of Free Society for October 6, 1901, which is attached hereto as Exhibit V, there is found on page 3 an article written by Abraham Isaak, the editor of the paper, and headed "Why we consider Czolgosz a spy." In this article it is stated by Isaak that on July 12, 1901, the day of Emma Goldman's departure for Buffalo, Emma Goldman pointed Czolgosz out to Isaak at the station as being a young man who desired to speak to Isaak. It will thus be seen that, notwithstanding Czolgosz's statement that he personally didn't know Emma Goldman, it appears that Czolgosz was at the station at the time of Emma Goldman's departure from Chicago, July 12, 1901, and was pointed out to Isaak.

Attention is also to be called to the fact that Czolgosz's reason for assassinating President McKinley was that he didn't believe in this form of government. He stated that the same doctrines opposing this form of government were enunciated by Emma Goldman in her speeches and writings.

Czolgosz stated that he had read a great deal in the publication entitled Free Society. This is a publication originally issued under the title of "Fire Brand," and was published in San Francisco. It later moved its headquarters to Chicago and reference to its columns shows it to be the typical anarchist paper. The heading contains the statement that the paper is an exponent of "anarchist commun-

ism," and there is contained in every issue of it the following definition of anarchy, for which this paper stands:

Anarchy, a social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government, of man by man as the political ideal; absolute, individual liberty.

In the issues of Free Society we find many articles by Emma Goldman. One of particular interest is that appearing in the issue of February 17, 1901, a photostat copy of which is attached hereto as Exhibit VII. The article appears on page 3, and is headed "An open letter." In this article Emma Goldman states that she has been accused of being against force or propaganda by deed. She specifically states as follows:

I have never opposed force or propaganda by deed, either publicly or privately. I demand and acknowledge the right of an individual or a number of individuals to strike back at organized power and defend themselves against invasion; and I have and always will stand on the side of the one who has been courageous enough to give his own life in taking or attempting to take the life of a tyrant, whether industrially or politically. I am on the side of every rebel, whether his act has been beneficial or detrimental to our cause; for I don't judge an act by its result, but by its cause; and the cause of each and every rebellious act has been organized despotism, robbery, and exploitation on the part of society, and the innate sense of justice and a rebellious spirit on the part of the individual.

If I stand on the side of the rebel or if I approve of an act of violence, it is only because I know that organized force—Government—leaves us no other method of propaganda; because we are the invaded and not the invaders.

I think I need say no more about my position toward individual or collective revolt; so I will only repeat that I am a revolutionist by nature and temperament and as such I claim the right for myself and all those who follow with me to rebel and resist invasion by all means, force included, consequently, a destructionist. But I am also an anarchist and as such a constructionist. In order to construct a new sanitary building fit for human beings to live in, I must, if I do not find clear ground, tear down the old, rotten, decayed obstacles which stand in the way of that beautiful and magnificent mansion called "anarchy."

The above is a sample of the literature read by Czolgosz and which apparently molded his ideas along the lines of determining to commit the act of murder.

Again, in Free Society for the issue of June 2, 1901, page 1, a copy of which issue is annexed as Exhibit VII appears a eulogistic article by Emma Goldman upon Gaetano Bresci, the anarchist who assassinated the King of Italy. In this article Emma Goldman makes Bresci a martyr to the cause.

In the article quoted from in the issue of February 17, 1901, we find that Emma Goldman openly admits that she believes in the use of violence and states that she not only is an anarchist but that she is likewise a destructionist. Czolgosz read and carefully perused, according to his own statements, the various issues of Free Society and, even though it be conceded that Emma Goldman was not a direct party to his crime in the assassination of President McKinley, yet she was instrumental in helping to form the unnatural ideas which Czolgosz held toward government and authority.

In the issue of Free Society for October 6, 1901, which appeared less than a month after the death of President McKinley, Emma Goldman wrote an article appearing on pages 1 and 2 of the issue

referred to, entitled "The Tragedy at Buffalo." A copy of this issue is annexed as Exhibit IX. In this article she endeavors to justify the act of Czolgosz and closes her article with the following statement:

And my heart goes out to you in deep sympathy and to all those victims of a system of inequality and the many who will die the forerunners of a better, nobler, and grander life.

V. *Harlem River Casino speech, May 18, 1917.*—Under the heading of "Advocation of opposition to law" the activities of Emma Goldman in connection with the opposition to the selective-service act will be dealt with in detail, and under the same reference will be found to a speech delivered by the subject at the Harlem River Casino on May 18, 1917. In this speech the subject openly stated that she believed in violence and would use violence. Annexed hereto and marked as "Exhibit X" is an affidavit of Edward J. Caddell, who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the evening of May 18, 1917, and who took stenographic notes of Emma Goldman's speech.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit XI" is an affidavit of William H. Randolph, who was likewise present at the Harlem River Casino on the evening of May 18, 1917, and who took stenographic notes of Emma Goldman's speech. Both of these persons have sworn to the fact that the subject stated that she believed in violence and would use violence.

The enunciation by the subject of the fact that she was an advocate of violence at the Harlem River Casino, however, is not new, for we find the same advocacy in her writings in *Free Society*, particularly the issue of February 17, 1901, and referred to as Exhibit XII.

ADVOCATION OF OPPOSITION TO LAW.

On June 15, 1917, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were arrested in New York for obstructing the draft. Through the medium of *Mother Earth*, *The Blast*, and literature of the No Conscription League Emma Goldman had carried on an extensive campaign for the purpose of blocking the effective administration of the draft act.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit XIII is a certified copy of the transcript of the record in the case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, plaintiffs in error, *v. The United States*. This record contains all of the testimony in the trial of *United States v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman* in connection with their efforts to obstruct the draft.

The following are certain parts of the record, to which particular attention is called: Page 161, testimony of William H. Randolph, who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the night of May 18, 1917, and who took down in shorthand the speech delivered by Emma Goldman:

Q. Is there any question—

Will you look at your notes with me—

Is there any question that you heard her use these words, "We believe in violence, and we will use violence"?—A. No, sir. There is no question about that. [P. 161.]

On page 241, Mary Eleanor Fitzgerald, testifying relative to a letter written by Emma Goldman, gives the following as some of the contents of the letter which was referred to:

As an anarchist, I could not do that, because that would be taking the same position as the Government by telling some one to do this or that; I refuse to advise young men to refuse to register; it must be left to the individual.

On page 269, Pietro Allegra, testifying, stated that he had heard Emma Goldman at the Harlem River Casino state "as an anarchist."

Page 402, Jacob J. Lynn, testifying on behalf of the defendants, stated that he heard Miss Goldman make the following statement:

We will resist conscription by all means within our power.

On pages 409 to 411, Edward J. Caddell, who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the night of May 18, 1917, and who took stenographic notes of the speech delivered by Emma Goldman, testified that she used the words:

We believe in violence and we will use violence.

Again, on page 418, the same witness, testifying, stated that he distinctly recalled Miss Goldman's use of the phrase "I defy your law."

On page 154 in Government Exhibit No. 1, a circular issued by the No Conscription League, appears the terse statement, "Resist conscription." This circular was issued by the No Conscription League, of which Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were the principal organizers.

On page 456 in the Government's Exhibit No. 4 appears the following statement:

We will resist conscription by every means in our power and we will sustain those who for similar reasons refuse to be conscripted.

Exhibit 10-B contains the same statement as Exhibit 4 and is identical with Exhibit 4, except that it is signed by "Emma Goldman."

On pages 471 and 473 in the Government's Exhibit No. 25 appears an article by Emma Goldman which was originally published in the June, 1917, issue of Mother Earth. The whole article is one urging opposition to the law providing for the draft.

On pages 478 to 486 appears the Government's Exhibit No. 31, which is a transcript of the speech delivered by Emma Goldman in the Harlem River Casino on May 18, 1917.

On page 482 of the transcript in the same speech appears the statement made by the subject to the effect "We believe in violence and we will use violence."

On page 485 the subject states as follows:

Your answer to war must be a general strike and then the governing class will have something on its hands.

On page 494 in the Government's Exhibit No. 33, which is a transcript of the speech of Emma Goldman delivered at the Hunt's Point Palace June 4, 1917, the subject states as follows:

Therefore, I, as an anarchist, who became an American out of choice, protest.

On page 495 she states as follows:

My friends, the only reason prevents me telling you men of conscriptable age not to register is because I am an anarchist.

On pages 499 to 501 appears the Government Exhibit No. 35, being a letter addressed by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman to the Assistant United States Attorney, H. A. Content, in which the following paragraph appears:

Anarchism stands for individual liberty and social well-being. It is opposed to personal invasion as well as to the organized form of violence known as government. If the belief in anarchism or the holding of the opinions represented by the No-Conscription League (the principles of which you will find clearly stated on our letterhead) is a crime, then why are only unknown boys like Kramer and Becker prosecuted and not the more prominent men and women guilty of a similar "crime"? We hereby state in the most emphatic manner that we, the undersigned, are anarchists and firm believers in the principles enunciated by the No-Conscription League.

WRITINGS OF EMMA GOLDMAN.

Emma Goldman has been a most prolific writer upon all subjects, varying from discourses upon "drama" to the "advocation of birth control" and the "exposition of 'anarchy'."

There are attached to this memorandum and marked as exhibits digests of various publications written by Emma Goldman, and in which her views are expressed. Particular attention is called in these exhibits to certain excerpts, but it is to be noted that these excerpts are merely the most flagrant parts of the publications, and each of the publications marked as exhibits are to be considered in connection with the case of this subject.

The following is a list of the exhibits attached:

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit A" is a copy of a pamphlet issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, containing the essay by Emma Goldman entitled "What I believe."

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit B" is a pamphlet by Emma Goldman entitled "Syndicalism, the modern menace to capitalism."

Annexed hereto as Exhibit C is a copy of her pamphlet, "Preparedness, the road to universal slaughter," written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit D is a pamphlet entitled "Patriotism, a menace to liberty," written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit E is a pamphlet entitled "Anarchism, what it really stands for," by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit F is a pamphlet entitled "The Psychology of political violence," by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit G is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. XII, No. 4, June, 1917, containing articles for which Emma Goldman is responsible.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit H is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. XII, No. 1, March, 1917, in which is contained an article by Emma Goldman upon the "War Mania."

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit I" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. IX, No. 5, July, 1914, containing the exposition of the "Lexington Street Explosion."

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit J" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. VIII, No. 12, February, 1914, containing articles written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit K" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. X, No. 11, in which is contained Emma Goldman's

article upon Donald Vose, relative to the Matthew A. Schmidt and Arthur Caplan case.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit L" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. XI, No. 8, October, 1916, containing illuminating articles written by persons as anarchistically inclined as Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit M" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. XII, No. 3, May, 1917, indicative of the type of publication issued by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit N," Vol. XII, No. 5, July, 1917, containing a recital of the Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman trial.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit O" is a leaflet entitled "McKinley Assassination from the Anarchist Standpoint," by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit P" is a leaflet entitled "Anarchist Literature."

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit Q" is a copy of a letter written by Emma Goldman to Mr. H. A. Content, in which the doctrine of anarchism is set forth.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit R" is a copy of a publication issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, entitled "Anarchy on Trial," containing a detailed description of the Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman trial.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit S" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. XII, No. 4, June, 1917, being an issue upon which the prosecution in the Federal court of New York was based.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit T" is a copy of The Blast, Vol. I, No. 1, January 15, 1916, containing greetings to this publication from Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit U" is a copy of The Blast, Vol. II, No. 1, January 15, 1917, containing greetings from Emma Goldman to this publication.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit V" is a copy of a pamphlet entitled "The Truth About the Bolsheviks," by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit W" is a copy of the pamphlet "Philosophy of Atheism and the Failure of Christianity," being two lectures by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked as "Exhibit X" is a file of the Mother Earth Bulletin, being Vol. I, Nos. 1 to 7, containing articles written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit Y" is a copy of a leaflet entitled "Down with the Anarchists."

EXHIBIT A.

WHAT I BELIEVE.

[By Emma Goldman.]

The above is a pamphlet issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York City, and is a reprint from the New York World, July 19, 1918. It will be noted that on the last two pages of the pamphlet are contained advertisements of works on anarchism, being principally those of Peter Kropotkin, the notorious Russian anarchist.

Pages 5 and 6: "I believe government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary only to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only. As a promoter of individual liberty, human well-

being, and social harmony, which alone constitute real order, government stands condemned by all the great men of the world.

"I therefore believe, with my fellow anarchists, that statutory regulations, legislative enactments, constitutional provisions, are invasive."

Page 11: "Religion is a superstition that originated in man's mental inability to solve natural phenomena. The church is an organized institution that has always been a stumbling block to progress.

"Organized churchism has stripped religion of its naivete and primitiveness. It has turned religion into a nightmare that oppresses the human soul and holds the mind in bondage. 'The Dominion of Darkness,' as the last true Christian, Leo Tolstol, calls the church, has been a foe of human development and free thought, and as such it has no place in the life of a truly free people."

Page 14: "Every institution to-day rests on violence; our very atmosphere is saturated with it. So long as such a state exists we might as well strive to stop the rush of Niagara as hope to do away with violence. I have already stated that countries with some measure of freedom of expression have had few or no acts of violence. What is the moral? Simply this: No act committed by an anarchist has been for personal gain, aggrandizement, or profit, but rather a conscious protest against some repressive, arbitrary, tyrannical measure from above."

Page 15: "Lastly, and the most powerful weapon, is the conscious, intelligent, organized, economic protest of the masses through direct action and the general strike.

"The general contention that anarchists are opposed to organization, and hence stand for chaos, is absolutely groundless. True, we do not believe in the compulsory, arbitrary side of organization that would compel people of antagonistic tastes and interests into a body and hold them there by coercion. Organization as the result of natural blending of common interests, brought about through voluntary adhesion anarchists do not only not oppose, but believe in as the only possible basis of social life."

EXHIBIT B.

SYNDICALISM, A MODERN MENACE TO CAPITALISM.

[By Emma Goldman.]

The pamphlet was published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 58 West Twenty-eighth Street, New York City, in 1913. On the last pages are contained advertisements of the work *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*, by Alexander Berkman and the anarchistic works of Peter Kropotkin.

Page 4: "The revolutionary philosophy of labor, that is the true and vital meaning of syndicalism."

Page 5: "In fact it was this determined radical stand which eventually brought about the split in the revolutionary movement of that day and its division into two factions—the one, under Marx and Engels, aiming at political conquest; the other, under Bakunin and the Latin workers, forging ahead along industrial and syndicalist lines. The further development of those two wings is familiar to every thinking man and woman; the one has gradually centralized into a huge machine, with the sole purpose of conquering political power within the existing capitalist state; the other is becoming an ever more vital revolutionary factor, dreaded by the enemy as the greatest menace to its rule.

"On my return to America I immediately began to propagate syndicalist ideas, especially direct action and the general strike. But it was like talking to the Rocky Mountains—no understanding, even among the more radical elements, and complete indifference in labor ranks.

"In 1907 I went as a delegate to the anarchist congress at Amsterdam and, while in Paris, met the most active syndicalists in the confederation *Generale du Travail*—Pouget, Delesalle, Monatte, and many others. More than that, I had the opportunity to see syndicalism in daily operation, in its most constructive and inspiring forms."

Page 6: "It lies in the constructive and educational effect upon the life and thought of the masses."

"* * * Syndicalism works in two directions—first, by undermining the existing institutions; secondly, by developing and educating the workers and

cultivating their spirit of solidarity, to prepare them for a full, free life, when capitalism shall have been abolished."

Page 7: "Syndicalism is, in essence, the economic expression of anarchism. That circumstance accounts for the presence of so many anarchists in the syndicalist movement. Like anarchism, syndicalism prepares the workers along direct economic lines, as conscious factors in the great struggles of today, as well as conscious factors in the task of reconstructing society along autonomous industrial lines, as against the paralyzing spirit of centralization with its bureaucratic machinery of corruption, inherent in all political parties."

Page 9: "Now, as to the methods employed by syndicalism—direct action, sabotage, and the general strike."

"Direct action: Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against or remedy social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers."

"Sabotage has been decried as criminal, even by so-called revolutionary socialists. Of course, if you believe that property, which excludes the producer from its use, is justifiable, then sabotage is indeed a crime. But unless a socialist continues to be under the influence of our bourgeoisie morality—a morality which enables the few to monopolize the earth at the expense of the many—he can not consistently maintain that capitalist property is inviolate. Sabotage undermines this form of private possession. Can it therefore be considered criminal? On the contrary, it is ethical in the best sense, since it helps society to get rid of its worst foe, the most detrimental factor of social life."

"Sabotage is mainly concerned with obstructing, by every possible method, the regular process of production, thereby demonstrating the determination of the workers to give according to what they receive, and no more. For instance, at the time of the French railroad strike of 1910, perishable goods were sent in slow trains, or in an opposite direction from the one intended. Who but the most ordinary Philistine will call that a crime? If the railway men themselves go hungry, and the 'innocent' public has not enough feeling of solidarity to insist that these men should get enough to live on, the public has forfeited the sympathy of the strikers and must take the consequences."

Page 11: " * * * I think that the general strike will become a fact the moment labor understands its full value—its destructive as well as constructive value, as indeed many workers all over the world are beginning to realize."

EXHIBIT C.

PREPAREDNESS, THE ROAD TO UNIVERSAL SLAUGHTER.

Page 4: "To uphold the institutions of our country—that is it—the institutions which protect and sustain a handful of people in the robber and plunder of the masses, the institutions which drain the blood of the native as well as of the foreigner, and turn it into wealth and power; the institutions which take from the alien whatever originality he brings with him and in return give him cheap Americanism, whose glory consists in mediocrity and arrogance."

Page 6: "I am no more pro-German than pro-Ally. As an anarchist I refute both, as the 'two thieves who are too cowardly to fight.'"

Page 9: "Those who appreciate the urgent need of cooperating in great struggles must oppose military preparedness imposed by the State and capitalism for the destruction of the masses. They must organize the preparedness of the masses for the overthrow of both capitalism and the State. Industrial and economic preparedness is what the workers need. That alone leads to revolution at the bottom as against mass destruction from on top."

EXHIBIT D.

PATRIOTISM, A MENACE TO LIBERTY.

This pamphlet was published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 74 West One hundred and nineteenth Street, New York City.

The pamphlet is a reprint of the essay appearing in Emma Goldman's work entitled "Anarchism and other essays."

Page 134: "Patriotism, on the other hand, is a superstition artificially created and maintained through a network of lies and falsehoods; a superstition that robs man of his self-respect and dignity, and increases his arrogance and conceit."

Page 138: "The awful waste that patriotism necessitates ought to be sufficient to cure the man of even average intelligence from this disease. Yet patriotism demands still more. The people are urged to be patriotic and for that luxury they pay, not only by supporting their 'defenders,' but even by sacrificing their own children. Patriotism requires allegiance to the flag, which means obedience and readiness to kill father, mother, brother, sister."

Page 143: "While on a recent lecture tour in San Francisco, I visited the Presidio, the most beautiful spot overlooking the bay and Golden Gate Park. Its purpose should have been playgrounds for children, gardens, and music for the recreation of the weary. Instead it is made ugly, dull, and gray by barracks, barracks wherein the rich would not allow their dogs to dwell. In these miserable shanties soldiers are herded like cattle; here they waste their young days, polishing the boots and brass buttons of their superior officers. Here, too, I saw the distinction of classes: Sturdy sons of a free republic, drawn up in line like convicts, saluting every passing shrimp of a lieutenant. American equality, degrading manhood and elevating the uniform."

EXHIBIT E.

ANARCHISM; WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR.

This is a pamphlet published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 20 East One hundred and fifth Street, New York City, in 1906.

Page 4: "I also shall begin with a definition, and then elaborate on the latter.

"Anarchism: The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence and are therefore wrong and harmful as well as unnecessary."

Page 6: "Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself; which maintains that God, the State, and society are nonexistent; that their promises are null and void, since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination."

Page 7: "Religion, the dominion of the human mind; property, the dominion of human needs; and government, the dominion of human conduct, represent the stronghold of man's enslavement and all the horrors it entails. Religion! How it dominates man's mind, how it humiliates and degrades his soul. God is everything, man is nothing, says religion. But out of that nothing God has created a kingdom so despotic, so tyrannical, so cruel, so terribly exacting that naught but gloom and tears and blood have ruled the world since gods began. Anarchism rouses man to rebellion against this black monster. Break your mental fetters, says anarchism to man, for not until you think and judge for yourself will you get rid of the dominion of darkness, the greatest obstacle to all progress." * * *

"'Property is robbery,' said the great French anarchist Proudhon. Yes; but without risk and danger to the robber."

Page 11: "Indeed, the keynote of government is injustice."

Page 13: "The most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime. Aside from the fact that the State is itself the greatest criminal, breaking every written and natural law, stealing in the form of taxes, killing in the form of war and capital punishment, it has come to an absolute standstill in coping with crime. It has failed utterly to destroy or even minimize the horrible scourge of its own creation."

Page 17: "Anarchism does not stand for military drill and uniformity; it does, however, stand for the spirit of revolt, in whatever form, against everything that hinders human growth. All anarchists agree in that, as they also agree in their opposition to the political machinery as a means of bringing about the great social change."

Page 19: "Anarchism therefore stands for direct action, the open defiance of, and resistance to, all laws and restrictions, economic, social, and moral.

But defiance and resistance are illegal. Therein lies the salvation of man. Everything illegal necessitates integrity, self-reliance, and courage."

Page 20: "Direct action against the authority in the shop, direct action against the authority of the law, direct action against the invasive, meddlesome authority of our moral code, is the logical, consistent method of anarchism."

Page 21: "Will it not lead to a revolution? Indeed, it will. No real social change has ever come about without a revolution. People are either not familiar with their history, or they have not yet learned that revolution is but thought carried into action."

"Anarchism, the great heaven of thought, is to-day permeating every phase of human endeavor. Science, art, literature, the drama, the effort for economic betterment, in fact every individual and social opposition to the existing disorder of things, is illumined by the spiritual light of anarchism. It is the philosophy of the sovereignty of the individual. It is the theory of social harmony. It is the great, surging, living truth that is reconstructing the world, and that will usher in the dawn."

Page 10: "Such free display of human energy being possible only under complete individual and social freedom, anarchism directs its forces against the third and greatest foe of all social equality, namely, the State, organized authority, or statutory law,—the dominion of human conduct."

Pages 11 and 12: "The State is the altar of political freedom and, like the religious altar, it is maintained for the purpose of human sacrifice."

"In fact, there is hardly a modern thinker who does not agree that government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary only to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only."

Page 15: "Anarchism aims to strip labor of its deadening, dulling aspect, of its gloom and compulsion." * * *

"To achieve such an arrangement of life, government, with its unjust, arbitrary, repressive measures, must be done away with." * * *

"In destroying government and statutory laws, anarchism proposes to rescue the self-respect and independence of the individual from all restraint and invasion by authority."

EXHIBIT F.

PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE.

[By Emma Goldman.]

This is a pamphlet published by Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York City, 1911.

Page 1: "To the earnest student it must be apparent that the accumulated forces in our social and economic life, culminating in a political act of violence, are similar to the terrors of the atmosphere, manifested in storm and lightning."

Page 4: "Last, but not least, the man who probably better than anyone also understands the psychology of the attentator is M. Hamon, the author of the brilliant work, *Une Psychologie du Militaire Professionnel*, who has arrived at these suggestive conclusions:

"The positive method confirmed by the rational method enables us to establish an ideal type of anarchist, whose mentality is the aggregate of common psychic characteristics. Every anarchist partakes sufficiently of this ideal type to make it possible to differentiate him from other men. The typical anarchist, then, may be defined as follows: A man perceptible by the spirit of revolt under one or more of its forms—opposition, investigation, criticism, innovation—endowed with a strong love of liberty, egoistic or individualistic, and possessed of great curiosity, a keen desire to know."

Page 12: "Poor Leon Czolgosz, your crime consisted of too sensitive a social consciousness."

Page 13: "But, it is often asked, have not acknowledged anarchists committed acts of violence? Certainly they have; always, however, ready to shoulder the responsibility. My contention is that they were impelled not by the teachings of anarchism but by the tremendous pressure of conditions, making life unbearable to their sensitive natures. Obviously anarchism, or any other social theory making man a conscious social unit, will act as a heaven for rebellion."

Page 15: "Hundreds of voices raised in protest, calling on Frick to desist, not to go too far. Yes, hundreds of people protested, as one objects to annoying flies. Only one there was who actively responded to the outrage at Homestead—Alexander Berkman. Yes, he was an anarchist. He gloried in that fact, because it was the only force that made the discord between his spiritual longing and the world without at all bearable. Yet not anarchism, as such, but the brutal slaughter of the 11 steel workers was the urge for Alexander Berkman's act, his attempt on the life of Henry Clay Frick."

Page 19: "Will anyone say that Vallant was an ignorant vicious man, or a lunatic? Was not his mind singularly clear, analytic? No wonder that the best intellectual forces of France spoke in his behalf, and signed the petition to President Carnot, asking him to commute Vallant's death sentence.

"Carnot would listen to no entreaty; he insisted on more than a pound of flesh, he wanted Vallant's life, and then—the inevitable happened; President Carnot was killed. On the handle of the stiletto used by the Attentater was engraved, significantly, Vallant!"

Page 25: "He was garrotted. His body lay, sun-kissed, till the day hid in twilight. And the people came, and pointing the finger of terror and fear, they said: 'There—the criminal—the cruel murderer.'

"How stupid, how cruel is ignorance! It misunderstands always, condemns always."

In pages 25 to 27 of the pamphlet the writer condoles the act of Gastano Bresci in endeavoring to assassinate King Umberto of Italy.

EXHIBIT G.

MOTHER EARTH.

[Vol. 21, June, 1917, No. 4.]

Page 102: "Apropos of the refusal of passports to the Socialist delegates to the Stockholm Conference, what a vindication for the Anarchists, what triumph of the logic of our attitude towards government. The war has pointed out the utter stupidity of expecting economic justice or human rights from the machinery of government or from centralized power. Our quarrel with the Socialists, which began in the International with Bakunin, Marx and Engels, to this day centers around the one issue: the Socialists clamor for more laws, greater political power in the hands of the State and more centralized machinery of the government; while we Anarchists, as federalists, insist upon the necessity of undermining the State through the economic solidarity and action of the workers, which alone is the greatest menace to the capitalist régime and to the ever growing tyranny of authority. And now it has all come to pass, even though at the terrible price of war.

"The various Socialists who for political ends compromise their ideals, curry favor with the government, and who waste the time and substance of the workers in political campaigns, are now made to feel the mailed fist of the newly constituted American autocracy. They have been denied passports, or better yet, they have been told to behave themselves as behooves law-abiding citizens. What else can those expect who move within the limited confines of the State and blind the workers to the arbitrary and coercive tendency of all government, to the utter waste of time and energy spent on political action."

THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE.

Pages 112-114: "Conscription has now become a fact in this country. It took England fully 18 months after she engaged in war to impose compulsory military service on her people. It was left to free America to pass a conscription bill six weeks after war was declared.

"What becomes of the patriotic boast of America to have entered the European war in behalf of the principle of democracy? But that is not all. Every country in Europe has recognized the right of conscientious objectors—of men who refuse to engage in war on the ground that they are opposed to taking life.

"Yet this democratic country makes no such provision for those who will not commit murder at the behest of the profiteers through human sacrifice.

Thus the 'land of the free and the home of the brave' is ready to coerce free men into the military yoke.

"Liberty of conscience is the most fundamental of all human rights, the pivot of all progress. No human being may be deprived of it without losing every vestige of freedom of thought and action. In these days when every principle and conception of democracy and individual liberty is being cast overboard under the pretext of democratizing Germany, it behooves every liberty-loving man and woman to insist on his or her right of individual choice in the ordering of his life or action.

"The No Conscription League has been formed for the purpose of encouraging conscientious objectors to affirm their liberty of conscience and to translate their objection to human slaughter by refusing to participate in the killing of their fellow men. The No Conscription League is to be the voice of protest against war and against the coercion of conscientious objectors to participate in the war. Our platform may be summarized as follows:

"We oppose conscription because we are internationalists, antimilitarists, and opposed to all wars waged by capitalistic governments.

"We will fight for what we choose to fight for; we will never fight simply because we are ordered to fight.

"We believe that the militarization of America is an evil that far outweighs, in its antisocial and antilibertarian effects, any good that may come from America's participation in the war.

"We will resist conscription by every means in our power, and we will sustain those who, for similar reasons, refuse to be conscripted.

"The first important public activity of the No Conscription League took the form of a large mass meeting on May 18, attended by 8,000 people. The enthusiasm was so great that the uniformed patriots who came to break up the meeting soon slunk courageously away. A mothers' no conscription meeting has been arranged for June 4. Besides 100,000 no conscription manifestos have been circulated broadcast.

"We are not unmindful of the difficulties in our way. But we have resolved to go ahead and spare no effort to make the voice of protest a moral force in the life of this country. The initial efforts of the conscientious objectors in England were fraught with many hardships and danger, but finally the Government of Great Britain was forced to give heed to the steadily increasing volume of public protest against the coercion of conscientious objectors. So we, too, in America will doubtless meet the full severity of the Government and the condemnation of the patriotic jingoes, but we are nevertheless determined to go ahead. We feel confident in bringing out thousands of people who are conscientious objectors to the murder of their fellow men, and to whom a principle represents the most vital thing in life.

"Will you help us in this great undertaking? Will you enable us to carry on the fight? Send your contribution to me at once, to 20 East One hundred and twenty-fifth Street, New York. Send for manifestos.

"EMMA GOLDMAN."

EXHIBIT II.

In the issue of Mother Earth, volume 12, No. 1, March, 1917, appears an article entitled, "The Promoters of the War Mania," by Emma Goldman. On page 11 of the publication including this article the following appears:

"I, for one, will speak against war so long as my voice will last, now, and during war. A thousand times rather would I die calling to the people of America to refuse to be obedient, to refuse military service, to refuse to murder their brothers, than I should ever give my voice in justification of war, except the one war of all the peoples against their despots and exploiters—the social revolution."

EXHIBIT I.

Copy of Mother Earth for July, 1914, volume 9, No. 5, giving in detail the story of the explosion at 626 Lexington Avenue, New York City, on July 4, 1910, when Arthur Caron, Charles Berg, and Carl Hanson were killed. This matter is referred to under the activities of Emma Goldman in the attached memorandum.

EXHIBIT J.

In the issue of *Mother Earth*, volume 8, No. 12, February, 1914, on page 1 it appears that Emma Goldman was the sole proprietor of this magazine at the date of the issuance of this number.

On page 354 of the editorials the following statement appears: "If the unemployed would realize this, they would refuse to starve; they would help themselves to the things they need. But as long as they meekly wait for the governmental miracle, they will be doomed to hunger and misery."

Pages 358 and 359: "We extend our heartiest greetings and welcome to our brave Mexican comrades, Ricardo Flores Magon, Enrique Flores Magon, Anselmo Figueroa, and Librado Rivera, on their release from the Federal penitentiary at McNeill's Island, Wash.

"After serving over a year and a half in an American bastle for their devotion to the cause of the Mexican proletariat, our comrades are now again joining in the great struggle of the oppressed and exploited for liberty and well-being.

"Such men are not daunted by danger or broken by persecution and prison torture. The clear vision of the ideal gives them strength and courage to withstand all hardship and misery. To live, with them, means ceaselessly to fight the battle of the disinherited, with the devotion and spirit that knows no defeat.

"Hail, comrades! The example of men like you is ever the inspiration and hope of the social revolution."

From the above it will be noted that *Mother Earth* extended condolences through its editorial columns to persons who had violated the Federal laws of the United States and thereby encouraged such violators in their acts, endeavoring to make martyrs of them.

On pages 363 to 370 appears an article entitled, "Intellectual Proletarians," by Emma Goldman. On page 369 of this article the following is a quotation:

"Strikes, conflicts, the use of dynamite, or the efforts of the I. W. W. are exciting to our intellectual proletarian but, after all, very foolish when considered in the light of the logical, cool-headed observer."

On pages 379 to 380 appears correspondence showing the close association of the anarchistic societies to *Mother Earth* organization.

In their issue of *Mother Earth*, February, 1914, is attached as Exhibit J and reference to the various articles containing the same in addition to the quotations set forth above show the extreme anarchistic doctrines enunciated in its pages.

EXHIBIT K.

The January, 1910, issue of *Mother Earth*, volume 10, No. 11, contains an article in which is set forth by Emma Goldman her own version of her association with Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan and the attack made by her upon Donald Vose for what she considered his traitorous action.

EXHIBIT L.

The issue of *Mother Earth*, volume 11, No. 8, for October, 1916, contains on pages 625, 626 an appeal by Emma Goldman for subscriptions to these publications and, in offering inducements, she offers the book of Alexander Berkman entitled "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" or Voltairine de Cleyre's book, "Selected Works"; Kropotkin's timely book, "The Great French Revolution." It will be noted that the first of these books, namely, Alexander Berkman's work, "The Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," contains open advocacy of the use of the "attentat" which was invoked in the shooting of H. C. Frick by Berkman. This book, from the demands and offers contained in "Mother Earth," is being distributed through the instrumentality of Emma Goldman. At this point the meaning of "attentat" should be observed.

In the German Dictionary of Morwitz, the following definition appears:

"Attentat, premeditated outrage; premeditated attempt on anyone's life."

The second of the books offered for sale, namely, Voltairine de Cleyre's book, "Selected Works," bears consideration likewise. This book contains the poems, essays, sketches, and stories by the writer, Voltairine de Cleyre. The titles of some of the essays are sufficient to indicate the type of works of Voltairine de Cleyre. "Anarchism"; "The making of an anarchist"; "Direct

Action"; "In Defense of Emma Goldman." The third work offered, namely, "The Great French Revolution," by Kropotkin, needs little or no reference, for it is well known that Kropotkin is probably the most famous of the Russian anarchists. The following are a few of the doctrines advocated by Kropotkin:

"1. Enacted law has become the hindrance to mankind's progress toward existence as happy as possible.

"2. The State has become a hindrance to mankind's evolution.

"3. Private property has become a hindrance to the evolution of mankind."

On page 629 of the issue of Mother Earth for October, 1916, under "Observations and comments," appears a short eulogy upon Leon Czolgosz, who shot President McKinley on September 6, 1901, at Buffalo, N. Y.

On pages 643 to 648 appears a description of the Emma Goldman 1915-16 tour, written by Ben L. Reftman, her manager. Certain excerpts in this article are particularly interesting. On page 643 appears the following:

"We began the tour October 26 in Philadelphia, and almost every night until September 19, with the exception of 15 days spent in the Queens County Jail, Emma Goldman was on some platform in America carrying the message of anarchy."

On page 644 there is a description of the reception given to her in the city of Washington, set forth in the following language:

"It was not an unusual occurrence to see at least 200 members of Uncle Sam's family at one of our meetings applauding the philosophy which says 'that all governments are wrong, harmful, and unnecessary.'"

On pages 650 to 652 appears a letter written by Enrique Flores Magon, who was convicted for a violation of the Federal laws in connection with Mexican intrigue and to whose aid Emma Goldman and her copartner, Alexander Berkman, came with articles endeavoring to paint him as a martyr. It is to be particularly noted that on page 652, in closing the article, Magon refers with great feeling to the great act of Czolgosz in assassinating President McKinley.

EXHIBIT M.

In the issue of Mother Earth, volume 7, No. 3, for May, 1917, on page 70, under "Observations and comments," appears a short article relative to the suppression of certain anarchist periodicals in the United States, and the whole tenor of the article is one openly defying the Government and supporting the papers which had been excluded from the mails, owing to their anarchistic contents and their articles in opposition to war methods.

On page 89 of the same issue of Mother Earth appears an article entitled "Press censorship in India," by Ram Chandra, who, it will be recalled, was the Indian revolutionist who was arrested for a violation of the neutrality laws of the United States.

The above is indicative of the type of magazine which Mother Earth has been ever since its first issue, opening its pages to all malcontents, persons anarchistically inclined, and persons intent upon opposition to law and order.

EXHIBIT N.

The issue of Mother Earth for July, 1917, volume 2, No. 5, contains the story of the trial and conviction of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman referred to elsewhere in the memorandum upon this subject. Particular attention is called to the following excerpts from this issue:

Page 129: "The end of anarchism will only be in sight when liberty itself is dead or dying."

Page 132: "But they had decided that, as anarchists, it would be more consistent to go into court without a lawyer."

On page 139, in the speech of Alexander Berkman delivered to the jury on behalf of himself and Emma Goldman, the following appears:

"We stand here accused of being anarchists. A vain accusation. We are anarchists and I for one am proud of being an anarchist and I am sure I may say the same for my defendant, Miss Goldman."

Page 140: "We all believe in violence and we all disbelieve in violence; it all depends upon the circumstances. Under ordinary circumstances no one

wants violence, no one wants bloodshed; and yet certain circumstances arise when violence seems to be necessary in order perhaps to combat greater violence, in order to combat a great evil that may menace humanity."

Page 148: "And it is really anarchism that is on trial here, and I am glad it is, because it is well for you to know what anarchism is, since we are anarchists."

In the speech of Emma Goldman, on page 15, appears the following:

"What is a scrap of paper in the form of a search warrant, when it is a question of raiding the offices of anarchists or arresting anarchists?"

Page 154: "And what is the cause? Is it conditioned in the individual who commits an act of individual violence? It is not. An act of political violence at the bottom is the culminating result of organized violence on top. It is the result of violence which expresses itself in war, which expresses itself in capital punishment, which expresses itself in courts, which expresses itself in prisons, which expresses itself in kicking and hounding people for the only crime they are guilty of—of having been born poor."

Page 101: "Please forget that we are anarchists. Forget that we said that we propagated violence."

EXHIBIT O.

A leaflet entitled "McKinley's Assassination" from the anarchist standpoint appeared, and it is said that the same was written by Emma Goldman, though there is no actual evidence to establish this fact. Attention is called to this leaflet, however, for the reason that at the top of it appears the significant question made by Voltairine de Cleyre: "Which was the martyr, McKinley or Czolgosz?" Voltairine de Cleyre was the notorious anarchist whose works were collected and published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, and as an inducement for subscriptions Emma Goldman offered copies of her works. It shows the attitude of mind adopted by Voltairine toward the assassination of McKinley and the approval of such attitude by Emma Goldman.

EXHIBIT P.

This is a small leaflet entitled "Anarchist Literature," and contains a list of all the publications offered for sale by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, of which Emma Goldman is the head. In the leaflet, besides the offer of anarchist literature, there was contained definitions of "Anarchism," "Direct action," "Anarchy," and "Free communism."

EXHIBIT Q.

Exhibit Q is a copy of a letter written by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to United States district attorney, Mr. H. A. Content, who prosecuted the case against these two persons in the United States court, southern district of New York, for obstructing the draft. Particular attention is called to the third and fourth paragraphs, where each of these subjects stated that they are anarchists and set forth their views upon anarchism.

EXHIBIT R.

The Mother Earth Publishing Association issued a pamphlet entitled "Anarchy on Trial," containing a complete history of the trial of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman for obstructing the draft. The detailed statements set forth in these speeches are referred to in another exhibit, being an issue of Mother Earth. The present exhibit, however, is interesting from several viewpoints—first, the statement contained on page 11 by Miss Goldman that she stood for everything in Mother Earth because, as she added, she was the sole owner of the publication; second, on page 87 is a reprint from Mother Earth, volume 4, 1909-10, entitled "A new declaration of independence," written by

Emma Goldman. Particular attention is called to this article as being one setting forth principles and ideas entirely contrary to those upon which this Government was founded and upon which its present institutions exist.

EXHIBIT S.

Exhibit is an issue of Mother Earth for June, 1917, volume 12, No. 4, which is referred to in the transcript of record of the case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, plaintiffs in error, v. The United States. Particular attention is called to pages 97, 98, and 112, which deal with the activities of Emma Goldman.

EXHIBIT T.

The issue of The Blast for January 15, 1916, volume 1, No. 1, the anarchist publication issued by Alexander Berkman in San Francisco. There appears on page 2 "Greetings from Emma Goldman." Significant with this is the statement contained on page 1 as to the purposes of The Blast, one of which is, "Thus The Blast will be destroyed." Referring to the greetings received from Emma Goldman the following statement is to be noted:

"May The Blast tear up the solidified ignorance and cruelty of our social structure. Blast away."

EXHIBIT U.

The issue of The Blast for January 15, 1917, volume 2, No. 1, contains on page 6 "Birthday Greetings From Emma Goldman" to The Blast, a publication which had moved its activities from San Francisco to New York in view of the energetic efforts of the California authorities to free the State of such publications. Examination of either of the issues of The Blast referred to as T and U will convince one of its nature.

EXHIBIT V.

As Exhibit V, a pamphlet issued by Emma Goldman as her last contribution before going to the Jefferson City Penitentiary, is presented, entitled "The Truth About the Bolsheviki." The conclusion obtained from reading this publication is that the Bolsheviki was a justified element in the world and that their success has been both beneficial not only to Russia but through the example which they have set to the rest of the world will result in such movements in all parts of the world.

EXHIBIT W.

This is a pamphlet entitled "Philosophy of Atheism and the Failure of Christianity," by Emma Goldman, issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1910, which deals with the typical anarchist doctrine of the non-necessity of God and the church.

EXHIBIT X.

Following the publication of Mother Earth and its discontinuance after the conviction of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the Mother Earth Publishing Association issued what was known as the Mother Earth Bulletin. Exhibit X contains the following numbers of this bulletin:

Volume 1, No. 1; volume 1, No. 2; volume 1, No. 3; volume 1, No. 4; volume 1, No. 5; volume 1, No. 6; and volume 1, No. 7.

Attention is particularly called to volume 1, No. 1, pages 1, 2, 3, and 8.

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Volume 1, No. 2, pages 1, 3, and 8; volume 1, No. 3, pages 1 and 3; volume 1, No. 4, pages 1, 2, and 3; volume 1, No. 5, pages 1, 2, 3, and 5; volume 1, No. 6, pages 1, 2, and 3; and volume 1, No. 7, pages 1, 2, 3, and 4.

EXHIBIT Y.

"Down with the Anarchists!" is a leaflet which was issued by The Blast Group, Group Freedom, Italian Anarchist Group Volonts, and Union of Russian Workers. As appears upon the last page of the leaflet, it will be noted that a demand for anarchist literature is set forth and it is stated that the same might be obtained from The Blast, published by Alexander Berkman, and the Mother Earth Publishing Association, headed by Emma Goldman. The contents of the leaflet was typical of those issued by anarchists.

Particular attention is called to the fact that the leaflet appears over the signature of the "Union of Russian Workers," which organization has been declared to be anarchistic by the Commissioner General of Immigration. The form of signature would lead one to believe that the names of the organizations affixed were signed "Per Emma Goldman-Alexander Berkman."

EXHIBIT I.

[United States of America v. Emma Goldman and Alex Berkman. No. 9-474.]

MONDAY, JULY 9, 1917.

Present: Hon. Jullus M. Mayer, J.

Alex Berkman sums up.

Emma Goldman sums up.

Mr. H. A. Content sums up.

Charge officer sworn. Jury retire and upon their return say they find the defendants guilty as charged.

On motion of United States attorney ordered sentence.

Defendant Emma Goldman arraigned states to the court that she was born in Russia, town of Kova, about 1869. Not married. Mother living in Rochester, N. Y.

Not a citizen of the United State by own application.

Defendant Alexander Berkman arraigned and states to the court that he was born in Russia about 48 years ago, in St. Petersburg, single, parents dead, and that he is not a citizen of the United States.

Emma Goldman sentenced to be imprisoned for two years and to pay a fine of \$10,000, and to stand committed until fine be paid or she is otherwise discharged according to law.

Sentence to be executed in the Jefferson City Penitentiary, Jefferson City, Mo.

Alexander Berkman sentenced to be imprisoned for two years and to pay a fine of \$10,000, and to stand committed until fine be paid or he is otherwise discharged according to law. Sentence to be executed in the United States Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Southern District of New York, ss:

I, Alexander Gilchrist, Jr., Clerk of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York, do hereby certify that the writings annexed to this certificate, viz: Minutes of proceedings in court on July 9, 1917 in the case of United States of America v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, have been compared by me with the original minutes remaining of record in my office; that they are correct transcripts therefrom and of the whole of the said originals.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of the said court at the city of New York, in the Southern District of New York, this 1st day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand

nine hundred and nineteen, and of the independence of the said United States the one hundred and forty-fourth.

ALEX. GILCHRIST, JR.,
Clerk.

[United States District Court, Southern District of New York (criminal branch). United States v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. Before Hon. Julius H. Mayer, J., and a jury. New York, July 9, 1917, 6 p. m.]

(Pedigree of defendant Emma Goldman, appearing at pages 812 and 813 of the official stenographic record of the trial.)

* * * * *

The CLERK. Miss Emma Goldman to the bar. Where were you born?
Miss GOLDMAN. Russia.
The CLERK. When?
Miss GOLDMAN. 1869.
The CLERK. Where, in Russia?
Miss GOLDMAN. Town of Kovno.
The CLERK. Are you married or single?
Miss GOLDMAN. Single.
The CLERK. Parents living?
Miss GOLDMAN. Mother living.
The CLERK. Where, may I ask?
Miss GOLDMAN. Rochester, N. Y.
The CLERK. Are you a citizen of the United States?
Miss GOLDMAN. Not by my own application; from my father.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a correct and accurate transcript of that part or portion of the minutes of the proceedings which took place at the trial of the above-entitled case, and as appears at pages 812 and 813 of the official copy of the stenographic record containing the entire proceedings of the trial of the above-entitled case, as reported and transcribed under my supervision.

WM. J. FINERTY,
Stenographer United States District Court
for the Southern District of New York.

Dated, New York, October 1, 1919.

EXHIBIT II.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Western District of New York, ss:

I, Harris S. Williams, chief deputy clerk of the District Court of the United States for the Western District of New York, do hereby certify that I have compared the annexed copy of decree cancelling certificate of naturalization with the original entered and on file in this office, and that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original.

And I further certify that I am the officer in whose custody it is required by law to be.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the said court to be affixed at the city of Buffalo, in said district, this 1st day of October, A. D. 1919.

[SEAL.]

HARRIS S. WILLIAMS,
Chief Deputy Clerk.

[United States District Court, Western District of New York. The United States of America, complainant, v. Jacob A. Kersner, defendant. In equity.]

The above-entitled suit coming on regularly to be heard on default of the defendant before the court on the 8th day of April, 1909, and the court having heard the proofs of allegations on the part of the complainant and having heard the testimony of Abraham Kersner and Simon Goldstein, on due deliberation having made and filed its conclusions therein, whereby the court finds and decides as conclusion of law that the complainant, the United States of America, is entitled to judgment setting aside and annulling the citizenship of Jacob A. Kersner, and cancelling the certificate of citizenship heretofore issued to Jacob A. Kersner, the said defendant, by the county court of Monroe County, on the

18th day of October, 1884, on the ground that the said citizenship and certificate of citizenship were illegally procured, and having ordered judgment accordingly,

It is ordered, adjudged, and decreed that the citizenship in the United States, and the certificate of citizenship heretofore issued to Jacob A. Kersner, the defendant herein, by the county court of Monroe County, on the 18th day of October, 1884, be, and the same is hereby, set aside, annulled, and canceled on the ground that the said citizenship and certificate of citizenship were illegally procured, and the clerk of this court is hereby directed to transmit a certified copy of this order and judgment to the said county court of Monroe County, N. Y.

Judgment signed this 8th day of April, 1909.

SIDNEY W. PETRIE,
Clerk, United States District Court.

EXHIBIT III.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Western District of New York, ss:

I, Harris S. Williams, chief deputy clerk of the District Court of the United States for the Western District of New York, do hereby certify that I have compared the annexed copy of findings with the original entered and on file in this office, and that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original.

And I further certify that I am the officer in whose custody it is required by law to be.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the said court to be affixed at the city of Buffalo, in said district, this 1st day of October, A. D. 1910.

[SEAL.]

HARRIS S. WILLIAMS,
Chief Deputy Clerk.

[United States District Court, Western District of New York. United States of America, complainant, v. Jacob A. Kersner, defendant. In equity.]

The above-entitled suit having been commenced by the filing of a bill of complaint, notice of which was duly served by publication as required by law, as appears by the papers duly filed herein with proof of publication, and the defendant not having appeared and answered herein and being wholly in default, and the said suit being regularly reached for trial before the court on the 8th day of April, 1909, and the court having heard the proofs and allegations on the part of the complainant, the United States of America, and after hearing the testimony of Abraham Kersner and Simon Goldstein, for the complainant, and no one appearing for the defendant, and on due deliberation, the court finds and decides the following as

CONCLUSIONS OF FACT.

1. That the said Jacob A. Kersner, an alien and subject of the Czar of Russia, and formerly residing in Russia, Europe, was born in 1805; that he came to the United States for the first time in the summer of 1882.

2. That the said Jacob A. Kersner, the defendant, was naturalized and procured a certificate of naturalization declaring him to be a citizen of the United States from the county court of Monroe County, N. Y., a court duly authorized by law to naturalize aliens, on the 18th day of October, 1884. And as

CONCLUSIONS OF LAW.

That the defendant Jacob A. Kersner was not at the time he was naturalized and procured said certificate of naturalization entitled thereto, and was not and is not entitled to admission as a citizen of the United States of America, and was not and is not a duly naturalized citizen of the United States of America, and that the complainant is entitled to a judgment setting aside the certificate of citizenship heretofore issued to the said Jacob A. Kersner by the county court of Monroe County, N. Y., on the 18th day of October, 1884, on the ground that said citizenship and certificate of citizenship were illegally procured.

Judgment is hereby ordered accordingly.

Dated April 8, 1909.

JOHN R. HAZEL,
United States Judge.

EXHIBIT IV.

[Court of General Sessions of the Peace of the City and County of New York. The People of the State of New York v. Emma Goldman.]

The grand jury of the city and county of New York, by this indictment, accuse Emma Goldman of a misdemeanor committed as follows:

The said Emma Goldman, late of the city of New York, in the county of New York aforesaid, on the 21st day of August in the year of our Lord-1893, at the city and county aforesaid, being an evil disposed and pernicious person, and of the most wicked and turbulent disposition together with divers other evil disposed and pernicious persons to the number of five hundred and upwards, unlawfully, wickedly, maliciously intending and contriving to disturb the public peace, and to excite discontent and disaffection, and to excite the good citizens of our said State and of the United States to hatred and contempt of the Government and Constitution of this State and of the United States and to raise and make insurrections, riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies within this State and throughout the United States and to obstruct and subvert the laws of the Government thereof, and to oppose and prevent their execution with force and arms, did unlawfully, wickedly, turbulently, and maliciously assemble and gather together; and being so then and there assembled and gathered together as aforesaid, the said Emma Goldman, and the said other evil disposed and pernicious persons, did then and there unlawfully, wickedly, turbulently, and maliciously threaten to raise insurrections and riots and unlawful assemblies in our said State and throughout the United States, and to kill and murder divers of the good citizens of the United States, and to commit larcenies, robberies, burglaries, and other offenses in this State and in the United States and to obstruct the laws and government thereof and of this State, and to oppose and to prevent their due execution, and to procure and obtain arms, ammunition, weapons, and the means wherewith to execute and consummate their said most wicked and unlawful threats; against the form of the statute in such case made and provided and against the peace of the people of the State of New York and their dignity.

DE LANCEY NICOLL,
District Attorney.

EXHIBIT V.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of Erie, City of Buffalo, ss:

Clara M. Ragan being duly sworn deposes and says: That she is a stenographer in the office of the bureau of investigation, department of justice at Buffalo, N. Y.; that on October 3, 1910, in the office of the district attorney for the county of Erie, that she did make and transcribe a true and correct copy of statements hereto attached; that said statement is now bound with other statements, in volume marked, "Statements People v. Leon F. Czolgosz, volume 1, T. Penney, district attorney," which is now on file in said district attorney's office in Erie County, and forms part of the records of said office.

CLARA M. RAGAN.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of October, 1910.

[SEAL.]

GEO. E. CADY, Notary Public.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of Erie, City of Buffalo, ss:

M. J. O'Loughlin being duly sworn deposes and says that he is now a detective sergeant in the city of Buffalo, and resides at 318 East Utica Street; that prior to and during the month of September, 1901, he was a detective sergeant in the police department of the city of Buffalo; that on or about the 6th day of September, 1901, he was present when Leon F. Czolgosz, the man who shot President McKinley, made a statement to him and to Frank H. Haggerty and John Martin, and signed a written statement of which the

annexed is a part, and that Ozolgosz made these statements in his presence, and signed same in his presence.

MATTHEW J. O'LOUGHLIN.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of October, 1919.

LOUISE FRANCES SMITH, *Notary Public*.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1901.

Fred Nieman says he has been in Buffalo a week to-morrow, September 7, 1901. I came from Cleveland, Ohio; been in Cleveland three or four years. Father used to live in Cleveland. Don't know where he is now. I am a blacksmith's helper by occupation and worked. I did not work in Buffalo. Lived on Broadway, No. 1025, room No. 8, I think. Saloon conducted there by a man whose name I don't know. I am 28 years old. I first thought of shooting President McKinley this morning. I was in exposition grounds yesterday afternoon. I did not try to see President then and don't know if I did see him or not. I stayed at grounds yesterday until about 6 o'clock. After that I went home to Broadway and to my room. After that I walked around town. I was born in Detroit, Mich. I lived on Fleet Street in Cleveland, Ohio.- I think No. 99, near Ackley Street. I was living with myself.

In Detroit I used to live near Polish Catholic Church. It is so long ago I can not remember the street. It is over 20 years since I was in Detroit. Don't remember church. In Buffalo I lived on Broadway, opposite side of the street from Broadway. Market further out Broadway than the market. It is on the other side of Fillmore Avenue. I went out to exposition to-day, September 6, 1901, alone. I was out alone yesterday. I did not shake hands with my right hand with the President. I know the President was shaking hands with the people when I shot him. I am not left-handed. I did not shake hands with him at all. I don't remember if I put out my left hand to him. After coming from exposition yesterday I went home first, and then I went to a small square down town. There was a monument in it and grass and seats in it. I did not sit down. I went alongside of the square. It was late at night. I left exposition at 6 o'clock. I did not go home at once. I took car down town. Left exposition somewhere between 5 and 6. I got off the car near the monument. I stayed around monument 5 or 10 minutes. Walked then around town. I went in some barrooms; met a crowd of fellows; don't know their names. Walked around till 10 o'clock, then went home, reaching home close to 11 o'clock. I did not go out again. It is third building from the corner of the cross street on Broadway going out. I want a clean shirt. I do not see why they dirtied this one. I have some clothes in my room at Broadway. I spoke to my landlord on Broadway in English. I can speak Polish. My father was a Pole. My father's name was Paul. I think it is a good many weeks since I saw him. I was not drunk since I have been in Buffalo. I have got shoes and clothes in my room. I think Hotel Tuper is John Nowak. My name is F. Ozolgosz. I got off the car on Broadway when I came here and asked for lodgings. Never was in Buffalo before this year. I was in Buffalo about year ago. Stayed here two, three, or four nights. Came for fun, boarded that time down town. I did not know where I was going when I came this time. I got off at market house and asked for lodgings and was told to go there. I had a letter to him. He would have to destroy the letter. I had a letter to the Noble Chief of the Knights of the Golden Eagle Order, and he would have to destroy the letter. It was the order. I got that letter at the post office in Buffalo on the 27th or 28th of August, 1901, at ---. I thought letter was dated August 23. The letter stated I was good in any lodge. The letter also said that the noble chief should destroy the letter. I had it in my pocket, and they took it away from me. The Knights of the Golden Eagle is the same as any other order.

I saw Emma Goldman. She writes for newspapers in Chicago, I think. I don't know for sure. I read the "Free Society" published in Chicago. I have been reading that for a long time. It is the anarchistic paper published at Chicago. I have been reading it a good many months. It is published at 515 Carroll Street, Chicago. The editor is A. or A. J. Ezziak (Ezliak). Emma Goldman and a lot of men wrote articles for this paper. I used to get this paper at the same hall in Cleveland I have spoken of. This is No. 170 either Ontario or Superior Street. I heard Mrs. Bedford talk at the Cleveland hall. She lives out in the direction of Bedford, south of Cleveland, about 10 miles from Cleve-

land on trolley line. She made speeches on "free love." I believe in "free love." "Free love" means men and women living together without being married. Saw Mrs. Bedford three or four times. I knew a man named Baileu. I don't know where he lives. I knew a saloon keeper who belonged to the club. His place was on Tod Street near Fleet. His name was Mandrak, about four blocks from where I lived. This man did not belong to the club. My former statement that he did was a mistake. When I went to Chicago I went on passenger train and bought ticket on Lake Shore. I paid \$11.50 to come from Chicago to Buffalo. I got to Buffalo in the morning. It was on last Saturday. I walked to Broadway and took a car. I inquired for lodgings in saloons near Broadway market. Never knew any anarchist club in Buffalo. The last thing I worked at was in wire mill in Newburg, suburb of Cleveland, run by W. L. Hayes. I think it was in 1897 or 1898. In 1898, I think. Worked there good many years—about five or six years. I quit in 1899. I worked in the country as cook or anything that came along. Wire mill was last steady employment. I worked for farmer in Orange, Ohio, about 14 or 15 miles from Cleveland.

When I left Cleveland I went Chicago. I stopped different places. I came from Chicago on the train direct, had a railroad ticket on passenger train. I worked for the money and had money myself. In Chicago I did not work. I stayed hotel Chicago two or three days. I saw boarding house advertised in paper. I read Polish papers. I said to the officer, I done my duty in shooting the President. I was working under my own instructions. I shot the President because I wanted to do it. I came here from Chicago. I saw it in the papers in Chicago that the President was to be here.

I have not worked as blacksmith's helper in about three or four years. I did not belong to any labor union. I came here from Chicago not purposely to shoot the President. I made my plans for shooting the President this morning. I saw President in the grounds yesterday in the afternoon. I am a citizen. I voted once about seven years ago. It was in 1894 when I was 21. I voted in Cleveland. I don't vote and have not voted since. I don't believe in voting. I have read paper books and pamphlets on the subject of voting. I don't believe in voting. It is my principle that I should not vote. I know others that don't believe in voting. They meet at hall in Cleveland on either Ontario or Superior street. They met on Sunday afternoon. It is called some kind of a club. They had some officer—forgot his name. One woman whom I saw at the Cleveland Club was Emma Goldman from Chicago. She talked about Government. She said she don't believe in voting and don't believe in Government. Said all Government was tyranny. She said she believed in anarchy. I am an anarchist. Anarchy, as I understand it, means self-government. That time in Cleveland was the only time I was on my father's farm. I worked for him on the farm two years—winter and summer. I have brothers and sisters older and younger than I. Some live with him. I had a quarrel with my father and stepmother. I didn't just quarrel with them. I didn't like their style and I left and went to Cleveland a few weeks. I did not work during time I was in Cleveland after I left farm. I was in this anarchist hall before I went to farm. My father was not an anarchist so far as I know. After I was in Cleveland that time I went to Chicago. I stopped at different places. I stopped at Fort Sheridan one night to rest, and then went to Chicago. I stopped Chicago three or four nights, and then came to Buffalo direct. I did not go to see anyone in Chicago. Got no money from father when I left farming or from anybody else. I have not worked at anything since I left farm.

The picture shown me is myself. It was taken in Cleveland. I had them taken when I was working on farm for my father, some seven or eight months ago, probably a year ago. I came to Cleveland often when I was on the farm, and stayed two or three days, and sometimes attended the anarchist meetings and I use to go there and get these papers that I spoke of.

I had the money to go to Chicago. I saved it when I worked in the mill \$300 or \$400, some I had in Stafford Savings Bank in Cleveland. I drew it out in 1894 and 1896 and carried it in my pocket and gave some to my father. He did not give it back.

Judson Davis in Cleveland belonged to the Golden Eagles. I belonged Forest City Castle in Cleveland. His address is 2270 Spafford street, Cleveland, Ohio. I know this box. Paid \$4.50 for the gun that was in it, this week some day in Buffalo here. I could not say what street. I think it was a big gun store day before yesterday. I think it was Thursday. I bought it before I went to Pan-American. I went to Exposition yesterday afternoon. The gun was in my room yesterday. They had rifles in the store window where I

bought gun. I bought five cartridges, 32-caliber. I loaded the gun in my room yesterday in the evening and left in my room put it in my pocket loaded this morning. Left house 9 o'clock. I went to Niagara Falls. I didn't see President. Came back on street car. I went to Falls on trolley car. Went alone. I tried to find President there. I did not intend to shoot him there. I did not see anyone I knew. I owned a gun before. Somebody swiped it on me. I never was arrested before. I gave my father over \$100 of the money.

(Rest of statement missing.)

Witness:

FRANK HAGGERTY,
M. J. O'LAUGHLIN,
JOHN MARTIN.

EXHIBIT VI.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of Erie, City of Buffalo, ss:

Horace E. Story, being duly sworn, deposes and says that during the year 1901, and for some years prior thereto and some years thereafter, he was a grand jury stenographer in the district attorney's office of Erie County, and in addition to reporting the proceedings before the grand juries also took statements when required to do so in criminal cases; that on September 6, 1901, beginning at 10.20 p. m., he took a statement at police headquarters, in the city of Buffalo, N. Y., made by Leon F. Czolgosz, who was charged with shooting President McKinley; that said statement was subsequently transcribed by said Story, and is now bound with other statements taken in the same matter in volume marked "Statements People v. Leon F. Czolgosz, volume 1, T. Penney, district attorney," which is now on file in said district attorney's office of Erie County, and forms part of the records of said office; that said statement of the said Czolgosz was correctly taken and correctly transcribed by the said Story.

HORACE E. STORY.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of October, 1910.

GEORGE A. ECKHART,
Commissioner of Deeds in and for the City of Buffalo, N. Y.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of Erie, City of Buffalo, ss:

Clara M. Ragan, being duly sworn, deposes and says that she is a stenographer in the office of the bureau of investigation, department of justice, Buffalo, N. Y.; that on October 8, 1910, in the office of the district attorney for the county of Erie, that she did make and transcribe a true and correct copy of statements hereto attached and referred to in the attached affidavit of Horace E. Story; that said statement is now bound with other statements taken in the same manner in volume marked "Statements People v. Leon F. Czolgosz, volume 1, T. Penney, district attorney," which is now on file in said district attorney's office in Erie County, and forms part of the records of said office.

CLARA M. RAGAN.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of October, 1910.

[SEAL.]

GEO. W. CADY, *Notary Public.*

STATEMENT OF LEON F. CZOLGOSZ, TAKEN AT POLICE HEADQUARTERS, 10.30 P. M.,
SEPTEMBER 6, 1901, BY MR. PENNEY.

The following parties present all or part of time statement was being taken:
Mr. Cusack, Supt. Bull, Inspector Donovan, Inspector Martin, Dr. Fowler, Mr. Quackenbush, O'Loughlin, H. Q.

MR. PENNEY. Is your face sore?

CZOLGOSZ. Where they punched me.

DR. FOWLER. Let me see your tongue.

(Prisoner does so.)

MR. PENNEY. Open your eyes.

DR. FOWLER. Your head ache any?

CZOLGOSZ. Not at all.

- Q. Are you subject to headache? Have headache much?—A. Sometimes.
- Q. Not lately?—A. No.
- Mr. PENNEY. Been feeling well lately?—A. Kind of tired.
- Q. How long have you been feeling tired?—A. Since they—
- Q. Since those fellows punched you?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. You were not tired before, you have not worked to-day?—A. No, sir.
- Q. Have you any trade, Fred?—A. Blacksmith's helper; blacksmith shop.
- Q. Did you ever work in Buffalo?—A. No, sir.
- Q. Ever been here before?—A. Before.
- Q. How long ago?—A. Probably about a year ago; somewheres around there.
- Q. How long did you stay that time?—A. I stayed here for three or four nights, I think.
- Q. Any relatives here?—A. No, sir.
- Q. You have got some friends?—A. No, sir.
- Q. What did you come here for that time?—A. Just to see the Falls.
- Q. Where were you living at that time?—A. Cleveland.
- Q. Is that your home, Cleveland?—A. Yes, sir; it is my home.
- Q. Have you any relatives there?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Who are they?—A. My father and stepmother.
- Q. Have you got any brothers and sisters?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. How many?—A. Six or seven brothers; and two sisters.
- Q. Are they older than you?—A. Some is older, and some is younger.
- Q. You live at home, when you are in Cleveland? Do you?—A. Yes; some of them live at home.
- Q. Do you live with your father and mother?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Are you married?—A. No, sir.
- Q. You have had a gun before, haven't you, Fred?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. What did you do with that?
- O'LOUGHLIN. Tell him; you said it was swiped on you.
- CZOLGOSZ. It was swiped on me.
- Mr. PENNEY. When?—A. A couple or three weeks ago.
- Q. What did you come to Buffalo this time for?—A. To strike something to do.
- Q. Come here to get work?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Did you go to school in Cleveland?—A. (Not heard.)
- Q. You were born in Detroit?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. What nationality were your parents?—A. (Not heard.)
- Q. Have you ever read any of the works of Prince Kapartkin?—A. Yes, sir; some of them.
- Q. You know what he writes about, do you know his theory of government; do you know what that means, Fred? Do you understand me? Is there anything the matter with your head?—A. No, sir.
- Q. Why don't you hold it up, so I can see; lean back in your chair, throw your head back, and open your eyes if you are not too tired? You say you have read some of Prince Kapartkin's writing? Keep your head up so I can see your face?—A. Not very much.
- Q. You don't believe in the republican form of government; do you?—A. No, sir.
- Q. You don't believe we should have any rulers?—A. No, sir.
- Q. You believe it is right to kill them, if necessary, don't you?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Was that your notion, when you shot the man to-day?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Was it for that reason?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. You went there with the intention of killing him, didn't you?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. How long had you been planning that?—A. Oh, for a couple—about two or three or four days ago.
- Q. Three or four days ago; days or weeks?—A. Days.
- Q. What first put it into your head to do that? Look up and tell me about that, will you? Was it after you came to Buffalo you made up your mind to do that?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Did you talk it over with anyone, or was it something you had read that suggested it to you, or something else?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Something you had read? Was it? Look up, Fred, give your answer.
- Was it some book you read that suggested the idea to you?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. What had you been reading that suggested that to you?—A. That paper.
- Q. What particular thing was it that suggested your killing the President? Did you believe it would be a good thing to get rid of him; good thing for the country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you tell the people down there where you have been rooming that you intended to use that gun that you had bought?—A. No, sir.

Q. How was it you had the gun when you went in there this afternoon?—A. In my right hand.

Q. Your handkerchief over it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just take your handkerchief and show me how you had it there?

Witness indicates covering left hand with handkerchief.

Q. Describe it? Hold it up about the way you had it on your hand there? Witness does as directed.

Q. It was not hanging down over the sides that way?—A. Yes, sir; I had it fixed up this way.

Q. Was the gun inside the handkerchief or did you have the gun in your hand and the handkerchief over your hand?—A. The handkerchief was over the gun.

Q. Did you hold the gun outside the handkerchief?—A. No, sir.

Q. You had hold of the gun, and the handkerchief over your hand and the gun?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have it that way when you started in the line to go up toward the President?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where did you fix it?—A. In the row.

Q. While you were going up with the crowd?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What pocket did you carry the gun in when you took it out in your hand? In your coat pocket or hip pocket?—A. Hip pocket.

Q. As you were going up in the crowd, you took it out and fixed your handkerchief over it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you say anything to the President before you shot him?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did he shake hands with you?—A. No, sir.

Q. He put out his hand to shake hands?—A. I don't think he did.

Q. You were close to him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When you shot you fully intended to kill him; that was your intention when you started out; you thought it would be a good thing to get rid of him as President, didn't you? What do you say, Fred?

Inspector MARTIN. Leo.

Mr. PENNEY. What do you say, Leo? That is right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You fully intended to kill him when you shot? Answer the question. Yes, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you have been intending to kill him for the last three days? That has been your plan?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You followed him down to the Falls to-day for that purpose?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were down to the Falls?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had your gun with you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And if you had the right opportunity, you would have shot him then?—A. No, I don't think I would.

Q. Had you planned to shoot him this afternoon in the Temple of Music?—A. Yes.

Q. That has been your plan, from the beginning?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you read the program in the newspapers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You knew he was going to be there, and have a public reception?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you belong to any societies?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What kind of societies do you belong to?—A. Knights of the Golden Eagle.

Q. Any other society?—A. No, sir.

Q. What do the Knights of the Golden Eagle believe in, so far as government is concerned?—A. Nothing to do with government.

Q. Fraternal organization?—A. Lodges.

Q. Social?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you belong to any club, number of men, you gather together, and talk over these principles of government?—A. No, sir.

Q. Haven't you ever met with men and talked that over?—A. Yes, sir; but I didn't belong to any society.

Q. Have you ever taken any obligation or sworn any oath to kill anybody; you have, haven't you; look up and speak; haven't you done that?—A. No, sir.

Q. But you have, haven't you, taken some obligation upon yourself, or taken some oath, that you would kill the President, have you?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did she say?—A. She didn't like them.

Q. Anything else did she say?—A. She said a good deal more, but I can't remember all.

Q. You got the idea that she thought it would be a good idea if we didn't have this form of government?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You wanted to help on in her work, and thought this was the best way to do it; was that your idea; of if you have any other idea, tell us what it was?—A. She didn't tell me to do it.

Q. You thought it would be a nice thing; she would like to have you do it?—A. I didn't ask her whether she would or not.

Q. You think she would approve of it?—A. Maybe she would.

Q. You believed it was the proper thing to do; didn't you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does your parents and your brothers and sisters believe the same way you do about these things?—A. I don't think so.

Q. Did you ever talk with them about it?—A. No, sir.

Q. How much did you pay for your gun?—A. \$4.50; I paid something like that.

Q. When you bought that, you intended to use it on the President; didn't you; what do you say, Leo?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is what you came to Buffalo for?—A. To see if I could find something to do.

Q. Was not one of your objects to shoot the President?—A. No, sir.

Q. Not until you came out here?—A. Until three or four days ago.

Q. What was it that suggested it to you three or four days ago? Can you remember?—A. No, sir.

Q. Can't you give us some idea what first put it into your mind? Can you? What was the first thing that put this into your mind, you must have had some beginning about it; something must have started it in your mind?—A. I didn't believe in any government.

Q. You don't believe in any rulers; you have not believed in that for a long time?—A. No, sir.

Q. What was this that first put this into your mind; have you been reading something since you came to Buffalo that suggested it to you, had you? Speak up, Leo?—A. I read some of the papers.

Q. What did you read?—A. I read something in the papers; I can't just remember what it was.

Mr. O'LOUGHLIN. What was the name of the papers you were reading?—A. Free Society papers.

(Superintendent Bull and Mr. Haller came in; also Detective Geary.)

By Mr. PENNEY. Leo, will you draw up here a little closer, and I will read this statement to you slowly?

(Mr. Penney reads statement taken by Mr. Haller.)

Q. You said you thought of shooting President McKinley three days ago; you said you first thought of it three or four days ago—you planned to kill McKinley; is that right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you intended to do that all the time when you bought the revolver, and you intended to kill him when you fired it off; that is true, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I walked around town"—A. I didn't go home after 6.

Q. "I was living with myself?"—A. Yes; my folks live there.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. You didn't work here at all?—A. No, sir.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. Stayed around—A. He repeated that twice.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "Reaching home about 11 o'clock?"—A. About half past 10 or 11 o'clock.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I want a clean shirt."—A. Yes; they told me I should—

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "It is a good many weeks since I saw him."—A. It is.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. My name is Leon J. How do you pronounce last name?—A. Czolgos.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "Never was in Buffalo before this year."—A. That is wrong.

By Mr. HALLER. That is changed.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. I had a letter to him. Had you ever met Nowak?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did you mean by that?—A. I had a letter from the lodge—to which I belong—Knights of the Golden Eagle, written to the Noble Chief; I think it was from the Noble Chief, notifying Noble Chief—

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I said to the officer I done my duty in shooting the President." Did you say that to the officer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Which one?—A. The one that brought me down.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I saw it in the papers in Chicago that the President was to be here." That is right?—A. Yes, sir.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I made my plans for shooting the President this morning."—A. That is a mistake; that should be three or four days ago.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I don't believe in voting." Is that your idea?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You don't believe in the present form of government; is that the idea?—A. Yes, sir.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

(Mr. Haggerty makes correction in written statement of prisoner; about place, "it is my principle; I don't believe in voting.")

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I am an anarchist." Is that right?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. PENNEY to Haggerty. Put in the words, "Am an anarchist."

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "About 10 miles from Cleveland on trolley line." You are watching this, are you? If there is not anything right about this, call my attention to this.—A. I don't know where she lives.

Q. I mean any of the substance of this that is not right.—A. That is not right; she lives 10 miles—village of Bedford.

Q. "I heard her talk in Bedford, Cleveland."—A. Whether she lives on the trolley line or in the village of Bedford, I don't know.

Q. It is in that direction?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. PENNEY. You better make that she lives out in the direction of Bedford, south of Cleveland; that is what you mean to say?—A. Yes, sir.

(Haggerty makes corrections as noted above.)

Q. "I believe in free love." That is true?—A. Yes, sir.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I know a saloon keeper that belongs to the club."—A. They asked if I knew the saloon keepers in Cleveland; I told them I knew that fellow; he belonged to that club.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "This man did not belong to the club; my former statement that he did was not correct." That is true? That corrects that?—A. Yes, sir.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I didn't like their style."—A. That quarrel wants to be crossed off.

Q. "I had a quarrel with my father and stepmother"; do you want that, I didn't just quarrel with them?—A. I want—

Q. What you want to leave in there is—A. I didn't like their style, and left.

Q. That is the way you want that sentence to begin?—A. Yes.

Q. I will strike out, "I had a quarrel with my father and stepmother; I didn't just quarrel with them." I will strike it out down to there; now it reads, "I didn't like their style?"—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "And I left and went to Cleveland," etc.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "After I left farm, I was in the anarchist hall."

(Correction made by Haggerty.)

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I had the money to go there; I saved it when I was in the mill; \$300 or \$400." Is that right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Read down here with me.

(Prisoner does as directed.)

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I gave some to my father."—A. It says there I gave him \$300 or \$400.

Q. No; it says you saved \$300 or \$400; I will read it to you again.

(Does so.)

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "The gun was in my room yesterday." Is that right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I went right in when he came."—A. When I went, he was in already.

Q. When you got to the building, the president was already there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you mean to say that the president got there before you did?—A. The president got in there before I did.

Q. Didn't you tell me a little while ago that you waited for him; that you got there about an hour before the president came?—A. On the ground, but I was not in the building.

Q. Did you get into the building before the president?—A. After.

Q. What you mean was that you got into the grounds before the President came?—A. It says that I was by the building.

Q. What you mean to say is that you got in on the grounds before the President came?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you didn't go into the building where the President was until after he was in there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I went right in when he came."—A. He was in there when I came.

Q. Did you see him go in?—A. They told me he was in.

Q. Did you see the President go in?—A. No, sir.

Q. "I wrapped gun in my handkerchief at boarding house." I thought you said you wrapped it in the building?—A. I could not carry it that way right along. I wrapped it up, and when I got to the building I pulled my handkerchief out.

Q. When you got into the building the gun was in your pocket?—A. It was in my hand.

Q. Not when you went in?—A. Not when I went in; but when I went in a little ways.

Q. But when you went in it was in your pocket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was the handkerchief around it?—A. Yes, sir; it was around; I believe I had two handkerchiefs if I am not mistaken.

Q. How did you fix it up; you fixed it up after you got into the building?—A. I had it fixed up; I stuck the hand under the revolver.

Q. "I didn't think one shot was enough."—A. When I shot twice, I was knocked down; that is what I wanted to say.

Q. "Tramped on and the gun taken away from you?"—A. Yes, sir; that is right; I got hit with a billy; some of the officers hit me twice over the head.

Q. If you had not been knocked down, would you have fired off more?—A. I don't know.

Q. That was your intention?—A. I don't know if I would fire any more shots or not.

Q. You planned three or four days ago to shoot the President?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And when you shot him you intended to kill him? That is what you told me a little while ago; that is right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the reason for your intention to kill him was that you didn't believe in having rulers over us, or having presidents?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't believe in our form of Government?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You fully understood what you were about?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You understood that you were taking the life of a person; that you were willing to do that; you understood that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you were willing to sacrifice his life to benefit the country?—A. Yes, sir.

(Detective Solomon present.)

Q. You were willing to sacrifice yourself to benefit the country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You realize that you are putting yourself in a serious position to do that, you fully understood that it was quite an undertaking?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Few men would have the courage to do anything of that kind?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You knew that, you felt that you had more courage than the average man to do a thing of that kind; that you were willing to take all of the responsibility?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Even though it might put your own life at stake? You were willing to take that chance, weren't you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had in these halls or clubs or meetings, you heard people talk about the duty of people who believe as you do, to—in these meetings you used to attend in Cleveland, you heard about the people, men and women, talk about the duty they were under to do great deeds for the benefit of the people?—A. And do you mean?

Q. For instance, like yourself, it was your duty?—A. I never heard them say that.

Q. Didn't you ever swear an oath?—A. No, sir.

Q. That you would take the life of any ruler, such as president.—A. No, sir.

Q. You have heard them talk about their duty to educate the people to this form of government?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And to do everything in their power to change the form of government; you have heard them say that, haven't you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You wanted to have it clear in here that what you meant to say in the former part of this statement was that you were on the grounds about an hour before the President arrived this afternoon?—A. Yes, sir; I was on the grounds.

Q. And that you didn't enter the Temple of Music; the building where the shooting occurred, until after the President went in; that is what you meant to say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Everything that I have read to you in these papers is absolutely true, isn't it?—A. Yes; but there is somewhere in the start, where you commenced to read, you said you would change it after a while—

Q. It was corrected later on; for instance, in the beginning of it, a statement is made, but as you did here, you say, I didn't mean to say that, but I meant to say this; so that the whole thing is explained; you understand that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You can read, yourself?—A. I can't read to-night.

Q. If that is right, just write your name there; right under there; put your handkerchief down, and write on that line in there; sign your name in there; sign your right name.

Prisoner does as requested.

Q. I will tell you what I would like to have you do. You can write pretty well; just take the pen there; the other hand; start up there on the line and say, write what you intended to do, and what you did do, in the Temple this afternoon; start in: I arrived at the—A. Didn't I tell you I was—

Q. Write it yourself; so you will have it in the way you wanted to put it yourself.—A. I signed that paper there; it is in there.

Q. I understand it is in there; if you want to put it in your own way?—A. Didn't you have it there? I will put it in my own way; I said it, and I signed it. Isn't it just as good?

Mr. QUACKENBUSH. I thought he might want to have a statement published to the world showing what his views were.

Mr. PENNEY. Did you hear what that gentleman said? He said that perhaps you would want to write something that you would want the people to hear. You have done this great deed for their benefit; you want to say something to them that you have done this great deed, this courageous deed for their benefit; write something there that can be published in the newspapers. This won't be published. They won't publish anything unless you write it yourself. Write anything that you want to.—A. I don't want—

Q. You only need write a few words, simply telling the people that you intended to kill President McKinley and shot him because you believed you were doing your duty to the people. Is that your idea?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Take your pen and write that.—A. The reporter will write that.

Q. They won't publish it unless it is your writing.—A. I will sign it; he can put it on, and I will sign it. I don't see why, if he writes it; I will sign it.

Q. It will only be two or three lines.

O'LOUGHLIN. Go ahead.—A. Can't the reporter write it over there?

Mr. PENNEY. No; we can not take his writing. Write whatever you please up there about what you did; get at it.—A. I could not. Could not the reporter write it, and I will sign it, just as good?

Mr. QUACKENBUSH. He might make a statement to the reporter in his own words.

Mr. PENNEY. All right; make it. Make your own statement to this man, so he will write it out.

(Haggerty writes at prisoner's dictation.)

"I killed President McKinley because"—

(Prisoner hesitates, and then)—

"Put on there that I killed President McKinley because I done my duty."

Mr. QUACKENBUSH. Do you want to say anything else to the people?—A. I don't believe one man should have so much service and another man should have none.

(Detective Holmlund present, also Donovan.)

Mr. PENNEY. Do you know a man by the name of Valleckt here, a shoemaker?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know a shoemaker in Buffalo?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have got some friends that you have been with since you have been here; been on the street talking with?—A. I have no friends.

Q. Acquaintances you have been walking around with?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't know a shoemaker by the name of Valletchy?—A. No, sir.

Detective Solomon present.

(Prisoner puts date on last statement; writes his name.)

Mr. PENNEY. Put the year down; what is the year?

(Prisoner writes same in.)

Q. Now write your name. I suppose you planned this all out for two or three days; been thinking it over?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You knew there would be a big crowd there when the President would be around?—A. I didn't know.

Q. You thought there would be? Had an idea there would be a big crowd at the reception?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it your idea that you could in the confusion get away, after you had shot him?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did you intend to do, after you had shot him; what was your intention then? What did you expect to happen after you shot him?—A. I expected after I shot him that I would be caught at it.

Q. You expected to be arrested?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't you expect to get away in the crowd?—A. No, sir.

Q. You didn't intend to do that?—A. No, sir.

Q. Didn't you intend to try to get away?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were willing to sacrifice yourself to get rid of the President; was that the idea?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Fully realizing the consequences; did you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You realized that you might be electrocuted or hung for it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were willing to take that chance?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. QUACKENBUSH:

Q. You are not sorry now, are you?

By Mr. PENNEY:

Q. You are not sorry that you killed him now, are you, you are still willing to suffer for what you have done, aren't you? It is a great thing that you have done, people all over the country will be talking about it; you are willing to take that for the glory it will give you; speak up; aren't you?—A. What?

Q. You are willing to take the chance and consequences of what you have done; you are not sorry you did it, are you? You would do it over again, would you not?—A. I don't know whether I would or not.

Q. You are not sorry you did it, are you; just think what all your people will say of you up there in Cleveland in those meetings; the great savior of the country, don't you know that?

(Haggerty reads it:) "I was willing to take the chance of being hung if I killed the President; I was willing to take the consequences."

Mr. PENNEY. You realized what it meant, and you are willing to take the consequences, if you could accomplish your purpose?—A. Read it over.

(Haggerty reads:) "I planned this all out for two or three days; I had an idea there would be a big crowd at the reception; I expected I would be arrested; I did not intend to get away. I was willing to take the chance of being electrocuted or hung if I could kill the President; I am willing to take the consequences; I realize what it meant." Is that right?

Mr. PENNEY. That is correct?—A. Read it again.

Q. "I planned it all out for two or three days." That is right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I had an idea there would be a big crowd at the reception."—A. Yes, sir; that is right.

Q. "I was willing to take the chance"—A. No; only before that; I don't want any further than that.

Q. "I was willing to take the chance of being electrocuted or hung." You said you were?—A. No, sir; I want that changed. Just up to that.

Q. Up to where? If I could kill the President; you knew that when you shot him—A. I just want to have—

Q. You knew that when you shot him that you would be arrested. You say that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you knew if you killed a man that you would be hung or electrocuted? You knew that was the penalty, didn't you; didn't you know that? You knew that the laws of this country provide if he kills another he is to suffer death. Didn't you know that? That is right, isn't it?—A. I would not want to have it in this—

Q. Well, I want to know whether that is true or not?—A. Up to here it is true.

Q. I want to know whether this part is true, "I was willing to take the chance of being electrocuted or hung." Were you willing to take that chance? You must have realized that was the consequence, if that was so then you did take the chance, didn't you? You understand that without meditating on it so long.—A. I don't want it that way.

Q. It is not a question whether it is what you want; it is a question whether it was right.—A. I knew—

Q. You knew if you killed a man you would be hung or electrocuted, didn't you? You know that is the law of this country, don't you? Speak, you know whether that is so or not?—A. I know the law does that—

Q. You knew if you killed a man you would have to suffer the penalty of the law, isn't that so?—A. Yes; have to suffer the penalty of the law.

Q. When you shot the man you knew you were taking that chance, didn't you; isn't that right, come now, speak up, isn't that correct? All I want to know is whether that is a true statement?—A. Some of it is true.

Q. Isn't it all true; didn't you when you shot this man take the chance of being electrocuted and hung, and didn't you know when you shot him that you were taking that chance?

Mr. O'LOUGHLIN. Somebody told you that you would not?

(Mr. Penney leaves room; Detective Henafelt present; Detective Ireland, Secret Service, enters.)

Q. What do you say about that now?—A. Isn't that correct?

Mr. PENNEY. Let me read this to you again. You say that "I planned this for two or three days." That is correct?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I had an idea that there would be a big crowd at the reception." That is correct, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I expected I would be arrested." That is correct?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I did not intend to get away." That is correct?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have already said it is, is it right? "I was willing to take the chance of being electrocuted or hung." Is that right; you knew that you took that chance, didn't you? Say yes or no; you knew when you shot the President you were taking that chance? Speak up.—A. What is that?

Q. "I was willing to take the chance of being electrocuted or hung if I could kill the President." Is that right? Is it correct? You intended to kill the President?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You fully intended to when you shot him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And for all you know he is dead; you intended to kill him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are willing to take the consequences of your act, aren't you? How will that suit you, "I am willing to take the consequences of what I did"? Will that suit you? Do you want this last part, "I am willing to take the consequences"?—A. I want it struck out up to there. How far do you read?

Q. From there down?—A. I want this from here to here. [Prisoner indicates.]

Q. You want him to state on there that it is true, but you rather not have it in the statement?—A. No, sir. I want to have that out.

Q. That is true, isn't it? What do you say?

Mr. O'LOUGHLIN. Yes or no?—A. No, sir.

Mr. PENNEY. You don't mean to say that you didn't intend to kill the President?—A. Yes, I did.

Q. Well, put it your own way; I would like to have the last four lines stricken out.—A. No; I don't want to have that that way, at all—

Q. I was going to say that you wanted the last four lines stricken out?—A. No—

Q. You just want to have it stricken out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All right; strike it out.

(Haggerty does it.)

Mr. PENNEY. Sign it.—A. Read it.

Q. "I planned this all out for two or three days; I had an idea that there would be a big crowd at the reception; I expected I would be arrested. I did

not intend to get away." Sign on that line.—A. I would like to have fair trial put on there, too.

Q. You will get a fair trial, all right; write it there yourself, I would like to have a fair trial, and sign it.

(Prisoner writes, and partially strikes out portion.)

Mr. QUACKENBUSH. Where did you get the name Fred Nieman? Did your boss give it to you?

Detective HOLMLUND. Nieman is your English name; didn't you bring a recommendation from Mrs. Nowak's friends in Cleveland? Didn't they give you a writing to Mrs. Nowak?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They took you in and gave you a room?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Nieman is your English name?—A. No; just picked that up.

Detective O'LOUGHLIN. Who gave you the card?—A. I don't remember his name.

Detective HOLMLUND. Some people in Cleveland?—A. No; here in Buffalo.

Detective O'LOUGHLIN. Who gave you that card?—A. What?

Mr. HALLER. Recommendation; when you went out there; you told them some man in Cleveland; you mentioned his name, had been here at the Polish singing celebration; had recommended you to go there, to that place? You met a man in Toledo told you about Nowak's place?—A. No, sir.

Q. What was that bundle you took away with you this morning from the house?—A. Lots of letters and papers; no letters; common papers.

Q. What did you do with them?—A. Throw them in the water-closet.

Q. Over where?—A. In a saloon there somewhere.

Q. Where? Near Nowak's place?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Which saloon was that?—A. Why the street runs across from Broadway, and it runs north.

Q. Saloon on Broadway?—A. No—

Q. First street that crosses Broadway, after you leave Nowak's?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How far was the saloon from Broadway?—A. Just a few doors.

Q. On which side of the street that runs north from Broadway—on the other side or this side—east side or west side?—A. I think the east side.

Q. The side nearest Nowak's; on the downtown side?—A. Yes, sir; downtown.

Q. Left-hand side as you go up from Broadway?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was up from Broadway?—A. Toward the market—it is the left-hand side; I threw some of them there, and the rest outside.

Q. Did you open the bundle?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you do that for?—A. Just common papers that I had saved up for a week or two.

Q. Why did you save them?—A. I saved them since Monday.

Q. What did you save them for?—A. They laid there, and I thought I would carry them away some time.

Q. You threw some in this water-closet in the saloon?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you throw the others?

By Detective Holmlund:

Q. This was not a water-closet; it was a s— house; it was out in the yard; behind the saloon?—A. They have no s— houses; they have sewer pipes out there.

By Mr. Penney:

Q. What part of Poland does your people come from; are they Russian or Austrian?—A. They come from the German Provinces; they are Polish.

Q. But there are Russian Poles and Austrian Poles; what part of the old country did they come from?—A. From Russia.

Q. Russia Poland?—A. Yes, sir.

(Dr. Fronczak comes in and speaks to prisoner in foreign language.)

Dr. FRONCZAK. He comes from Germany.

Mr. PENNEY. You told me Russia.—A. Yes; they come from Germany.

Dr. FRONCZAK (again talks to prisoner). They come from Inowroclaw, Province of Posen, about 8 miles from the eastern frontier of Russia.

Czoraosz (in English). I don't come from there, though.

Clerk Taggart, Detective Solomon, Quackenbush, Detective O'Loughlin, Inspector Donovan, Dr. Fronczak, Superintendent Bull, Detective Geary present.

By Dr. FRONCZAK (after talking with prisoner). I was born in Detroit; educated in Alpena, Mich.; father alive; mother dead; father lives at Warrenville.

Czoraosz (interrupting in English). Not Warrenville; Warrensville.

Dr. FRONCZAK (continuing). Ten miles from Cleveland; he says the reason why he killed the President is—

(Prisoner interrupts him; talking some other language than English).

Dr. FRONCZAK (continuing). The reason why he was killed is he doesn't believe one tyrant should rule all and everybody should bow to him or the poor man should look and applaud, and then consider it a great privilege even to do that, and he took three days ago the first notion of killing him, and I asked him didn't he see the parade yesterday; how he could take the idea three days ago; about bowing to him; he said his Government was pretty bad, and he didn't think it was proper that a tyrant of that kind should rule the people. [Talks further with prisoner.] He says I was reading various papers; and he names four socialistic papers, the Przedsitt, of New York; the Robotnik [prisoner interrupts Dr. Fronczak] and American, Toledo.

By CZOLGOSZ. And the Free Society.

Dr. FRONCZAK (continuing). He says he never went to church; used to go to church once in a while, but there was some platonic nonsense, and he quit going to church. He went to public and Polish schools in Alpena.

EXHIBIT VII.

[Free Society, formerly the Firebrand. Vol. VII, No. 3. Chicago, Ill., Sunday, Feb. 17, 1901.]

LINES AT THE TOMB OF A PLUTOCRAT.

Low was his aim—vile Mammon was his God;
Bleak was his life, unholy and unblest;
Low let him lie—low as the path he trod—
Nor shed one tear to sanctify his rest;

The monarch sleeps; pass onward and away;
Death has dethroned him and the grave is firm;
All that he was—less than the reeking clay—
Is now the feast of his superior worm;

Yet he was "great"—fools fawned and vassals served;
The slave endured him and the world extolled;
By wealth's green glamor was the nation swayed
And earth lay blinded in the glare of gold.

He lived, he died; the earth from whence he came
Received its own, and back, into the dust,
Dissolved the being whose unhallowed name
Alone remains—the synonym of lust!

Of prostrate fools he made his stepping-stones!
And climbed to fortune on the backs of slaves;
He reared his throne of skulls and paupers' bones;
And reached success upon the route of graves;

Unloved he lived, unmourned he could but die—
A fallen knave, unpitied by his kind;
Unwept his fate—unhonored let him lie,—
Starved was his soul and naked was his mind!

His greatest virtue was his smallest vice,
His keenest pleasure was in other's pain;
What was his wealth? More was the sacrifice,
Since all his life—unlived—has proven vain.

T. SHELLEY SUTTON, in Brann's Iconoclast.

MORALITY AND PUBLIC OPINION.

Public opinion is a narcotic. Narcotics have the power of stupefying the cerebral faculties, of inducing sleep, of deadening the ordinary sensibility.

People who are addicted to the use of public opinion, people who live on it, who have no thoughts or desires save those which public opinion approves—such people display the same effects as are produced by other narcotics. They are more or less mentally stupefied; they are more or less asleep; their sensibilities are deadened.

If you go to the ordinary man or woman with a moral question, you will get such an answer as almost any other man or woman would have given.

They all have the same standard of what is right or wrong. They are conventionalized. They are under the hypnosis of what is customary. It is a form of control, a yielding to suggestion. It is the mind of the many exerting its influence upon the minds of each. It is a thinking with another's brain; a choice that is in fact a constraint; a movement, seemingly voluntary, but actually enforced. Public morality, I mean a morality based upon and guided by public opinion, is mechanical and heartless. It is so far from moral in the true sense that it is demoralizing in its tendencies.

I understand that the occasional use of narcotics produces a craving for their repeated use which, if indulged, becomes in time an almost resistless habit.

I understand the more one yields to suggestion and control—the more passive and submissive one becomes, until in time the personal will entirely disappears.

This seems true of morals, as well as in the other realms of thought and action. The soul that seeks its direction from outside, the heart that dare not trust its own impulses, the life that is conventional becomes subject to a fixed and almost resistless habit, and is actuated by a foreign will.

This morality of the crowd makes automaton of men. It is something put on, a mantle, a dress, a decoration subject to all the variations of fashion.

Now, let me affirm that it is good to have an agreement in society as to what is right and what is wrong. But that agreement must arise from the natural uniformity of human experience, and not be produced by conformity to any artificial standard.

There are traditions of the race which do inspire respect. It is possible for people to live in accordance with such traditions without doing any violence to their personal inclinations. But they are such traditions that, if they had not been previously established, the mind and heart of any normal individual would none the less instinctively realize the beauty and righteousness of that which they enforce.

Regard for the simple truth, respect for purity, reverence for old age, sympathy for the unfortunate, the helpless, the sorrowing—all these are none the less moral because adopted by society in general. It may be that it is conventionally proper and socially respectable to be truthful and pure and kindly disposed. Such high conduct might become fashionable. If so, such virtues would be no less excellent, because they are in themselves, regardless of social prestige, virtues such as the heart and mind instinctively accept and desire.

But were it not so, and did people become truthful and pure and kindly disposed, only because society expects it and it is proper, such conduct would cease to have moral value.

If the agreement of a given number of people as to what is morally right is a natural agreement—an agreement of ideas and desires to which each one has instinctively been drawn, so much the better. It is then a voluntary agreement; and people's views harmonize with that same spontaneity which we seen in the harmony of the wild flowers, the birds, the circling seasons, the landscape, and the sunset.

But if the agreement of a given number of people as to what is morally right be not a natural spontaneous agreement, but is produced through some sort of force or by an appeal to mere love of approbation or to the fear of criticism—then so much the worse.

Better no agreement at all than to have all men and women compelled to accept one moral standard.

There is a wrong way to do right. I care not how irreproachable a man's conduct may be, if he is actuated by mean motives he deserves contempt. On the other hand, I care not how far short of my ideas of excellence a man's conduct may fall, given an honest desire to do his best as he understands it, and his conduct possesses a moral value.

Better to be conscientiously and devotedly a fiend, than to be pretentiously and vaingloriously an angel. * * *

People in society, who are acting under a species of hypnotic influence—moved by social suggestion, people who are morally narcotized, are exceedingly lenient to respectable weaknesses, and exceedingly bitter against unconventional self-assertion.

In mechanics, in science and philosophy, there is a certain expectancy. No one really believes in the impossibility of an improvement on these lines. An announcement of some great discovery, some new and unique invention, or the expression of a novel philosophical formula, is not so startling an event as it used to be. We have grown to expect such things.

But in the realm of morals the world is as circumscribed and fixed as ever. Any new ideas of morality, which in any way conflict with current social conduct, have to run the severest kind of gauntlet.

People are so powerfully prepossessed by the conventional ideas of morality that they do not believe that people of opposite ideas can have any morality. Difficult as it has been for the world to rid itself, in part, of theological bigotry, the difficulty is nothing as compared with what it will cost to rid the world of this tyranny of social morality. Upon no other subject is the average person so ready to resent any adverse criticism. To be moral means nothing more or less than "to be respectable." It has reference, not to what one's actual desire or taste might lead one to do, but to what one is expected to do. It is such conduct as is generally approved as opposed to my conduct which would be socially discredited.

Human nature, in its present perverted condition, leads us to desire the good opinion of the world. To be thought well of, even by those whose usual thoughts we value lightly, is a master motive with most of us. * * *

Civilization exists because of certain traditions and customs, and could not have developed to its present condition without them. We owe a certain respect to those traditions and customs, because of what they have so far contributed to human advancement; but we should remember that what was a means to an end is not to be substituted for the end. The end is an ideal social state and a perfected individual life. The end is the highest possible satisfaction of all healthy human desires.

The present condition of social progress is the result of certain traditions; but the continued advancement of society calls for the destruction, one by one, of whatever tradition or custom may have outlived its usefulness.

It is at this point—where old traditions must be abandoned—that the true moralist makes his fight. It is at this point that we find out whether or not we really desire human advancement more than our personal comfort.

The fear of seeming peculiar, the desire to avoid unpleasant publicity, keeps thousands of us on our knees before some painted idol that is no longer a god to us. We are bold and outspoken privately, but our moral cowardice keeps us from openly indorsing that which has not yet secured a general acceptance.

People may be exceedingly radical in minor matters and shamefully conservative where important matters are at stake. It is hard to convince a man of the truth or righteousness of any thought or action which would conflict with his private interests or passions. And nowhere is there so stiff a conservatism as upon moral questions.

Independent action along ethical lines, the use of any other than the customary moral standard, sooner than anything else will make an otherwise straightforward man hedge and dodge and be circuitous. It all comes from our inordinate love of social approbation and our fear of ridicule. * * *

A man needs to examine society from the outside—free from any of its entanglements—and in a position to consider the origin, growth, and decline of social customs. Then he will see that, as Ralph Waldo Emerson says, "Good and bad are but names very readily transferable to that or this." He will see that all conformity to custom is a poor and feeble substitute for personal virtue.

Conformity to custom is not morality any more than the repetition of a creed is religion.

Personal virtue is the expression of an individual thought and desire. It is the embodiment of self in action. The man must be in what he says or his behavior is only pretense. Morality is as far above the mere conformity to custom as the reasoning of a Plato is above the chattering of an ape. To be a truly moral action the act must sustain as vital a relation to the actor as a child sustains to its mother. As a true mother to her child, so is a truly moral person to his actions. It is his action, the outgrowth of his being, the incarnation of his desire and love. No other child can be substituted for one's own. The mother lives in her child. So no other course of conduct can be an adequate substitute for that which is one's own. The man should live in his action. * * *

A mother does not love her child out of fear of any penalty or regard for any reward. She is not induced to be kind and tender to it because it is the custom and it would not be "respectable" to do otherwise. Such considerations with regard to her relation to her child never touch a true mother. Her love for her child is as her love for herself—the child is herself renewed and made real to her outward sight. To submit a proposition to a true mother that if she is good to her child she will be rewarded is to insult her womanhood and her motherhood. Of course, she will love that which is her own life.

So with a man and his virtue—if he be a true man, his virtue is dearer to him than any reward it could bring. A virtuous man is untouched by any consideration as to what it will cost, or as to what he will gain by his conduct.

Wendell Phillips once said, "Till you judge men and things on different principles, I do not much care what you think of me; I have outgrown this interesting anxiety."

A true man can not be turned aside by any ulterior consideration from such conduct as his thought and desire determine. A true man acts in accordance with his personal, genuine convictions, even when by so doing he is acting in opposition to all precedents and customs. He does not float in the general current of popular favor. He is not drifting with the tide, only to turn wherever and whenever the tide turns. He has no other anxiety than to so act as to satisfy his own nature. He is a man and he has a mind, and to do or say anything that is against the clearest, sanest thought of his own mind would be to him a profanation, though it might be to all others no matter how seemingly commendable.

If a man does right from any other cause or reason than because of his own honest conviction and his free resolve, his action will miscarry and his right becomes wrong. * * *

The man who uses a virtue as a passport to good society, here or hereafter, makes a vice of virtue. A righteous act is one that is done from the pure love of right, with no other pressure upon us than the simple love of what is right.

Oh, for a real Christ who could lash the vulgar money changers out of the temple of manly and womanly virtue! A Christ who could cry out with the same divine wrath, "Woe unto you hypocrites!" * * *

"We have too much legislation and too little individual responsibility; too many paths are fenced in; too much is prescribed; we act too largely with an eye to stage effect. * * *

I ask not what you know, or what you desire; but have you the courage to act according to what you really know and desire? This is the supreme moral test.

Your knowledge may be defective and your desires may be for the time unworthy; but better that, and a brave and manly spirit, than to be wise as Solomon and faultless as a cherub and be wanting in spirit. * * *

Of course, you understand my meaning. I don't urge anyone to do wrong, but I despise a cloaked and guarded morality.

Because a man owns his own shot and gun he is not justified in shooting wherever he chooses. But if he shoot at all, let him have an aim and be true to it. The life that we are living is forced upon us. We come into the world without our solicitation, and surely we are entitled to whatever satisfaction we can get out of life.

We come into a world full of rules and regulations. The old usages are thrust upon us. Our own inclinations are not consulted. We are expected to accept a life we did not ask for, and then to live it according to rules we had no hand in making.

I say, let other people's lives alone. This should be a different world for each separate person. Each man should see and approve whatever his own nature fits him to see and approve. He is a new being and for him it is a new world. Let him alone to discover in it a meaning suited to his nature.

Society is a menagerie of wild animals that have been caged, put under restraint, more or less tamed, and taught to do tricks. While the master's eye is on them and his whip is in hand, these human animals are submissive and meek. But let the fear of punishment or the desire for some choice morsel be once removed and something of their true nature shows itself. * * *

Let the real nature of a man appear without disguise. If he is evil at heart, he is all the more dangerous the more he is taught to conceal what he is and appear to be what he is not.

The great evil of society is that it encourages deceit and imitation. It makes the bear dance, the ape to play the man, the elephant to sing, and each to assume a pose not in keeping with his proper nature.

"Mind your own business" is not too fine a way of expressing an admonition of fundamental ethical importance.

There are very few people who have any real hold upon themselves. It is pitiful to see the way people vacillate between the thing they think they ought to do and what they are expected to do.

The man as he is in himself is repressed and mutilated. You know him by his party or by his social position or by his religious affiliations; but you do not

know him as a man. The real man is an unknown quantity. He himself never gets more than an occasional glimpse of what in his selfhood he might have been. This obliteration of the individual counteracts the main advantage of existence and overturns all values.

Herein consists the immorality of a slavish regard for what is customary—it seduces the individual into unnatural ways, and he fails to find in life what can satisfy his nature. His activities and occupations are forced upon him. He plays the part of another, and his genius never gains a full and round expression. He is guided in what he thinks and does by considerations in which his own real inclinations find but little place. He lives to be seen, to attract attention, to win approval, to live in and be one of the crowd. * * *

Life is a valueless thing except in so far as we can find in it, with some degree of satisfaction, what we ourselves really are. It is our only opportunity for the discovery and fulfillment of self. All human duty is comprised within one supreme obligation—to make the best of so much of our own being as we may be able to grasp.

Beware of whoever comes in the name of whatever excellence to teach you the lesson of self-effacement.

If your life is to be a contribution of any value to the world, it must first acquire value of itself. The circumference of your benevolence must have within it some center of self-regard. Those who neglect their own welfare can not be wisely entrusted with what concerns their neighbors or the race.

If your motive in going outside of your own life is to truly benefit others, even so you will have to learn that their welfare depends primarily upon themselves. In the long run the best you can do for others is to keep out of their way.

That is what I mean when I say that mind your own business is an admonition of fundamental ethical importance.

Human beings should be like a magnificent forest—each individual of which requires that all others should keep their distance. One must have ample room to achieve strength and symmetry. Too much crowding turns elsewhere grand developments into tangled undergrowths.

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

ALCOTT, COLO.

AN OPEN LETTER.

I have of late received several postals and letters of inquiry respecting the reports in the daily press that I am against force, or propaganda by deed. I should have paid little attention to these reports, for I thought that my personal friends would not believe anything said in the newspapers about me; and those comrades who believe them simply show how little they know of the capitalistic press. But it was the reply of Comrade Isaak gave to some one in the last issue of Free Society that induced me to make this statement.

I have never opposed force or propaganda by deed, either publicly or privately. I demand and acknowledge the right of an individual, or a number of individuals, to strike back at organized power and to defend themselves against invasion; and I have and always will stand on the side of the one who has been courageous enough to give his own life in taking or attempting to take the life of a tyrant, whether industrial or political. I am on the side of every rebel, whether his act has been beneficial or detrimental to our cause; for I do not judge an act by its result, but by its cause; and the cause of each and every rebellious act has been organized despotism, robbery, and exploitation on the part of society and the innate sense of justice and a rebellious spirit on the part of the individual.

What I said, and shall repeat again and again, is that violence is not a phase of anarchism. The philosophy of anarchy is based on harmony, on peace; and it recognizes the right of every individual to life, liberty, and development, and opposes all forms of invasion; consequently the philosophy of anarchy is an absolute foe to violence, therefore I do not advocate violence. An anarchist who advocates violence as a part of the teachings of anarchy has never properly understood its doctrines. If I stand on the side of the rebel, or if I approve of an act of violence, it is only because I know that organized force—government—leaves us no other method of propaganda—because we are the invaded and not the invaders.

The mass of mankind can remain indifferent in the face of every injustice; but, fortunately for humanity, there are men and women whose whole beings

rebel against injustice, whose social instincts are so strongly developed that they feel every blow which the present economic and political system strikes at society. Such men and women can no more stand quietly by and see workers shot, children starved, women outraged, and thousands of the social family ruined, destroyed, and killed than one's breathing functions can work without pure air; but they are not necessarily anarchists; they have existed and rebelled as long as the world exists, long before anarchists or anarchism was known; and it is well that they exist, otherwise despots would reign supreme and life be unbearable. Let us therefore understand that violence is a product of oppression, of need, of suffering, and man's innate sense of justice and social instinct—if not crushed by commercialism—on one side, and greed on the other. Incidentally, I want to say that it is this sense of justice and social rebellion that have produced the philosophy of liberty, of anarchism, and not as some of my worthy comrades insist, that it is anarchism that makes or will make men good and just. The philosophy of anarchy has no such metaphysical power; it can not make pure that which is impure, nor can it make anything just which is essentially unjust. The teachings of anarchy are a product of man's sense of justice and craving for righteousness, based upon man's recognition of the fact that justice and righteousness are only possible in freedom, under non-invasion, and not under government, dictum, interference of man with man, either economically, politically, morally, or ethically; consequently only in an anarchistic mode of living, which is not a child of the future, but a life which each and every liberty-loving man must begin now, because it is man who makes society and not society that makes the man.

I think I need say no more about my position toward individual or collective revolt, so I will only repeat that I am a revolutionist by nature and temperament, and as such I claim the right for myself and all those who feel with me, to rebel and resist invasion by all means, force included, consequently a destructionist. But I am also an anarchist, and as such a constructionist. In order to construct a new sanitary building, fit for human beings to live in, I must, if I do not find cleared ground, tear down the old, rotten, decayed obstacle which stands in the way of that beautiful and magnificent mansion called anarchy.

In conclusion, I would also like to correct a statement which circulated in the daily press shortly after I left for Europe. The mouthpieces of capitalism reported, after I had been two weeks in England, that I had just sailed, and, on leaving, had told a reporter that I was disgusted with the American workers; that I considered them a lot of fools and blockheads and a thankless crew; that I was dissatisfied with my own comrades, and that I said there were not more than a dozen anarchists in America.

While I had not seen a single one of the press sharks, and hence could not have spoken to them, the report contained some truth. I know the responsible party; in fact, everyone in New York knows him; but as he is out of the movement, and has done a lot of mischief, I do not think it necessary to disclose his name. However, while it was absolutely false that I had expressed my views before I left, he often heard me say from the platform that "if the American workers were not such fools and slaves they could not quietly submit to the growth of imperialism; they could not and would not allow the decayed institutions of Europe to replace the liberal and independent principles laid down by their forefathers." This I maintain now, and add that the American worker is not only a fool but a conceited fool, which is still worse. He believes himself free, whereas the chains of slavery make his limbs bleed; he thinks himself independent, while his back is bent with the burden of dependency; he boasts of his right to choose his master, not knowing that he thereby forfeits his right to be his own master; he claims to be charitable and ready to help his neighbor, while his only help consists in helping himself to his neighbor's property, and then to take possession of his neighbor also, as has been done in Cuba and is now being done in the Philippines.

Well, But is he worse than the European worker? some one may ask. No, he is not; but the European worker is the product of centuries of despotic rule; he is a born slave—he had no choice in the matter. The American worker is born a "free man," with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; but he makes no use of his freedom; he can not see that liberty is like a delicate plant, and needs proper care and attention or it fades away. Of course, all this refers to the average worker. The intelligent worker of America is the intelligent worker of the world; he stands up for his rights, and works with those whose aim in life is the establishment of equal liberty in all phases of life.

The reports said that I considered the workers "thankless." This is absolutely false. I could not consistently say so, because I do not believe in gratitude or obligation, since I am only acting according to the dictum of my inner self. No one owes me anything for my work in the movement.

Further: That I believe we have but a dozen anarchists in America. Well, there is some truth in that, although I have not said so to any newspaper representative. Theoretical anarchists—men and women who understand the teachings of our philosophy—we have thousands of in America, and a still larger number of those who are anarchists without knowing it; but those who not only think but act, who practice anarchism in their everyday life, who are consistent, who defy the world, maintain their personal liberty and consider the liberty of others, such anarchists are indeed few, not only in America but all over the world. Yet if liberty is ever to bless mankind, it is only when the example set by the few will be followed by the many.

Now that I have explained my position, I hope the readers of Free Society will not misunderstand me again, and will believe only that which has my signature.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

The grand jury of Baltimore, Md., states in a report that the treatment of the girls in the Female House of Refuge is worse than the tortures inflicted upon human beings in the Middle Ages. When the victims enter this pious institution 50 per cent of the girls committed to the refuge are virtuous, but there is no virtue left when they are released.

When two men fight it is brutal. When one man is larger than the other it makes it more brutal. But when a large nation fights a little one it is called "benevolent assimilation."

J. O.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Correspondents and exchanges will please take notice, and change our temporary address, 1360 North Rockwell Street, to 515 Carroll Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Some of the mail continues to be sent to 238 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Calif. It is important that this should be changed immediately, in order to avoid trouble and annoyance.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Several thousand silk mill workers at Scranton, Pa., mostly young girls, are on strike for higher wages. On the average they earn \$3.50 a week. Here is a good chance for the vice crusaders to war against the mill owners, who rob the poor girls of their earnings, thus compelling them to lead lives of poverty and prostitution.

A Japanese journal gives the Christian nations the following timely reprimand:

"There are no Christian nations. Here and there you meet a Christian, but Christian nations there are none, never were any, and to-day less than ever. Look at the events in China. There the Christian powers perpetrate crimes which make us heathens blush. These horrors are committed in the name of religion and of a higher civilization. And in the face of these cruelties, which you commit in the name of your Savior, you dare to peal your church bells, inviting us for prayer? Go, preach to the Christians, who are so much in need of being converted to a religion of reason and goodness. And when you have made of them humane beings, then—and only then—come back to us."

The United States, or rather McKinley, promised Cuba independence. Of course no qualifications were made; and now it leaks out that it shall be the "same independence and stability that is enjoyed by New York as a

permanent part of the American Union," and "any person who does anything to prevent, or delay, the fact that Cuba is, and will permanently continue a part of the United States, is an enemy to the best interests of both countries." Now, ye Cuban workers, get ready for the jails and penitentiaries, if you are not willing to submit to be fleeced under the rod of the American capitalists.

The Daily Inter Ocean, of this city, has made a very startling and significant discovery, known perhaps to the old Egyptians, and which has been an "old story" ever since mankind enjoyed the blessings of government, namely, that the thieves and burglars of Chicago work peacefully and harmoniously in cooperation with the police and detectives. That is stale news, Mr. Editor. Governments were originated to protect the plunder of pirates and other idle adventurers, and it is not to be expected that they will ever gracefully descend from their sublime heights to protect honest toil.

In New York great rivalry exists among the "upper 400" in giving the most expensive dinners, while thousands of men, women, and children suffer with hunger and cold from want of food and shelter. In Spain the people are rioting and crying for bread and deliverance from king and priesthood, while the court is feasting and dancing and drinking champagne. The toilers drudge and suffer, while the pirates and imposters are reveling in debauchery, and squandering their plunder. But the day is approaching when the tormented and brutalized slave will become desperate, and shake off his chains; and woe to those who danced and would not listen when the downtrodden were groaning in agony!

The daily press is overwhelmed with indignation because the Hon. Patrick Ford has abused the dead queen of Great Britain by characterizing her as stupid, stolid, indifferent to sufferings, avaricious, etc., and this "in the very shadow of death." Contemptible scribes who are only servile enough to rebuke a man for having some manhood left! But Patrick Ford would have come much nearer the truth had he said that she was not only indifferent to suffering and bloodshed but a parasite who revelled in luxury at the expense of the poor, suffering workingmen, while thousands, nay, millions, of innocent men were slain in her name. What has she ever done to justify the crawlings and glorifications of the press of a "free republic"?

The installment of King Edward VII, the gambler, has given some American dailies occasion to point out how much less it costs to rule a republic than a monarchy, as the new figurehead will squeeze \$10,000,000 out of the poor workers to liquidate the debts he has made by gambling, racing, and other worthy sports. But some of the scribes realize that there is practically no difference between the expense of governments, be they monarchical or republican, as can be seen from the following clipping:

"But are we, sovereign citizens of the American Republic, in just the position to plume ourselves upon exemption from such burdens? Let us count up what it has cost us in tariff taxation to repay the contributions to Mark Hanna's campaign fund in 1896 which made William McKinley our President. This drain upon our industries would pay the cost of maintenance of the British royal family for a great many years. And what is the paltry \$10,000,000, asked by Edward VII for the payment of his debts, in comparison with the \$180,000,000 which Hanna demands in the shape of subsidies for the corporations that put McKinley in the President's chair for a second term?"

PROPAGANDA BY DEED.

William Carter, brass molder, of Ansonia, Conn., is languishing in the county jail at New Haven for refusing to pay a military tax of \$2. He was incarcerated on August 24, 1899, and will not be released until he weakens and complies with the demand of the State, or the law changed or the citizens of Ansonia get tired of paying his board. His confinement during 18 months has cost the city of Ansonia \$500, and they are as far from collecting the \$2 as they were in the beginning. Tax collecting in this case comes rather high, and if but a fraction of those who despise taxes had the hard-

hood to follow Carter's example, the State would soon be bankrupt and consequently dead.

Carter does not believe in war, and shows the courage of his conviction by refusing to give his support to that ghastly, barbarous institution, even in defiance of its monstrous parasitic mother—the Government.

They may arrest and cast him into prison, but they will never convince him of the ethics of training men, and manufacturing powerful machines, for the slaughter of human beings. They may deprive him of the little liberty that is so benevolently accorded to those who subserviently pay taxes that they do not believe in, but they will never persuade him that there is justice in forcing men to support institutions repugnant to his ideas of righteousness. They may shackle him, hand and foot; they may separate him from wife and family, friends and associates; they may bring the whole brute force of the State to bear upon him, and crush and conceal him from the rest of mankind. Yet he rises superior to it all and shines forth a resplendent star in the firmament of true humanity.

Carter's act is that of a brave man; a true, noble, progress-making, self-reliant individual. None but a truly great man would have braved all the powers of the State and suffered such inconvenience for the sake of maintaining a mere abstract principle. Many there are who like to theorize about principles of right and justice, but few are willing to suffer a night's imprisonment in their defense.

There is enough discontent in the world to-day to change the whole fabric of society from the pain-inflicting, death-dealing, murder machine it is, into a fit habitation for righteous men and women, were such discontent backed by but half the courage and tenacity displayed by that valiant Ansonia molder.

Men pay taxes, not because they believe in the principle of taxation, or because they agree with the uses made of money thus collected, but because they fear the brass-buttoned fellow who stands behind the tax collector. No matter how odious the system of taxation may be, the possible loss of a little personal comfort offsets it all, and they reach down deep into their pockets and fearfully hand over the product of their toil, to support institutions they inwardly despise. It is the lack of individual initiative, the fear of losing "respectability," or the dread of missing a good meal or a comfortable night's rest, that makes a slave of the average man. He will labor 10, 12, or 16 hours per day on the promise of a few useless luxuries, or even the bare necessities of life, if they but carry with them an air of respectability. He is the creature of a public opinion which has been carefully moulding him since his conception, in its time-worn traditions and superstitions. Yet, in spite of all this external influence, progress is silently and secretly working within, creating and giving form to what is going to be the public opinion of the future.

Man, externally, lives in the past, while internally he lives in the future. Ordinarily, the past dominates all his actions, and the future—progress—is submerged and only permitted to engage attention during leisure hours when the hungers of the past are appeased. Occasionally, progress develops and becomes as great a force working from within as the past working from without. These two opposing forces clash, and a struggle ensues. Radicalism is arrayed against conservatism. The new budding thoughts of the individual assemble themselves before the citadels of ancient age-worn communal opinions. Youth challenges old age to combat, with the world as the prize. At this stage a compromise is usually effected, which smooths the surface of the troubled water for a while; the past and future each yield a point. Then, a man will rail at the injustice of a military tax, but will pay it promptly on demand. He will bewail the tyranny of marriage, and at the same time marry, "to save the family name." He will admit the corruption of the church, yet make regular Sunday visits, "on account of the folks," or, because of its possible business effect.

Not infrequently the inner and nobler aspirations rise up, and set at naught all the customs and conventions of external life. The future becoming the dominant power in the individual, the past is thrust aside, and only the higher ideals are allowed to influence action. The growth and expansion of the new and over-evolving inner consciousness force the outer curtain aside, stands out in all its youthful vigor, and bids defiance to a world of sham and mockery. It will not compromise; it is obdurate, and plus its faith to the inert and latent goodness in mankind, which it persistently strives to arouse and develop. Present comforts and luxuries it rejects, if purchased with the price of

conscience and liberty. Truth is its goal, freedom its road, and love its guide. For without truth there can be no ideal; without freedom no passage; without love no desire.

Progress propagates itself in many different ways. First by thought, then by word, and later by action. The propaganda of deed is the most powerful and effective weapon progress has at its command; no progress could be made without it. Thought and word are the mere preliminaries of action. Action is the final and inevitable result of thought and speech. After an individual reaches a certain stage of thought, he will act, must act, in conformity with the promptings of his enlarged consciousness. The peace and harmony of being demand a conformity of external action with internal thought and feeling.

Men do not develop simultaneously. First one, then a few, then many. Then, the propaganda of deed may be the individual act of refusing to pay a tax, a John Brown raid or an American Revolution. They are all three inevitable and just as necessary, one to the other, as the three stages of growth to the individual. We have first a child, then a youth, then a man. Without the child there is no man. Without the individual tax defier there could be no progress, no American or French Revolution, because nature expresses itself in just that way. It is the unfolding of the process of growth. One man refuses to pay a tax, his example is followed by many others, and presently we have a nation of tax-defying rebels, and the injustice is wiped out.

Many who glorify and grow eloquent in their praise of the American and French Revolutions, are horrified when an individual becomes possessed of the courage of a nation, and strikes a blow at the tyranny that surrounds him. Such men only display their ignorance of the laws of evolution.

"Why," they ask, "should that man sacrifice his liberty for the sake of a small tax? Why should this or that man be held responsible for the injustice of the age? It is not they but the system that's to blame. Besides, these individual acts are not necessary to the final revolution, which itself can be done without; for by the intelligent use of the ballot we may obtain all the justice and liberty we want." Which may be all true. At least, if I had the arranging of matters I would have them just that way. To be sure, these revolts are not necessary! Neither is the child necessary to the man. It would be much more pleasant, indeed, if we could pluck them, full grown, from a pear or fig tree; it would save a vast amount of trouble in raising them. But somehow or other, they do not come that way, and we have to be content with the crude, tiresome process of development. It is disappointing, but we can not alter it; and can only observe the way nature works, and draw conclusions accordingly, and not from our imaginations.

Systems of economics, politics, and religion grow, bubble and foster all the corruption of their age; become unbearable and are condemned by the individual, who, by his propaganda of deed, awakens his fellows to a higher consciousness of liberty and equality. When this has been accomplished, and when at last they see the depth of their slavery, it is always too late to dally with fine academical reasoning or slow parliamentary procedure. And it would do them no good if they tried it. For the rulers and exploiters of the people have always loved their places too well to be allured into yielding them up by fine speeches or ballot-box persuasion. It is very beautiful to think that they would. But we will write poetry some other time; to-day we are considering facts.

It is reasonable to suppose that a set of individuals who compose the Government, and who are the owners of the servants of those who own the wealth of the country, and enjoy all the vast luxury such ownership confers, and whose claim to ownership are based upon the brute force of an Army of trained murderers who are ever ready to slay and pillage at the command of their masters; it is reasonable, I repeat, to expect this privileged class, whose one and only argument for every sort of opposition is the jail, galling gun, or gallows; is it logical to presume that they, who keep a man in jail indefinitely for refusing to be taxed, will abdicate their powers, divest themselves of all the regalia and luxuries its privileges confer, strip themselves of all the pomp of State, and step down into the ranks of the people as soon as a majority of the latter shall request it? I think not!

Yet there are many so thoughtless of the ways of mankind, or who try to read their own preconceived ideas into history, that they foolishly imagine such a miracle will take place. I am satisfied, however, that upon mature consideration they will see the folly of their way, and learn to respect the

courage of the propagandist by deed; welcome his presence as the forerunner of freedom, and hail his coming with joy, as a voice in the wilderness of misery and corruption, calling to mankind to awake and beware lest the weight of its bonds sink it to depths out of which it can not rise, and urge it on to higher and nobler ideals.

Hail to you Carter! You may not know the philosophy underlying your act, but you have better than philosophy; you have that larger consciousness of right and liberty upon which is based the greatest system of human philosophy.—Anarchy.

JAY FOX.

CONSTITUTIONS.

England's so-called Constitution is a thing of tradition, sentiment, theory, abstraction, anything except organic, supreme, settled law. What is constitutional to-day, to-morrow may become unconstitutional by the mere fiat of the British Parliament. The courts construe the laws, but can neither protect one department of the Government against another, nor the individual against the tyranny of the majority.—(Chicago American.)

These articles of agreement between Church and State, called the British Constitution, are for no other purpose than the exploitation of the British proletariat. "What is constitutional to-day may become unconstitutional by the mere fiat of the British Parliament," alias organized robbery, working always in the interest of capitalism. But, however ready and willing they are to discard the constitutionality of an act in favor of oppression (as it is most logical they should do, being capitalists themselves), the proletariat will find this same Constitution anything but abstract; in fact he will find it a very materialistic and concrete obstacle in the way of securing any justice for himself.

Of all the epithets applied to it in the above quotation, the most fitting is that of "tradition." Placed in the light of reason, all constitutions are mere theory, groundless, oppressive, and hateful, and their power can only be nullified when mankind totally ignores them. It is not the constitution that "grants the power" to tyrannize over the individual; it is the individual who can not find the strength and logic in his own nature to throw aside the fetich of governmentallism.

Constitutions are based on sentiment; a sentiment of blind worship of leadership grounded in authority; a sentiment of silly sentimentalism, devoid of individual strength and character.

If we are to have constitutions to govern us, we might as well have kings; perhaps we would rather have them, for kings can frequently be prevailed upon to change their minds. A constitution delegates power to individuals to rule over men. It is the despotism of law conveyed in the form of voluntary agreement. It is the nucleus from which springs all tyranny in the shape of criminal and civil law, created to sustain it. Constitutions are premised upon right and wrong action, and they are supposed to have special privilege in monopolizing the thoughts embraced in them, handed down by a generation of ignorant forefathers whose environments were in no wise analogous to our own.

Anarchist philosophy teaches individual initiative and self-responsibility, and adherence to the letter of a constitution renders this impossible. Freedom can only be attained through being free, and the sooner we do away with all constitutions, the more quickly will we achieve our freedom.

G. B. B.

PARABLES.

[Translated from the Iapygian, by C. L. James.]

A sea monster appeared in the harbor of a certain city, and drank up the water so greedily that the ships began to run aground. After the people had purified themselves by fasting, and offered sacrifices to appease the gods, they assembled on the shore; and their wise men began consulting how they should deal with the monster. A philosopher, who was noted for benevolence, said: "The sailors must not be allowed to suffer want of water. Let us dip some out of the fountain which flows by the Altar of Pity, and pour it into the harbor that there may be enough." But the archon said: "I am afraid that will be too slow. Let us tax ourselves to build a reservoir big enough to keep

the monster in. Then will strangers from all end of the earth come to see him, and bring much wealth into our city." Then arose a philosopher of the Cynic school, and said: "Deluded people! this is the monster who drank up the waters of Babylon and Tyre, and made these markets of the world a desolation. Kill the monster! Kill him instantly, or he might as well kill you." But the kind philosopher said it would be unpius to kill the poor monster; and the archon said that though such monsters were troublesome when they grew so large, no city could be governed without at least a small one. So the monster drank the harbor up; and the city became a desolation, like Babylon or Tyre.

A certain quack had imposed upon the people of a city by pretending to cure the king, who in fact got well of his own accord; for the quack gave him nothing but water sweetened with honey. So the quack was made court physician; and no doctor was allowed to practice without his license. One day a poor man came to the quack and complained that there were lice on his head. "I will kill them," said his quackship, whose heart chanced to be merry with wine. So he gave the poor man a blow on the head with a cudgel. The patient groaned; but the quack said, "I killed several that time." So the poor man paid his fee; and, when he earned more money, he came to have more lice killed in the same manner. One day the quack's servant, pitying the deluded patient, said to him: "Friend, which hurts you most, a louse on your head or a cudgel?" "The cudgel, certainly," said the patient; "but think how many lice there would be save for the cudgel." "And which," said the servant, "will kill them the fastest, your own fingers or my master's cudgel?" "My fingers, of course," replied the man with the lice; "but shall I presume to treat myself when the king has given me a physician?" So he continued to pay his fees and have his head belabored; but he has not yet got rid of the lice. As to the slave, the man with the lice informed against him; and he was hanged for seeking to overthrow the social system.

Xerxes, the king, promised a reward to the man who would find him a new pleasure. This was shortly after he hanged Haman; so Mordecai, the Jew, was now prime minister. He told the king that he could give him a new pleasure, which proved to be this, that they should go out into a forest and hear the nightingale sing. "But," said Xerxes, "I have a bird in a golden cage which sings much better. I paid half a year's revenue to obtain her." "This bird, oh, King," said Mordecai, "you may hear her for nothing." "I do not like her any the better for that," said Xerxes. And he went back to Asia disappointed. But the next time he had the blue devils, after a banquet of wine, he proposed of his own accord, to go and hear the nightingale. He admitted now, she sang better than his caged bird. However, in the woods, he passed some peasants, and learned that they, too, were listening to the nightingale. "Cut off the heads of the unpius wretches who dare to share in my new pleasure," roared his majesty. But Mordecai said: "Oh King, live forever! You can not cut off enough heads to prevent your peasants from listening to the nightingale." "The nightingale is a prostitute," said Xerxes. "Every clown may enjoy her sweetness." "Nay, sire," pleaded Mordecai. "Your caged bird is a prostitute; for, though you are rich, you have not money enough to tempt the nightingale into singing when she does not choose." Xerxes went a third time to hear the nightingale; after which he gave Mordecai the reward, and had a lodge built for his pleasure in the forest. As to the caged bird, he bade his servants let her fly away.

THE NATION CRUSADE.

Dean J. W. Sykes, in the Topeka Capitol, speaking of the Carrie Nation crusade, says:

"It is my judgment that no citizen has the right, morally or legally, in a community where laws exist, to take the law into his or her own hands. I can conceive of but one condition under which individuals are justified in administering law, and that is where persons live in a community where there is no statutory law."

Our friend, the dean, is logical as far as he goes; but he can not see that it might be desirable for the people to take the law into their own hands and administer it, instead of delegating their powers to others; thereby creating

a law-making and administering class who will certainly legislate in their own interests.

If the law can be violated with impunity, as you know it can, by the very people who make it, then who is benefited?

The violation of law by "jointists" is connived at by the lawmakers themselves, and then they turn around and sanction smashing expeditions.

And the fool people stand around and follow one crowd and then the other, but always to the slaughter. They are tickled to think that they are allowed to help their masters, and proud to do the dirty work, while their dear judges sit around and talk about it.

The people go on little civilizing jaunts into the Philippines, South Africa, and India at the bidding of our commercial interests, but they have yet to learn what they get out of it; and we'll wait some time before they do learn.

What's the use?

Why not make our own laws, and if we are interested enough, see that they are enforced? Would we make more mistakes than our friends on the benches do now?

Is it not notorious that there are more rascals loose than confined in our twentieth-century civilizing institutions—the modern jails? J. O.

Comment.—Comrade J. O. evidently does not mean to imply that people should enact and enforce statutory laws, as it will be understood by many readers. Yet spontaneous rules of conduct are neither "made" nor "enforced" by statutory law; they are the natural result of association and experiment, varying according to climate, culture, and the conditions in which the people find themselves. And because people have ample opportunity and free scope to adjust themselves to their environment, we find the most harmonious associations where government is absent. Strife, dissensions, so-called crimes, misery, inequality, oppression—in short, all our ills can be traced to government and ignorance. A. I.

NEW DECLARATION OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.

"Accepting the old century and its work at their full value, and reaffirming the old Declaration of Political Independence, we, a small band of workers and comrades, standing with resolute hearts, our faces to the future, quietly and without offense, seize this dramatic moment to make our new declaration 'Economic Independence.'

"We affirm the universal brotherhood of man, without limit as to country, color, or creed.

"We deny the right of kings, priests, or legislators to rule over us.

"We affirm the right of every man, woman and child to live his or her own life in his or her own way, without interference from without, and to the end that this brotherhood in freedom be realized.

"We declare that the land shall be to him who cultivates it, the mine to the miner, the tool to him who uses it, the factories to those who work in them, and the common product to the whole people; and we pledge ourselves that during so much of the new century as shall be ours, our increasing endeavor shall be to bring about these results, and so to realize the solidarity of man."

Of the 250 persons present not one kept his seat, not one dissenting voice was heard, while point by point the reading was received with applause which testified acceptance. (Social Science Journal, Philadelphia, Pa.)

AN OLD CHIME BREEDER.

What a grand, glorious Government! How charitable! To give three and one half tons of coal to a poor, struggling widow, and can't pay her the few, paltry, hard-earned dollars to keep starvation and death away.

Think of the beauties of our Government, when landlordism is allowed to exist—landlords who own more houses than they can use, while poor families are turned out in the street to face the rain and snow. Think of the grandeur of our Government, when monopolies exist to keep the poor from getting bread—the right of every person, and not of one or one dozen men only.

What a wonderful Government it is that does not allow a man the right to enjoy all the benefits of his labor, but will allow and protect a few "privileged characters" and nonproducers to sit around and draw the very life-blood from the producer in order that he (the nonproducer) may live in idle luxury.

Why does Charity sit in the place of Justice? Why is it that the working-men do not see the wrongs done them? Do they see them and think they are unavoidable, or have they time to right them when their stomachs are empty and their homes cold, and every spare minute they have is spent in providing for the present? Can they think of the future when the present keeps their noses to the grindstone of industrial slavery?

Eighteen hundred city employees unpaid! Hard workingmen, men who do the city's drudgery, left unpaid, while judges and the "boodlers" (who reelect themselves, after having been once in office) sit around and administer large doses of justice (?) to the "small fry." Their stomachs and coal bins are full, and their rent is paid. What more do you expect? Do they not buy themselves into office so that they may have their wants provided for at the expense of some one else? Do you think they are going to earn their bread, when other people will do it for them?

Think of Mrs. Meeker trying to sell coal to pay rent to the board of education (a city institution) and get car fare to work for a city, a Government that will let her starve! A woman who ekes out a miserable existence is forced to ask for something to eat, while the majority of these "boodlers" and "soul-savers" have money hoarded up in safety vaults to provide for their offspring, who are educated in such "refined institutions" that they are not fit for anything but football games and tea parties when they have graduated.

"I did not mean to be dishonest when I attempted to sell the coal." Poor woman! How dreadfully dishonest you were! How dare you sell anything that was given you by the city! Don't you know that you are under obligations to anybody who gives you what is yours rightfully—especially a Government that you uphold by paying your taxes?

You may not want to uphold a Government, but if you don't, your last means of livelihood is taken from you through the elastic phrases of the law. You may uphold a Government, but the Government won't uphold you. No, indeed, it is not made for your protection, but your submission.

Why is it that the moneyed men get in office, and how do they get rich while in office when their salaries are spent to reelect themselves? Will some one please tell me? Why is it that eighteen hundred city employees are not paid, because the county board of appropriations are quarrelling about the reduction of their own salaries?

GOLDIE KINSELYA.

LIVES TWO WAYS.

Men live in two ways; in themselves and in the memories of others. The life of some men extend but slightly beyond the narrow confine of their own bodies. It concentrates itself there and thinks, like the snail in his shell, that it has the universe to itself and is proud, vain and arrogant. Such lives, being self-centered and self-sighted, feels and sees but little of the great sorrowing mass of humanity in which they move. They mount the apex of their own conceits, turn their gaze inward and gape on the nothingness of their own contracted souls. Thus circumscribed, they pass the fleeting hours, and are presently extinguished by a breath from the infinite. Buried, and e'er the echo of the last funeral knell has died, forgotten. Of those the world hath plenty.

* * * * *

Others there be whose lives encompass the universe. Their souls grow and expand, and soon overflow their individual bounds; flowing out in ever increasing volumes to mingle with the teeming, throbbing ocean of life beyond. They become the pulse of humanity, and the common channel through which the joys and sorrows of the race flow. The pain of a brother is their pain. They dry the tears of the weeping ones, and rejoice with all. They are the voice of the race; they give form; speech to the inarticulate longings of hu-

manity. They dethrone the tyrant and exalt freedom. They are the higher consciousness. Theirs is the life immortal. They are never forgotten. Few are these, but growing.

J. F.

FOR NEW YORK.

Comrades will please remember that M. Maisel, 170 Henry Street, receives subscriptions for Free Society. There are many subscribers in arrears, and they are kindly requested to renew their subscription or to notify us of their inability to pay at present, otherwise their subscription will be discontinued.

LITERATURE.

En marche vers la Société Nouvelle. By C. Cornelissen. Stock, editor, Paris.

This is indeed an honest and refreshing book. The author, the well known Dutch anarchist, journalist and orator, gives us a very clear exposition of the different Socialist ideals and tactics. In his critique he proves himself a very accomplished student of the Socialist literature of different countries. But the greatest merit of the book is, undoubtedly, the originality of analysis and of argument displayed by the author. For instance, the reader will certainly agree with us that the following quotation is very clear and quite original:

"These economists of the bourgeois class forget, however, that if the land, or even the whole of nature is an indispensable factor in the social process of the production of riches, this is not so with the proprietors of the land, who are quite superfluous. In the same way, capital may be considered, and quite truly, as absolutely necessary for the production of wealth; but we can do quite well without capitalists, who are only obstacles in the way of production. Are they not preventing the intellectual and manual workers from using the social capital in the most productive way?"

"But it is quite different with the third factor: labor. Once acknowledge that labor is indispensable to the production of wealth, and it must be admitted that the workers are also indispensable, because it is they who possess the productive power.

"If the capitalists and landowners are superfluous in their quality of possessors, and prevent even more and more the regular course of production, the workers' is the only class of society which is really necessary. This is the only class by which in reality the social life of humanity is sustained.

"By the law of necessity, or through the natural outcome of their egotism, men must arrive at a social organization where the means of existence—land, factories, machines, tools, shops and warehouses, means of communication and transport, as well as all articles of consumption—will be the collective property of humanity. Correlatively, and necessarily, we shall see the growth of autonomy in the people of each country, of each region, of each community, as also the possibility for the workers of each factory to organize all their business themselves. So the task of the communist society of the future will consist in developing and assuring liberty to each individual without injuring the welfare or violating the liberty of others.

"The management and administration of labor in its entirety, according to the will of the majority of the fellow workers can only be maintained, in the long run, on condition the minority shall not be opposed in the least if they want to form a new group."

Toward this free, libertarian communism present humanity is approaching in its evolution; this libertarian communism will alone be a final solution of the social problem, because even social democratic aims "remain, nevertheless, measures of State socialism only, or to characterize even better this preservation of the wage earners, they are measures of State capitalism."

Space does not permit us to make further quotations, so we conclude by warmly recommending this book to all friends and comrades. (W. Tellerkessov in London Freedom.)

FOR PHILADELPHIA.

There will be held for the benefit of Free Society, the twentieth century Russian tea party concert and ball, with Mmes. Barilli and Staller and Sig. Giannini among the talent, on Friday evening, March 1, 1901, commencing at 7.30 p. m., at Pennsylvania Hall, Christian Street, below Eighth. Dancing till 3 a. m. Tickets 25 cents.

FOR CHICAGO.

The Free Society Sustaining Club meets every Wednesday evening at 515 Carroll Avenue. Subject for discussion February 13, "Propaganda by Deed." Comrade A. Isaacs, jr., will open the discussion. As this is an important question concerning our own tactics, we hope many comrades will be present.

The Lake Street Elevated, Ashland Avenue Station, or any surface line crossing Ashland Avenue or Paulina Street will take you here, which is one block east of Ashland Avenue.

HE WHO WOULD LEAD US AND OUR CRADLE.

The sentence, "Born and reared among the toiling classes, and being a close student of their economic and political life," must and should be the leading feature in the career of one who undertakes to instruct and lead the toiling masses unto their salvation. I do not limit to the "born and reared" men the instructorship and leadership of the masses; as a good many men who were and are leaders, were and are merely "close students" of the life of the masses.

One may be "born and reared" among the masses, and yet be very ignorant of their condition; but one may be a "close student," and, if of the right turn of mind, may be an able and acumen standard-bearer.

Facts show that the individual, as well as the masses, of whom the individual is the main factor, is probably ignorant of his condition, and, I will venture to say, keep themselves there through their own inactivity. Consequently I say that one who is to instruct and lead the masses must be one of them, a "close student," "born and reared" among them. One who feels what the mass feels; one who feels the sting what the mass feels; and one while the masses "cried, has wept."

Having given my opinion who is best fit to lead, I will attempt to describe (pardon me for being quite presumptuous), or to give my opinion of our "Cradle" which produces the men that are fit for leaders, as is written above.

We enter, or are forced upon this world without our solicitation or consent. We are reared by our parents in the best (in their opinion) way, and, under reasonable circumstances, so as to be able to "shift" for ourselves in this world.

Now, without going any further, allow me to enter a protest against the usual mode of rearing the children. Teaching their offspring, by their own conduct, the life which the parents of said offspring lead is so marked with prejudice and hypocrisy, and, together with the education which the so-called public institutions give their offsprings have a great evil influence upon the future of their children.

Let us turn to the economic state of our "Cradle." Whether they are common laborers, professional men, or middle-class men, they are taught to guide themselves by the "survival of the fittest" principle. They start out to carry this principle to their highest (meanest) conception, and they enter helter-skelter in the struggle; and if it were necessary, and it often is, as the logical conclusion of war, leads us to believe, would trample over the dead bodies of their brothers." But there are some of their "brothers" who by the will of Providence and might usually render their "brothers" the staggering and settling blow. Thus the Lord's children are divided into Cains and Abels; One is the "knocker down," the other the "knocked down;" one is the oppressor, the other the oppressed; one is the ruler, the other the ruled; one the exploiter, the other the exploited; one the enslaver, the other the enslaved.

This, my friends, is our "Cradle," and its offsprings whether good, or bad, are well known.

NEW YORK.

S. MINTZ.

[I would like to remind Comrade Mintz of the fact, that as long as the masses rely upon "leaders," whether the latter be fit or unfit to lead, just

that long will they be misled. It is not leadership that we must cultivate, but intelligence and self-reliance; in short, the "masses" must free themselves.
A. I.]

UNITED STATES SUPPORT SLAVERY AND POLYGAMY.

The Sultan of Sulu, or Jolo, who exercises authority over the islands of the Sulu Archipelago, assisted by a number of datos, is, doubtless, all things considered, the rarest animal so far found in our Oriental Empire. He is a Mohammedan, a polygamist, a pirate, a slave catcher and a slave owner. He runs a harem, numerously supplied with wives and wenches. He is the whole thing, or was until we captured him, and in acknowledging the sovereignty of the United States, he not only stipulated that his rights and prerogatives as ruler should not only remain undisturbed, but that the United States should pay him a salary of \$250 a month, and also put his datos on its pay roll, making the monthly tribute \$760, or \$9,120 a year. As a result, "Old Glory" now protects the Mohammedan religion, polygamy, and slavery, the cost to the American taxpayer being about \$10,000 a year. With this sum the Sultan and his datos can purchase more slaves and replenish and improve their harems. On the face of the returns it appears that the Sultan of Jolo and his datos got the better of Billy Mac by a large majority.

CHORDS.

The King, according to Christian ideas, was the delegate and representative of God. This is really the only foundation that government can have. But if God proves to be only a myth, a conception, what becomes of the foundation of government?

If we knew that the elegant gentleman that we happened to meet had cloven feet, we would have nothing to do with him; if we knew that the State which comes to us with such earnest protestations of friendship and esteem was in reality our most dangerous enemy, we would never rest a moment while our fate was subject to the control of such a monster.

Government originally undertook to control the actions of men only so far as they were dangerous to the community. At first the State never presumed to regulate the conduct or control the thoughts of men. But now, through a progressive series of encroachment continued for hundreds of years, the State has usurped the powers of the church, and it seeks to control the thoughts as well as the actions of men. Indeed, the power that controls thoughts must also control actions. (Newark Courier.)

Phil D. Armour, in his slaughtering pens, could skin a steer in a minute, but capitalism skins 20,000,000 workmen every day of the round year.

"The silk worm spins its task, lays its eggs and dies." Do wage slaves do more than the silk worm? (Social Democratic Herald.)

THE LETTER BOX.

J. F. Baymiller, Pullman, Wash. You may be able to define governmental socialism, as advocated by the so-called socialist press of to-day; but before you enter the public arena to criticize anarchism, you ought to have at least an elementary conception of its philosophy and aims. We are living in the twentieth century, and a "socialist" ought to be ambitious enough to know what he is talking about when he comes before the public, or else he will arouse very little attention.

G. S., Pittsburgh, Pa. Your address has been changed, and I suppose you have received the paper meanwhile.

C. R. C., Pittsburgh, Pa. "Secret and Confidential Address" is out of print, as far as we know.

A. W., St. Charles, Ill. The books have been sent this week, and I hope you will excuse the delay. Shall be glad to make your acquaintance.

RECEIPTS.

Subscriptions.—Collins, Kisluck, Westrup, Nussbeck, each \$1. Kunze, Gutes, Welner, Leighton, Loque, Fromhaagen, Dunton, Gogglin, each 50 cents. Stark, Brukk, each 25 cents.

Donations.—Debating Club No. 1, city, \$7.40. Frauen Arbeiter-Bund, Philadelphia, \$6.75. Internationaler Maennerchor, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$3. Social Science Club, Philadelphia, \$1.50. Eleventh November Commemoration, Philadelphia, \$1.

Dunton, Leighton, each 50 cents.

BOOK LIST.

All orders for the following books received at this office:

Essays on Social Problems. H. Adals. 5 cents.

The Education of the Feminine Will. Grant Allen. 5 cents.

The New Hedonism. Grant Allen. 5 cents.

Plain Words on the Woman Question. Grant Allen. 5 cents.

Prejudice? M. Bachman. 50 cents.

God and the State. Bakunin. 5 cents.

The same (London edition). 10 cents.

The Proletarian Revolt, a History of the Paris Commune of 1871. G. B. Benham. 25 cents.

The Worm Turns. V. de Cloyre. 10 cents.

The Evolution of the Family. J. M. Crane. 5 cents.

Evolution and Modesty. J. M. Crane. 5 cents.

The Emancipation of Society from Government. Dallan Doyle. 5 cents.

Moribund Society and Anarchy. Jean Grave. 25 cents; cloth, 60 cents.

Marriage and Morality. Dr. J. H. Greer. \$2.75.

A Physician in the House. Lillian Harman. 5 cents.

Regeneration of Society. Lillian Harman. 5 cents.

Love in Freedom. Moses Harman. 5 cents.

Motherhood in Freedom. Moses Harman. 5 cents.

How to Dispose of Surplus Products and Employ Surplus Labor. Kinghorn-Jones. 5 cents.

Anarchism. Its Philosophy and Ideal. Peter Kropotkin. 5 cents.

Anarchist Morality. Peter Kropotkin. 5 cents.

Law and Authority. Peter Kropotkin. 5 cents.

Memoirs of a Revolutionist. Peter Kropotkin. \$2.

Paris Commune. Peter Kropotkin. 5 cents.

The State: Its Historic Role. Peter Kropotkin. 10 cents.

The Wage System. Revolutionary Government. Peter Kropotkin. 5 cents.

History of the Commune. Lissagary. Cloth, 75 cents.

Anarchy. Enrico Malatesta. 5 cents.

Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream?) James F. Morton, jr., Enrico Malatesta. 10 cents.

Commune of Paris. Wm. Morris. 5 cents.

Monopoly. Wm. Morris. 5 cents.

God and Government:

The Slameso. Responsibility and the Solidarity in the Labor Struggle.

M. Nettleau. 5 cents.

Twins of Superstition. W. Nevill. 5 cents.

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What the Young Need to Know. B. C. Walker. 15 cents.

Life Without a Master. J. Wilson. 300 pp. \$1; cloth, \$1.50.

The New Dispensation. J. Wilson. Cloth, \$1.50.

The Coming Woman. Lillie White. 5 cents.

The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court; and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab. 25 cents.

EXHIBIT VIII.

[Free Society, formerly the Firebrand. Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that equality of opportunity alone constitutes liberty, that in the absence of monopoly price and competition can not exist, and that communism is an inevitable consequence. Vol. VII. No. 18. Chicago, Ill., Sunday, June 2, 1901.]

WHY?

Why drink from pools of bondage
The bitter, burning draught?
At freedom's gushing fountain,
Life's joys may all be quaffed—
Life's joys may all be quaffed
When we undaunted scale
The fakir's wall, tradition;
Its grim old myths assail.

Why gnaw stale crusts that riches
In mercy's honor gives?
There's bread in bounty's cupboard
For everyone who lives—
Aye, everyone who lives;
Then raze the cribs of greed!
Expose the lying logic
Of wily profit's screed!

Why garbs of flying tatters—
With spongers decked in lace?
The looms of Dame Abundance
Can clothe our ragged race—
Yes, clothe our ragged race
When ancient creed and code,
Which bolster stiff old custom,
Faint 'neath progression's goad.

Why picturesque our hovels?
Avaunt! ye cruel art
That beauty sees in sadness—
Begone! ye grinding mart!
Ye blinding, blasting mart—
Then huts will disappear,
And art must mimic gladness,
Not blight, decadence, drear.

Why crawl like filthy vermin?
Is lowliness our lot?
Arise to manly stature
And thwart the master's plot!
The master's murderous plot
That kills us inch by inch.
Shake from our backs the monster,
Nor from his fury flinch.

Why think the thoughts of bondmen?
Why meekly bow the head
To autocrats who bluster?
Why gods and demons dread?
Why gods and demons dread?
Unbend thy knees oh, slaves!
Pitch worship and submission
Down deep in cowards' graves!

VIROQUA DANIELS.

GAETANO BRESCI.

Gaetano Bresci, the Italian rebel and anarchist, whose overflowing sympathy with human suffering prompted him to strike down one of the world's tyrants, is dead (at least such is the report circulated in the daily press). All tyrants, despots, rulers, parasites, Pharisees, and hypocrites can now breathe freely once more. What does it matter to them that they have added another tear and blood-stained page to the history of crime and misery; that they have tortured a man into insanity; that they have bought their safety through the agony and despair of a man whose only sin consisted in rebelling against wrong? He is dead; and tyranny reigns supreme.

"After all, the man was only an anarchist, an enemy to law and order, an outcast; why care about him?" echoes the thoughtless multitude.

Fortunately the world is not inhabited by tyrants and slaves only; there are a vast number of men and women whose hearts, even as Bresci's, throb with love for those whom power and greed has condemned to everlasting ignorance and despair. Men and women, in all stations of life, who see the injustice and cruelty around them; and who feel that Bresci's awful death is but another indictment against those institutions in society that are being maintained at the cost of human lives.

A society which destroys myriads of its members must give birth to men like Bresci. It is violence and force upon which the whole system is based, and that begets force. How could it be otherwise?

Bresci is the child of Italy, where the masses of the people toil and sweat, yet never enjoy the beauties that Mother Nature has so abundantly bestowed upon that country; Italy, whose strong, healthy, and stalwart men must leave their native soil to wander in strange lands in search of bread; Italy, where women are wrecks at the age of 20, and whose children, dirty, filthy, ragged, and starved, are degraded to beggars. The few have robbed the country to gain their accumulated wealth, and are now suppressing every sound of protest, celebrating orgies to drown the voices of agony coming from the prisons, where the daring spirits are confined to a life of hell. It was here where he first imbibed the spirit of discontent and hatred against a society which endures such awful conditions; it was here where he learned to understand and to love the idea that is to bring the dawn of the day, and establish human happiness.

Since man has dictated terms to his brother, the spirit of righteous indignation has been afloat; and it is well that it should be so. Were it not for the spirit of discontent, of indignation and protest against wrong, the spirit that feels every blow, pain, and sorrow that suffering and starving humanity has to endure, progress would be impossible. It was this spirit that moved man to become helpful, good, and generous; to tear down the old institutions of darkness and ignorance, and build new ones. It was this spirit that has given to past generations the power of endurance, determination, and enthusiasm in their fight for man's highest treasure—liberty.

Each age has its John Browns, its Perovskayas, its Parsons, Spies, Anglo-Illios, and its Brescis, who were misunderstood, persecuted, mobbed, tortured, and killed, by those who could not reach the sublime heights attained by these men. Yet they have not lived in vain, for it is to them that we owe all that is good and noble, grand and useful in the world.

It is therefore useless to assert that the science of life, the philosophy of liberty, and human independence are reasonable for the acts of violence. This may satisfy sensational minds; but earnest men and women are beginning to understand that the philosophy of anarchism, which occupies the most intellectual minds of our time, which has given to the world a Tolstoy, a Kropotkin, and many others, which permeates the literature, art, science, and every branch of human knowledge, which aims at the deliverance of mankind from a life of tragedy and despair, which is based upon harmony, and the recognition of the equal rights of every individual to all that his intelligence, skill, and ingenuity can produce, certainly can have nothing to do with violence, nor have the representatives of this idea ever advocated it.

Bresci has paid the penalty of his crime. And a crime indeed it was to have loved one's kind, to have felt the existing wrongs in the world, and to have dared to strike a blow at organized authority. He has lived and died true to himself; and the world will have to learn that while one Bresci is killed, hundreds are born ready to lay down their lives to free mankind from tyranny, power, ignorance, and poverty.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

TORTURE AND TORTURERS.

The last two works of the writer, "Life Without a Master," and "The New Dispensation," discuss a great number of social problems. Of all these none would seem to be so vital and momentous, when we come to consider the real interests of mankind, as the question of punishment; and yet it is the one particular point in these books that seems to attract no attention on the part

of the reading public. If the subject is brought up in private conversation, the listener opens his eyes with a sort of blank stare, as much as to say, "What is this man talking about?" The listener seems to say to himself: "Why, we have always had punishments; the Bible tells us to punish, and it says we must have an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. How could society exist without punishments?"

Why do we punish people? Simply to cause them pain and suffering. But what good does that do? Absolutely none at all, either to the one that suffers or to the one who causes the suffering. Sometimes it is said that we punish to prevent crime. But we know as a matter of fact that punishment does not prevent crime, certainly not the crime that has been committed, and the evidence all goes to show that punishment does not even lessen crime. No, we punish people because they deserve it, because our Bible says so, because we have always done that way, and because we are exasperated and want revenge. That is reason enough, the people think.

Notice that we do not punish all people, but only those who have done wrong? Who says they have done wrong? We say so. How do we know? Who made us the judge over our fellow men, under any circumstances? Christ says, "Judge not." And still we try men, we judge men, we convict them, we punish them. The prisoner himself never has a word to say about the business. Is that not passing strange? How did the criminal, as we call the one whom we do not happen to like, lose his rights? Before "God" (term used for convenience) he never did lose his rights. The convict in State prison has properly as many rights as any man who lives outside of prison walls. We can imprison a man, we can cut off his ears or sever his head—but it is not in the power of any human being to take from him his vested or natural rights as a man and a citizen.

When one man murders another man, and we, having the power in our hands, hang the murderer, what is the difference in the crime in the two cases? No difference, except that the murder by hanging a man is the more cold-blooded of the two. When a crime is committed in the name and under the sanction of the law, how does it differ from a crime committed under other circumstances? There is an excuse for it, a justification, they say! Who says so? Why, the party that wants to be excused says so. But the party that suffers does not say so. Excuses have never yet changed the character of any act of wrongdoing. Excuses do not excuse England in India and South Africa, nor Germany for its crimes in China. If there is a hell, and we sometimes suspect there is, or there ought to be, it must be paved with such excuses. Was there ever a crime committed in all this world that did not have some excuse to justify it, in the mind at least of the one who is guilty of the offense? When Alexander killed Oltus, did he not have an excuse? Oltus was impertinent, and besides Alexander was drunk—a very good excuse indeed, for a king. Henry VIII had a most satisfactory excuse for disposing of his several wives as he did—he wanted them out of the way. Old Blue Beard had excellent excuses in the same direction. When Napoleon had 8,000 Turkish prisoners murdered at Jaffa, he had as good a reason for his crime as any man ever had, in his own mind. We stand horror-stricken and think of the suffering caused by the Inquisitors and by religious persecution generally, in the Middle Ages. But let us turn our thoughts nearer home, and see if we to-day are in any sense better than those Inquisitors and persecutors of which we complain so bitterly. For those people the heretic was the very worst of criminals, and so, as they imagined, they had a right to torture and torment this offender. We do precisely the same thing every time we imprison or torture a prisoner under any pretense. We not only cause him pain just to see him writhe and suffer, but we make his family wretched, and often leave them desolate and heartstricken. These frightful crimes are committed every day, in some part of the land, with the sanction of the law and in the name of God. We think it is horrible to lynch a man, but that is simply because it is not lawful. But doubtless it hurts a man justly to be hung on a gallows as to the limb of a tree. Finally, what makes it right to punish offenders as we do? Nothing but the opinions of the people. If we could get people to change their opinions on this question, punishments would cease at once, and so would crimes and offenses. That is the way that chattel slavery ceased—people simply changed their minds, and what was right before is wrong now.

How unnecessary, how unjust, how cruel, how horrible it is to punish men for no other reason than that we have them at our mercy, and they have in

some way offended us! It must be remembered that criminals are simply and solely people who have done what we consider wrong. But they are not in fact a whit worse than we are, or than anybody else is. They have been bold enough, or injudicious enough, to do what they thought was right, and what we thought was wrong. That was the sole source of their misfortune. But what is worse than all, they happened to be in the minority.

But after all, we fear that this article, like those that preceded it, is so much effort wasted. If a person will persist in keeping his eyes shut, how can you induce him to open them? It should be remembered that there is no man so blind as the one who will not see.

However, what answer can be made to these statements, or who can refute the arguments here presented? These thoughts are not the dream, the idle fancy, of the writer. There is nothing really new in this article, except the manner in which the subject is presented. It may be, and no doubt is new to most people, but that is merely because they are not posted on all branches of literature. Why, the thought that it is wrong to punish, is as old as the New Testament—and no doubt older. Even Beccaria wrote against punishments 200 years ago.

J. WILSON.

HOW "PLOTS" ARE MADE.

Two weeks ago another Italian spy was caught in a trap by our comrades of Paterson, N. J. This individual, whose name is Degl'Innocenti Raffaele, tried to induce an Italian anarchist, a personal friend of his, to make a trip to Italy with the intention of killing the Italian king. This proposition created suspicion, and he was easily detected. When he found that he was unmasked, he trembled and willingly confessed. The comrades even refrained from giving this hideous reptile a sound thrashing, only requesting him to give a written statement of his confession, the original of which is in the possession of the comrades in Paterson.

Last March the wretch went to see the Consul Branchi in order to obtain a pardon for a "nonpolitical crime" he had committed in Italy, and for which he had been sentenced to four years and six months' imprisonment. The consul took him into a private room, and asked him whether he knew any of the Paterson anarchists, of their doings and intentions. Degl'Innocenti replied that he was acquainted with some of the anarchists, but knew nothing of their doings. He was then sent to Paterson to spy on the anarchists, and to keep the consul posted, the main purpose being to form a conspiracy against the life of the Italian king, for which service he was to receive a pardon for the crime he had committed in Italy.

Besides a revolver, a prescription how to manufacture bombs was found in his possession. This reads as follows:

"Take a vessel of chinaware and a glass stick 16 to 20 inches long. Start a slow fire. Take 20 grams of silver nitrate, put it in the vessel, add 20 grams nitroglycerine, and dissolve on the fire. Then take 20 grams of wine-spirit from 44 to 50 degrees, which is to be divided into three equal parts. Pour one part into the vessel and cover it. After a few minutes add the second part, and finally the third. Then take a glass funnel, and filter the compound thoroughly, till the substance left in the funnel is nearly dry. Anyone can use this explosive by simply inclosing it in a solid vessels or iron tube."

Thus we see that the governments teach "law-abiding" subjects how to manufacture bombs, and they should therefore not be surprised when these "dangerous things" are sometimes thrown against those that teach how to make them.

D. M.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

"In vain you appeal to me—you say that by an extension of the democratic régime we can eradicate the evils with which we are afflicted." But I do not believe it.

The word "democracy" is derived from demos, the people, and kratos, the power, and its general interpretation is a condition where the power of the government is supposed to be lodged in the hands of the people; that they, through the so-called representative, can make and unmake laws.

This is no doubt very soothing to those whose power of inquiry has only reached a certain limit. It may aim at the sovereignty of the individual; but then it falls short of that, because it is enshrouded with ancient traditions, and also because it does not recognize the principles of true liberty.

What has the struggle between the poor and the privileged been the last hundred years? It has been mainly for political enfranchisement. The privileged have yielded, after a desperate conflict, the citizen's right to choose his ruler. But the mere fact of being able to choose one's master is nothing more than a farce, although the privileged feared the concessions they made. But the efficacy of the vote is only a chimera—it has only blinded and deceived the workmen; for this bait so cunningly employed by the classes is the means whereby the attention of the work is diverted from the real economical causes of his poverty, and his individuality and independence are sacrificed.

The decision of a majority is supposed to be final; it is they who can decide as to the best men to place in power. But what a delusion! Are they the most intelligent? do they think for themselves? They are always in the rear, and their ideas are more suitable for a museum than for modern life. How can they decide such a question? I can not, for the simple reason that no man can with safety be trusted with power; he becomes tyrannous under its influence, and imagines himself superior to those whom he professes to serve. And he also becomes the victim of temptations in the camp of the enemy; in fact, the atmosphere even of a legislative chamber is sufficient to chill the ardor of those who seek to establish better conditions of life.

The representative system is disease and corruption itself; the meanness and pretentiousness of the politician are well known—his smooth tongue, his profusion of promises, and his anxiety to get into power. Even if he has honest desires to improve the workers' condition he is prevented not only by the satellites of privilege, but from the mere fact that the legislative machinery can not deal with those problems which affect the workman; it does not touch the root of social diseases, but only deals with side issues. And therefore by dealing only with effect instead of causes, it attempts to make wage slavery appear more respectable and bearable in the eyes of the workman.

Politics have had their day, the veil of deception has been removed by the hand of truth, and the workers are beginning to see through this transparent fraud that the question at issue is not a matter of placing this or that party in power to spend their time making a nest for themselves and their descendants, but one of an economical nature that can be solved only by the workers themselves. It is they who must work out their emancipation by the development of their reasoning faculties, self-reliance and independence, and contempt for office seekers and their platitudes.

What of contemporary democracies? They do not present a healthy picture. For instance, France and America, where, notwithstanding the vote, human liberty is trampled under foot and the power of the capitalist remains unchecked; one need only look at these countries for a sample of this new form of tyranny.

The improvements in the workers' condition have been achieved outside parliament by their spontaneous action. Therefore, I say, for earnest men to enter the political arena is a hopeless affair, it only helps to strengthen the position of the privileged; for the belief in the power of the vote has a stultifying and dependent effect on the mind of the worker; it banishes inquiry.

Let us keep clear of politics with their lies, deceit, and hypocrisy. Our place is among the workmen, teaching them the principles of true democracy—that which will relieve humanity not only from the grip of the capitalist, but from that of the ruler as well.

The abolition of the State—that alone is true democracy, leaving each individual free, where economic and social affairs can be conducted by the people themselves without the interference of arrogant officials. That is true democracy; all other forms are wretched shams and frauds.—R. C. M., in *Freedom*.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor: The remarks of Rev. Thomas Dixon, jr., set in motion novel trains of thought. Women should certainly be protected from the ballot—if they require protection from anything! Why? "Because" the ballot is a part of the political machinery by which rulers are elected. Rulers are bosses, bosses are masters, masters are tyrants; no matter whether the system under

which they operate be that of chattel slavery or one of the various forms of the religious, political, or commercial varieties. Any kind of slavery is antisocial, for antagonism is the inevitable feeling between master and slave, unless the mind of the slave is so saddened by subjection as to prevent the fire of individuality from even smoldering. Men should be protected from the ballot, also; or, what is better, both women and men should denounce and renounce it as contaminating. Majority rule, the ideal of republican government, is in no way superior to any other rule. The attainments of humanity depend upon the degree of its social development, for "in union there is strength," "many hands make light work," and "what one does not think of another will." The corruption "sex attraction" might cause in politics would signify little, for the political infamy is begotten, bred, and fostered in and of corruption—"It is hard spoiling rotten eggs." If married life can not survive with the ballot in the hands of women, woman suffrage would be a blessing in disguise; provided the advance continued until the ballot, too, could be numbered with the dead institutions. Sex slavery is preposterous. Let us strike for freedom in all things, "though the heavens fall."—Viroqua Daniels, in *Boston Traveler*.

THE CASE OF STUB CARTER.

To the Editor of the Post.

SIR: The announcement made in the *Post* that "Stub" Carter had been released from the New Haven jail, where he had been confined for 21 months for refusing to pay a military tax of \$1 to the State of Connecticut, shows what power there is in passive resistance to defeat a tyrannical measure.

Carter is a man who does not believe in war—at least, wars of invasion—so when the good old town of Ansonia, Conn., assessed a military tax of \$1 on him, he simply said that it was against his principle to pay it, and that he would go to jail before he would pay it. Result, 21 months in New Haven jail, at an expense of \$2.50 per week to the town that sent him there, or, say a total cost of \$227.50 added to the tax levy of Ansonia, as the cost of trying to force a man to pay \$1 for a purpose that he did not believe in. And, like Mark Twain in his controversy with the missionaries, the fact that the tax was such a "little one" had no weight with Mr. Carter, who evidently believes that "all just governments rest on the consent of the governed," and that numbers have nothing to do with principles. Suppose a million men in the United States had said with Carter that "we will go to jail before we will pay a military tax," is it conceivable that McKinley could have secured \$200,000,000 to wage an aggressive war against our brown brothers 10,000 miles away? Speed the day when millions of men will prefer going to jail rather than spend their time in producing wealth to be used in murdering their fellowmen on the field of battle.

Some day the people may become sane enough to remember, with feelings of gratitude, the man who was willing to lie in prison for 21 months rather than give a single dollar to aid the work of our American barbarians.—J. T. Small, in *Boston Post*.

PROVINCETOWN, MASS., May 13.

A CONTRAST.

A man who poses as a progressive man was recently approached by a friend of Free Society with the view of obtaining his subscription thereto. He refused for the following reasons:

1. "My wife don't like that kind of literature."
2. "I am a single taxpayer."
3. "We have for the last 10 years been engaged in the investigation of spiritualism."

Upon first thought these reasons may seem plausible, but when the fact is considered that this man had received the paper for nearly a year without protesting or paying, the conundrum is evident.

In bold relief to the foregoing case stands that of one of his neighbors who had also received the paper for the same length of time. He also has a wife—

and, unlike the other man, a large family as well, but he is not a slave to his wife's fancies as to the reading matter he himself is to indulge in. He, too, is friendly to the single-tax theory, but he evidently surpasses his fellow single taxer in depth and liberality. His single tax is truly but a means to an end, just as it was to Henry George in spite of his own subsequent stultification and inconsistency, the end being the perfect liberation of the land and with it the human being—anarchy. He, too, has perhaps "investigated spiritualism," but if he believes in it at all, which is doubtful, he evidently realizes that the adjustment of material conditions right here and now is of far greater importance to himself as well as to the human race than all the spirits that human imagination might conjure up. This latter friend did not refuse to pay for what he had received, but promptly liquidated his debt and cheerfully subscribed and paid for one year in advance, speaking of the work of Free Society in approving and very encouraging terms.—S. D.

HERE AND THERE.

At Brussels, Belgium, the owner of a printing office, who discharged nine of his employees because they refused to leave their union on his demand, was fined 200 francs in court, and ordered to pay damages to the men in the sum of 1,900 francs. In this country the judges' sanity would have been questioned, and looked upon as a miracle.

In Bohemia 10,000 miners have achieved the 8-hour work day, and others are soon to follow. The Social Democrats, who opposed the agitation for shorter hours as not being in line with "scientific" socialism, have lost many adherents among the miners.

What economists call overproduction is but a production that is above the purchasing power of the worker, who is reduced to poverty by capital and State. Now, this sort of overproduction remains fatally characteristic of the present capitalist production, because—Proudhon has already shown it—workers can not buy with their salaries what they have produced and at the same time copiously nourish the swarm of idlers who live upon their work.—Peter Kropotkin.

NOTES.

Thursday, June 6, 8 p. m., a meeting will be held at Lucifer's office, 500 Fulton Street, to discuss ways and means to further the propaganda for freedom by speech and press. All liberty-loving people are invited to attend.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

"The Sons of God are Archists, not Anarchists," says the Flaming Sword. Right you are, "brother" Teed. "God" and his sons were ever tyrants.

McKinley made a great hit on his tour. If the millions that have been spent all along his line of march was given to the thousands who are clamoring for a full dinner pail, I think McKinley would have made a still greater hit than he did. But then even a digger Indian or a beggar has pride, and likes hero worship. This triumphal march is the corner stone of our future empire.—(City Front News.)

And the saddest thing about McKinley's "triumphal march" is the fact that labor organizations were prominent among those lickspittles who crawled and kneeled before "his majesty."

In reference to the present strike of the machinists, a "most prominent manufacturer, who declined to give his name," uttered the following sentiment in an interview:

"We intend to stamp it out, for the demands made upon us are injurious to our business, and are beyond all reason. We have reached the last ditch, where we must stand shoulder to shoulder and fight the dictation of trades unionism. That fight we shall win.

"The time for conference is past. There will be no compromise on our part and we will stick out until we win. We are sick of being dictated to, and of having our business interfered with by our workmen.

"I say again that trades unionism must be stamped out. It is now war to the knife."

This capitalist Juggernaut takes a rather bold position, yet his attitude is much more praiseworthy than those of the hypocritical labor leaders who constantly prate about the "friendly relations of capital and labor," and are ever willing to compromise in order to retain prestige and respectability.

The Chicago American has come to the conclusion that "the republican idea of government thus far seems to suggest a music-hall farce." The editor is certainly correct, but he has still to learn that this applies to all forms of government. Government implies master and slave, even if the master is called "servant," and the slave "a sovereign citizen."

In another column we mention a pamphlet, issued by the Russian Doukhobors. The views on marriage of these so-called "half-barbarians," which they set forth to the Canadian Government, should put so-called Christian nations to shame. The Canadian law requires that, to make marriage legal, a license for \$2 must be obtained. To this they reply:

"We can not believe, that a marriage can become legal because it is recorded in a police register and a fee of \$2 paid for it; on the contrary we believe that such recording and payment annuls marriage and breaks up its real legality. We believe that the real legalization of a marriage union is when it is brought about freely as a result of a pure feeling, of a mutual moral affection between man and woman. Only such pure feeling of love, born of mutual recognition of moral traits of character, creates a real legality of a marriage according to the law of God, and not a record of same in a police register and a money fee. And every marriage which has its source in the pure feeling of mutual love will be legal before God, although it were not registered, and other people would not recognize its legality. * * * Therefore we believe that legalization of the marriage bonds belongs solely to God, and we can not consent to transfer the legalization from God to the police."

PEPPERY POT.

The San Francisco Independent Debating Club is contributing its share toward undermining the powers of the three G's (God, Government, and Grundy). Its Sunday afternoon meetings at 909 Market Street are well attended and draw thinking audiences and bright speakers.

The "Socialists" John Burns and Keir-Hardie voted on Labouchere's amendment to King Edward's allowances. These "Socialists" apparently did not realize that it was a stultification to vote on any proposition involving a salary to royalty, which plainly shows how this desire for political power corrupts. Our American half brothers, the Socialists, are irate when we call them State Socialists, but in this instance their English brothers are not only State but royal Socialists.

"The King of Italy has created a new order—the order of the Knights of Labor, but it does not affiliate with the order of the same name in this country," says an Associated Press dispatch. From another source we learn that poor Bresci has been driven insane by the tortures inflicted upon him by the government whose responsible head is this same wholesale murderer sitting on the Italian throne. And that is the secret of his creation of the new order of the Knights of Labor, which practically means Knights of Loafers, and is a bid for protection by a guilty conscience. The next thing in order for this king of loafers will be the doubling of his guard and the appointment of a food-taster—for certainly such villains are not allowed to go free by a people of the undaunted courage and determination of the Italians. But then, royalty never learns anything until their heads ornament the scaffold as a warning example, as during the French Revolution. Well has the German poet said: "Humanity will never be free until the last king and the last priest hang on the same scaffold."

O. L. James, in a recent issue of Free Society (No. 306), regrets Tolstoy's religious bias, and hopes he (Tolstoy) "may be brought to acknowledge it." Evidently "misery wants company," for James, not many moons ago, in Free

Society, acknowledged his own religious bias by the affirmation of the existence of a deity. And for the fact that he has not yet dropped his own bias, his introductory remark in the same article in which the criticism of Tolstoy occurs, is sufficient proof. He says: " * * * which (the social revolution) is predestined to be the event of the twentieth century." Predestined—by whom? Back of the idea of predestination lurks the big deity, the religious superstition. Let us hope that both James and Tolstoy will not only "acknowledge" but drop their religious bias.

I appreciate and share O. L. James's opinion regarding some people's misunderstanding of Nietzsche. Whether the effect of Nietzsche's depth of thought or his ambiguity of language, or from whatever cause, he is much misunderstood. Not long since I was almost dumbfounded to hear two of his admirers, who had formerly professed to be Anarchists, renounce Anarchism and advocate archism or government because they, as they claimed, "followed Nietzsche."

Now, it is true that Nietzsche speaks a good deal of the prevailing principle of might constituting right, but his ideal, I feel safe in asserting, is that of noninvasion, Anarchism, though, of course, he speaks of it as an ideal far off in the future, realized by a race of people so far superior to the present that he calls it "Uebermensch"—overman. And in this respect all intelligent Anarchists agree with him to the extent that the realization of Anarchy is a question of evolution.

"The close of the session of the General Assembly of Illinois was marked by a general distribution of watches, watch chains, diamonds, rings, and scarfpins, but it is surmised that the tokens given out to the members at the next general election in the State will be of a less welcome kind."—(San Francisco Chronicle.)

The Chronicle is Republican, and, of course, the inference it wants to be drawn is the probability of the defeat of the Democratic candidates at the next general election, in which case the watches, watch chains, diamond rings, and scarfpins would go to the Republican boodlers. However, it is possible that the Socialists may by that time have learned the tricks of "how to get into power," and there may be Socialists, too, who are fond of jewelry, for "opportunity makes thieves," you know. Or, perchance, the trade unionists may have by that time become powerful and sensible enough to institute a general strike, drive off the political loafers and take hold of industries, and declare this country an association of workers, by workers, and for workers, instead of its present condition of a Government of loafers, by loafers, for loafers.

Comrade Kropotkin, in his excellent article, "The Black Invasion," translated in a recent issue of Free Society, takes a gloomy aspect of the state of affairs which from the statistics he furnishes would seem justified. But fortunately in this case statistics often prove things "that ain't so," as for instance the statistics regarding the effect of poisoning (vaccination) in the Franco-German war, which our comrade, Frank D. Blue, in his gallant anti-poisoning journal, Vaccination, appropriately speaks of as "the Franco-German war lie."

Besides Catholicism and even religion itself, like everything else, is subject to evolution, and is, as a matter of fact, rapidly undergoing modifications. When we consider how Beecher knocked the bottom out of hell only a few years ago; how the Bible is being revised frequently and more radically each time in order to suit the growing progressive spirit of the times; how the pope himself is forced to whine about the loss of his temporal power, and to write hypocritical encyclical letters in favor of labor; how the very foundation of religion—God—is being interpreted by the "divines" as "God is all and in all," which practically means that God has evaporated; when even such good people as Max Muller seek a "reconciliation between science and religion," nay, when a still "gooder" man like Stephen T. Byington, our "me too" anarchist, teaches religion in a Sunday school, and when—behold!—the "goodest" of the good, our own bard, J. Wm. Lloyd, "pleas" for a "larger religion"—then, perhaps, there may not be after all so much cause for alarm regarding the progress of the black invasion as Comrade Kropotkin thinks.

At the time this is being penned, the city of San Francisco is in spasms over the arrival of the chief of all the boodlers and corruptionists, Ma-Kin-Lee. The Chronicle, the largest Republican paper in this city, has the words "Pros-

perity" and "Protection" prominently displayed upon its building, erected upon boodle and blackmail. My attention was attracted by some things calling themselves men and women walking along the streets in rags and tatters wearing McKinley badges. They are a living embodiment of prosperity and protection. Mrs. McKinley is unwell, which is the only ripple on the surface of this great excitement. The bulletins gave out this morning that "Mrs. McKinley will not be able to attend to social duties." Sad, very sad, indeed, for how can the sun keep on shining without Mrs. McKinley's attending to "social duties!" The only consolation is that Mac is well fitted to represent the old lady, for even he is an expert in "social duties," in fact he is probably more fitted for "social" duties than for any other. The San Francisco tobacco merchants seem to realize that fact, for they are said to have put in an extra stock of high-priced cigars for the occasion.

S. D.

THE POOR YE SHALL ALWAYS HAVE AMONG YE.

Just for the sake of illustration let us fix the value of a man's labor at \$100 per day. As a common man is never recognized at his true value, he barely receives \$1 out of the \$100. Admirable scheme, is it not? We know our right hand from our left hand, but we pretend to be ignorant of what causes pauperism. Let us elucidate. If we are lucky and get the \$99, that's our right hand. The fellow who is unlucky gets the \$1, that is our left hand. The scriptural injunction never to let the other hand know what the right hand is doing, is religiously observed as a general rule. In fact, so well established is this rule among all nations, that the golden rule, "The poor ye shall always have among ye," remains undisturbed. Great things, however, are expected from the poor but honest dollar-per-day man. Blessed be nothing, for out of that lonesome dollar must come all the issues of a beggarly family. Upon the dry and barren soil of a niggardly dollar must be cultivated all the germs of a sublime and exquisite taste, all the graces that wealth itself might bestow. The astonishing success which hath attended the frantic efforts of our left-handed brothers may be ascertained at any hour of the day by consulting the statistics of our model prisons and elaborate asylums.

In 1870 a traveler asked a native of Massachusetts what was raised in the State. The native replied with a tone of pride, "We raise men." In 1890 the same question being asked, the native replied this time with a tone of shame and disgust, "We raise large crops of epileptics now, and a very, very hospitable people." Of course, it is one of those dark, mysterious secrets, nobody knows how or why it happens thusly, and even if they did nobody would care to have their nervous system jarred by an explanation that would set the whole thing dead to rights. Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise. Where wisdom will bring you in a cool million, it is folly to be too ignorant; but tell it not in Gath.

Returning to our downtrodden brother, the dollar-per-day man, what can you expect for 50 cents or \$1? Diamonds? Wonderfully brilliant idea for our moneyed men to preserve the integrity of low-cut wages. By using the \$99 judiciously, the right hands and the left hands will continue their journey through life in sweet oblivion of each other *ad infinitum*. Capital and labor might have been lovers once upon a time, but they bear the appearance of strangers now, which is a great pity, and a reconciliation ought to take place. Alas! dear friends, what a yawning chasm confronts us! It is easier by far to bridge the Pacific than to span the gulf that exists between wealth and poverty. A few pennies for sweet charity's sake dropped in the blind organ grinder's tin cup quiets our conscience, for in the eyes of men we are indeed charitable. Those who seek favor in the eyes of the Lord must not flatter themselves that he approves of the clever robbing of the gentle Peters, whereby the pestiferous Paulines may be paid with a fine flourish. Again the cry rings out from the hearts of pure men and women at the foot of the cross, "Oh, Lord what wilt thou have us to do that we may be saved?" Could the Lord respond to the cry with the voice of a living human being, he would exclaim, "My children, give your \$1 per day man his \$100 per day, and it will be well with your soul in the last great day."

EQUALITY.

MILITARY DRILL.

I live near the State Agricultural College, where every day the cadets drill on the open grounds for half an hour before noon. It is a fine sight. Several hundred neatly dressed men and boys in uniform, going through evolutions calculated to teach them promptness, order, obedience, cleanliness, and an erect attitude so conducive to health. But, with guns in their hands, and that alters the case!

To teach them war—murder—in the curriculum of a State school! Yet these boys seem quite unconscious of the inevitable trend of "drill." Few realize that they may be called out as State troops to shoot their fellow men, and those few no doubt believe it right to "defend their country." I said to one of them: "Why not deploy along a cornfield with hoes in your hands, instead of guns, and, at the bugle call or word of command, fall to hoeing the corn, each taking a row? There would be some sense in that! And if you must wear swords, you officers, when the fodder is to be cut in the fall, use them regularly, deftly and rapidly in cutting the corn, row after row. What a grand sight that would be! The 'squads' can 'shock' it while the band plays and you can 'double quick' home to dinner, feeling that you are really of some use in the world."

"Who ever heard of such a thing?" was the reply of the dear cadet—and time goes on. But the seed of better thought was dropped in the furrow.

FORT COLLINS, COLO.

ALBINA L. WASHBURN.

The Russian Doukhobors, Society of Universal Brotherhood, of Canada, have sent out pamphlets addressed to all nations, requesting to inform them "whether there is anywhere such a country and such a human society where we could be tolerated and where we could make our living without being obliged to break the demands of our conscience and of the truth."

These people object to private property in land and to pay marriage license, because being contrary to the teachings of Christ; but as the teachings of Christ can not be reconciled with the laws of a so-called Christian nation, difficulties have arisen between the Doukhobors and the Canadian Government, which the pamphlet explains in detail. After giving their reasons why they can not compromise with the Canadian laws, their letter to the Government concludes:

"And now we are in necessity to beg your allowance to remain in Canada until we find some other country for our settlement or to come to a persuasion, that for men who try to set their life on Christian principles there is no room on earth."

A voice in the wilderness! In vain will these good people wait for a reply, for there is no room on this earth where men could live a "life set on Christian principles."

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

But meanwhile this multitude have been performing that most unape-like process which is called thinking. They reflect—If De Launay and his garrison are tried, for what shall they be punished? Resisting the people? Law, order, precedent, etc., exist only to do that. Defending an untenable place? If they had been agreed to defend it, the Bastille was an impregnable place. If De Launay is tried, he must be vindicated. This multitude has thought and resolved that he shall not be vindicated. It has not thought enough to know any way of preventing his vindication but the apellike method, bloodshed and revenge. The multitude follows the escort, snatching, pelting, howling, and grimacing till it reaches the Place de Greve. This usual place of execution carries associations little adapted to inspire reverence for law and order, much to hallow bloodshed and revenge. Here Lally, borne down by court intrigue, was gagged and headed without law. Here Damiens, for sticking a penknife into Louis the Infamous, was dismembered by 13 strong horses without law. Here refractory fathers of children in the Pare aux Cerfs were hanged without law. Here the child brother of Cartouche was crucified without law. Here others, too numerous to mention, have been hanged, wheeled, quartered, burned, possible with law, but certainly with public sorrow for them

and execration for their slayers. Here he who shot the people to save the Bastille shall perish without law. The escort was overpowered. De Launay was borne to the ground; his head was cut off and carried on a pike. Two soldiers were also seized and hanged to lamp ropes. As the multitude had been thinking they were satisfied with a few of their slayers. It was rumored that Flesselles had written to De Launay he would amuse the people till troops should arrive from Versailles. He was now summoned to defend himself in the Palais Royal. At the corner of his first block going thither an unknown man shot him dead. The Bastille is taken. Yet Paris may not be safe. All night the populace were busy barricading in hourly expectation of an attack. It was their third war vigil.

This news came upon the entire court party as suddenly and awfully as Gabriel's blast. It was midnight when the Duke de Liancourt called up his sovereign, who had just slept an hour. "This is a rebellion," said the King, after a long silence. "Sire," was the reply, "It is a revolution." The surrender of the Bastille, in truth, was but incidental to the general mutiny of the King's army. Only one of two courses was practicable for Louis—to accept the situation or to fly. He was too vacillating to do either. At 2 a. m. the Assembly, though still nominally in session, ceased to do business for some hours while the members were sleeping, quite exhausted. At 8 De Liancourt entered to announce that the King was coming. His Majesty appeared, accompanied only by his two brothers, amidst thundering applause. He declared his confidence in the Assembly, denied that he had ever intended its forcible dissolution, promised to be guided by its counsels, and announced withdrawal of his troops. Some murmurs were heard from the aristocratic party. The majority drowned them with fresh bursts of applause. They escorted the King back to his actual residence. Versailles, already thronged with new arrivals from Paris, followed, shouting. The queen was much alarmed by the uproar. When she learned that Louis was returning in triumph she appeared on the balcony and was greeted with plaudits, which, however, a few murmurs disturbed. The people, amidst their wildest enthusiasm, could not forget the vacillation of Louis, the tyranny of his predecessors and their noblesse, the rancorous enmity of that court whose type was this "Austrian woman." A female of Versailles pushed her way through the concourse close to Louis and said, "Oh, my king! are you quite sincere? Will they not make you change your mind again?" A deputation of 100 members was at once sent to Paris with the glad news. They took with it the King's sanction to organization of a national guard. Approaching by the same way whence a hostile army had been expected, they drove through a multitude delirious with joy to the Place Louis XV. Thence they walked through the Tuilleries gardens, amidst martial music, and were escorted by a committee along the Seine to the Hotel de Ville. Lafayette was elected to command the national guard, Bailly chosen mayor of Paris. The people expressed an ardent desire that their King should visit them. Next day it was warmly debated at Versailles whether he had better do so or appeal to foreign despots. He allowed a majority of his advisers to decide for the first alternative, but he imagined that he was going into danger. Accordingly he took pains to receive the eucharist and to appoint his brother (Louis XVIII) Lieutenant of France in case he should not return. He was actually pale when he left Versailles, though as little subject to fear as to any strong emotion. The Queen, bitterly opposed to his present policy, was in a state of distraction. But the impulsive nation overflowed with milk and honey. A *Te Deum* was voted, on motion by the Archbishop of Paris. The recall of Necker, in which some one had tact enough to make Louis anticipate the Assembly's wishes, called forth a peal of gratitude. Free Paris, with civil and military officers of her own, prepared to give her liberal King the royalest welcome upon record. Meanwhile De Liancourt had announced in the Assembly, "The King pardons the French guards." One of the soldiers, who was present, immediately rose to say, "We can not accept a pardon. In serving the nation, we served the king, and the scenes now transpiring prove it." Fresh thunders of applause responded.

Louis set out at 10 a. m., July 17, in a plain carriage without guards but surrounded by all the deputies on foot. That they might be able to keep up, his progress was slow. At 3 he reached the gates. From the Sevres bridge, more than 3 miles outside Paris, even to the Hotel de Ville his road was lined by the national guard in military array. Amidst this army, which numbered 200,000, were the bulk of the industrial and commercial citizens, a multitude

of the inferior clergy, a few bishops, the lawyers and politicians, a vast swarm of tatterdemallons, with hunger in their cheeks but fury in their eyes, faces marked by scenes witnessed at rustic "jacqueries," by weary tramp, by shivering bivouac, by begging on quays, and storming the Bastille. There were also many women and girls. Thirty thousand volunteers had muskets, 50,000 pikes; the remainder, more than half of all, were armed with scythes, axes, sabers, pitchforks, clubs. To a liberal King who had regretted an error this should have been his proudest moment. A cynical despot might have seen in this enthusiastic militia an army with which he could conquer Europe. But Louis XVI was neither a Joseph II nor a Napoleon. All his little intelligence was employed in realizing his humiliation. The rough faces were the faces of savages; the intelligent face: were the faces of traitors. All were the faces of enemies. The people, too, were inwardly uneasy and suspicious. This day the Comte d'Artois, the Polignacs, and a majority of aristocratic leaders fled from France. But when Louis, after meeting the new dignitaries at the Hotel de Ville, pinned a tricolor on his hat a deafening shout burst forth of "Vive le Roi!" which was echoed from street to street on his appearance beside Bailly in the porch. Fresh demonstrations greeted him as he descended, so effusive that he could not be quite insensible to their simplicity and fervor. A woman threw herself, weeping, on his neck. The people carried him in their arms. His postillions and suite were besieged with wine cups. Amidst cheering throngs he made his way back to Versailles. But all this enthusiasm could draw nothing more from his stupidity than a good-humored smile. His bad angel, Marie Antoinette, had not expected him to return alive. This was her greeting when she saw the tricolor: "I did not know I had married a plebeian." Thus ended the first act in this drama of national regeneration. Power had passed to the people. They could still boast that they had won it almost without fighting a skirmish or retaliating a wrong.

"The chief thing that makes life a failure from the artistic point of view is the thing that lends to life its sordid security, the fact that one can never repeat exactly the same emotion" (Oscar Wilde). The "sordid security," of course, realizes a tremendous shock in times like July, 1789. But by the law just stated it rallies very soon, if only allowed to do so. The chief obstacle is that identical fear of losing landmarks and reaching a mad world, whose universality ought to teach us that it will allow no such danger.

Versailles, deserted by the defeated nobility, presented a melancholy spectacle. The King's lackeys perceived that he had lost power and, flunkeylike, respected him no longer. One of them coolly looked over his shoulder at the edict which he was signing. Louis XIV would have sent such a fellow to the Bastille. An ordinary king would have dismissed him. Henri IV might have kicked him downstairs. Louis XVI (who weighed 20 stone) attempted to brain him with a poker! These little things tell tales.

France, bankrupted, devastated, starving, a spectre excluded by the spell of debate while that greater question about despotism and liberty was before her legislature, now rushed into its midst. The famine was not likely to abate. Crops in the south were short. About Puy they had again been destroyed by hail and rain. That, in the midst of such misery, there should be some outbreaks was inevitable. But for about two weeks there seem to have been very few, and of the least culpable kind. There was poaching, woodcutting, stopping of grain by hungry people on its way from one place to another—nothing worse. On the whole, France waited for an administration of her own choice to do some good, till she found out that, like the former authority, it did harm. The recently organized parish assemblies direct local affairs—and do it ill. Special regulations, confused and contradictory, adopted by no less than 40,000 little governments for the purpose of relieving famine, put a stop to trade. For five months not a farmer has appeared in Louviers. So, at last, disappointment begets panic. Rumors fly from mouth to mouth. The monopolists have locked up all the grain. The bakers and millers are poisoning that filthy black stuff they sell for bread. Flour is being thrown into the Seine. Food is exported from Brittany. The nobles prompt all this—they hire persons to commit outrages for the purpose of discouraging liberty. The weak-minded King incurs suspicion. The "Austrian woman" heads the conspiracy, of course. Those who have observed what popular terrors are will doubtless believe the accused as innocent of the specific crimes laid to their charge as Catiline or Oates's victims, the Jesuits, the Templars, or the Chicago martyrs. But do not suppose the intelligent bourgeois is less, or less unreasonably, afraid of the

peasant than the ignorant peasant of the nobles. All over the country imaginary riots occasion frightful scenes. At Angouleme, July 28, 3 p. m., the tocsin rings. A report flies about that 15,000 brigands are coming to plunder the town. Soon they are seen approaching in a cloud of dust! Oh, no; it is only the post wagon going to Bordeaux. The number of brigands now falls to 1,500. However, by 9 p. m., 20,000 men are under arms. At 3 next morning there is a fresh alarm. The brigands have burned Ruffec, Verneuil, La Rochefoucauld, and other places. As this news spread through the country, men come in to defend Angouleme. "We had to be grateful to 40,000," says an eyewitness. Bordeaux, learning that Angouleme is in danger, generously offers 20,000 more. As no brigands appear, the brave militia go to look for them—and find nothing. This absurdity spread over a radius of 40 miles. In Auvergne there was even a greater scare of the same sort. Whole parishes took to the woods. Pregnant women perished. Individuals became insane. Madame Campau was shown a rock on which a woman, winged by fear, found refuge; but, when tranquillity returned, proved unable to get down again; so she had to be lowered with ropes! Neither imagine that the common people were afraid for nothing. The invariable history of such an epidemic is that they misconceive the nature of peril but look for it in the right quarter. The King, Queen, and nobles were really plotting counter-revolution, though in no such ways as was popularly imagined. Meanwhile, the assembly's measures were well meant, but weak. Even before July the King and nobles had seen the absolute necessity of doing something to relieve distress, and done what they could, without inconvenience, greatly to the edification of those who try making out that the revolution sprang from popular ignorance and wickedness. The Archbishop of Paris had borrowed 400,000 livres. The Bishop of Troyes gave 12,000 francs, the chapter 6,000 for relief workshops. One rich man is said to have distributed 40,000 francs within a few hours after the hailstorm. One convent of Bernardines fed 1,200 poor for six weeks. Talne says (without giving his authority) that the detested Berthier had, as equalizer of taxes in Paris, reduced overcharged quotas by a quarter. Immediately after Louis surrendered to the people the assembly took up a subscription amounting to \$9,000 and called on all people to send in contributions. The kind-hearted King gave the bulk of his plate. The hall was crowded with rich men, bringing their services; ladies, their jewels; and tradespeople, their little heirlooms. Charity, which took the bolder name of patriotism, proved contagious. Poor persons who had any means to live, subscribed their mites. A schoolboy brought a few louis, which had been given him for spending money. A courtesan sent, with her offering, the following neat address: "Gentlemen, I have a heart to love. I have gained something by loving. I place it all in your hands, a tribute to the country. May my example be followed by my compeers of all grades." Meanwhile Necker made desperate efforts to borrow money, but in vain. The national credit had been totally destroyed before his recall. A few months' settling down would have restored it. But the emigrant party's attitude made that impossible. The English ambassador, Dorset, told Louis's ministry of a plot to put the naval arsenals in his own Government's hands, while Austrians and Prussians marched on Paris. England had refused to participate in such an infamous treason. The ministers concealed this terrible news. But an intercepted letter from the Comte d'Artois to Dorset gave it wind. The effect may be imagined. France, loosed from her Titan chain of two centuries, with mangled limbs and fevered blood, was a patient in danger of tetanus. This was a douche of iced water.

As the people get frightened into doing something they sensibly resolve to be rid of their oppressors, old and new; but the latter first. One government can do much harm; 40,000 are beyond human endurance. As early as July 19 the archives are destroyed at Strasburg. At Ocherbourg this good work is done on the 21st. At Maubeuge, taxing offices disappear on the 27th. Rouen was purified on the 24th. At Troyes, after much muttering, the storm comes September 5. It is unnecessary to proceed. The old customs and new administrations are everywhere killed, till, in the spring of 1791, the assembly yields, and gives them all a decent burial. During these riots occurred the real crimes of the first revolutionary period. It is worth seeing how much they amount to. At Strasburg much wine was shed but no blood. At Maubeuge and Rouen some houses of obnoxious persons were sacked. At Besancon there was plundering. A St. Bartholomew of partridges was enacted everywhere. At Troyes the mayor, accused of forestalling, fell a victim to popular fury. Maj. de Balzance met a like fate at Caen. Messrs. de Montessau and Cureau were murdered at Mans.

At Vanes a collecting agent was tortured. Somewhere in Languedoc M. de Barras was cut to pieces before his pregnant wife, who died in consequence.¹ Other country gentlemen—in the voluminous grist of M. Taine's outrage mill I have counted four—sustained assaults which might easily have been fatal, but were not. Six murders, or, including two celebrated lynchings still to be recorded, eight; and four assaults—such is the extent of vengeance among 25,000,000 people, now that two centuries of worse than Turkish oppression have been reversed in a day. Injuries to persons and property are carefully distinguished from overthrowing authority. At Strasburg the populace hanged a thief; at Ruen, two vandals; at Besancon, two. There were, however, some acts, very criminal under ordinary circumstances, which undoubtedly commanded sympathy, or at least apathy just now. One was burning the chateau of the emigrant tyrants and traitors. In the most feudal part of France, between Alsace and Franche Comte, incendiary fires began July 29. They spread through Burgundy, Maconnais, Beaujoleis, Auvergne, Viennois, Dauphiny. The destruction was on a gigantic scale, and excited the utmost consternation among property owners. But it did not last over three weeks. As in similar cases, there were all sorts of theories—revolutionary societies in Paris sent out the perpetrators—similar societies sprang up where tyranny was worst, and, thence spreading, forced unwilling peasants to assist—it was a mere craze—it was a spontaneous movement, not against individuals but a class ("down with the nests, and the rooks will fly"), etc. The truth is that, as with the houghing of cattle in Ireland, the "Swing" arsons in England, the Ku-Klux and White Cap outrages here, its inner history remains unknown. This, however, is noteworthy: At first the chateaux were fired secretly, by night, without alternative. As some time and space are traversed, mobs begin to visit them by day and demand the title deeds; having got which, they are generally satisfied.

The assembly, after its fashion, follows the people "afar off." On August 4, M. Kerengel, a deputy in the dress of a working farmer, rose, and said: "You could have prevented the burning of the chateaux if you had been prompt in declaring that the terrible arms which they contain, and which for ages have tormented the people, were to be destroyed. Let those arms, the title deeds, which insult not only moderation but humanity; which humiliate the human species by requiring men to be yoked to a wagon like beasts of burden; which compel men to pass the night beating the ponds to prevent the frogs from disturbing the sleep of their luxurious masters, be brought here. Which of us would not make an expiatory pile of these infamous parchments? You can never restore quiet to the people till they are redeemed from the damnation of feudalism." There was no opposition. Nobles spoke only to renounce their privileges, priests to give up their tithes, municipal representatives to surrender charters. The feudal system was swept away in an hour. A monarchist has called this "the St. Bartholomew of property." A bourgeois retorts that it was only the St. Bartholomew of abuses. But the distinction is a little too refined.

C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for subscriptions for Free Society:

Allegheny, Pa.: H. Bauer, 73 Springgarden Avenue.

Atlantic City, N. J.: M. Kisluck, 1108 Baltic Avenue; B. Morwitz, 2018 Baltic Avenue.

Baltimore: M. Kahn, 1139 Granby Street.

Boston: Brigham's Restaurant, 642 Washington Street; K. A. Snellenberg, 54 Haskins Street, Roxbury.

Buffalo: Hattie Lang, 408 Riley Street.

Chicago: H. Havel, 515 Carroll Avenue; C. Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Avenue.

Cleveland: E. Schilling, 4 Elwell Street.

Columbus, Ohio: H. M. Lyndall, 416 East Mound Street.

¹ I suspect the authenticity of some of these tragedies, "Languedoc," is as definite as "Texas"; and nothing can be more meager than the original statement by Lally-Tollendal (from some one's memorial), which Allison and others have amplified with circumstances. But let that go! These retaliatory crimes shall be as shocking as you please; the true point (never enlarged on before) is that they were extremely few.

London, England: T. Cantwell, 127 Ossulton Street NW.
 New York: M. Maisel, 170 Henry Street.
 Philadelphia: Natasha Notkin, 242 North Second Street.
 San Francisco: S. Danielewicz, 615 Turk Street; R. Rieger, 322 Larkin Street.
 St. Louis: C. Norman, 1351 South Thirteenth Street.

FOR CHICAGO.

The Free Society Club meets every Wednesday evening at 515 Carroll Avenue.

Take the Lake Street Elevated, Ashland Avenue Station, or any surface line crossing Ashland Avenue or Paulina Street, which is one block west of Ashland Avenue.

FOR WEST HOBOKEN, N. J.

For the purpose of forming an International League of Propaganda, a mass meeting will be held June 2, at Nepovoda Hall, corner Spring Street and Highpoint Avenue, West Hoboken. All interested in the propaganda are cordially invited to attend.

"As for the fine saying with which ambition and avarice palliate their vices, that we are not born for ourselves but for the public, let us boldly appeal to those who are in public affairs; let them lay their hands upon their hearts and say whether, on the contrary, they do not rather aspire to titles and offices, and that tumult of the world to make their private advantage at the public expense.—Montaigne.

THE LETTER-BOX.

G. E. Lynd, City.—Very well; if the "scientific" Socialists are not opposed to government, then you admit that there is nothing else but state socialism to attack.

S. M., New York.—"Events and Their Import" is an interesting subject, but can not be published as written; and if we should attempt to put it in proper shape, it would not be your article.

M. G., Needham, Mass.—Returned both of your articles, "Dying Throes of Capital Punishment" and "There is a Good Deal in a Name." The first throws no light upon the causes or remedies of so-called crimes, except that "justice" will cure "injustice," relative terms which can be defined at pleasure. Neither does the article contain substantial arguments against capital punishment, except that Jesus was against it, which assertion would arouse a futile discussion, for it is hard to tell what Jesus did or did not say. The proposition to change our name is rather late. Indeed, I like the terms anarchy and anarchism, and see no reason why we should not be proud to be called anarchists. Because to some people it implies murder and bloodshed is certainly no reason, for all new ideas have been accused of viciousness. The early Christians were once considered nothing but murderers and felons, yet they did not discard the name because the ignorant multitude had a wrong conception of their teachings.

RECEIPTS.

Levin, Walmsley, Breldau, Deardorf, Rumls, Cairns, Goldenbaum, Toggenburger, each \$1. Rothbart, Erlinger, Lellevre, Hurson, Barile Fruttice, Spence, each 50 cents.

Donations.—Proceeds from a picnic, by Breldau, \$2.25. Salt Lake City group, \$1.80.

DIRECTORY.

The following are names and addresses of comrades engaged in business:
Chicago.—J. Burness, 977 West Lake Street, boot and shoe store; repairing neatly done. A. Edelstadt, 366 State Street, shoe store and repairing. H.

108 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.*

Havel, 515 Carrol Avenue, news and book agent. O. Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Avenue, shoemaking and repairing. Ogilvie A. Rice, 1556 Milwaukee Avenue, dentist.

New York.—O. B. Epstein, 163d Street and Forest Avenue, druggist. M. Maisel, 170 Henry Street, news agent.

Divers.—Professor Bertha Grouseth, Lawrence, Kans., teacher of hypnotism and hypnotic healing; write for terms. R. Rieger, 322 Larkin Street, San Francisco, Cal., news agent.

MEETINGS.

Boston.—Boston Group meets every Friday evening at 1125 Washington Street, corner Dover. Hall on second floor.

Cleveland, Ohio.—Liberty Association meets every Sunday, 3 o'clock p. m., at 170 Superior Street, in Memorial Hall. It is a free platform and takes in the entire field of scientific and sociological questions. Admission free. The public is cordially invited.

New York.—The Social Science Club meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., 250 West Twenty-third Street.

Paterson, N. J.—Social Science Club meets every Sunday morning at 10 a. m., corner Market and Cross Streets.

Philadelphia.—The Social Science Club holds open air meetings (weather permitting) at the North Plaza, City Hall Square, every Sunday evening, 8 p. m.

Pittsburgh.—The Debating Club meets every Sunday afternoon, 2 p. m., at 155 Crawford Street. Take any Fifth Avenue car Pride Street.

San Francisco.—Independent Debating Club meets every Sunday, 2 p. m., at 909 Market Street. Free discussion.

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST, BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

This interesting autobiography of the well known anarchist and scientist is one of the most important books of the anarchist movement, as well as one of general interest. "He is more anxious to give the psychology of his contemporaries than of himself," says the noted European critic Georg Brandes. "One finds in his book the psychology of official Russia and of the masses underneath, of Russia struggling forward and of Russia stagnant. And he strives to give the history of his contemporaries rather than his own history. The record of his life contains, consequently, the history of Russia during his lifetime, as well as the history of the labor movement in Europe during the last half century."

The book contains two portraits of the author, and one of his mother. It is excellently printed and well bound; 519 pp. Price \$2. Send orders to Free Society.

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNE 1871.

Translated from the French of P. O. Lissagary by Eleanor Marx Aveling.

The above book is the most reliable history of the Commune of 1871, and should be in every library of the student of revolutionary movements. Arrangements which we have made with the publishers enable us to mail the book postpaid for 75 cents. Send orders to Free Society.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

The famous speeches of the eight anarchists in court and Altgeld's reasons for pardoning Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab.

This book contains a half-tone picture of our eight comrades and one of the monument erected at Waldheim cemetery to the memory of those murdered by the Government. This is the best edition of the book ever printed. It contains 168 pages. Price 25 cents. Send orders to Free Society.

MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of Jean Grave by Voltairine de Cleyre.
Contents: The Anarchistic Idea and Its Development. Individualism and Solidarity. Too Abstract. Is Man Evil? Property. The Family. Authority. The Magistracy. The Right to Punish and the Savants. The Influence of Environment. "The Country." The Patriotism of the Governing Classes. Militarism. Colonization. There Are no Inferior Races. Why We Are Revolutionists. As to what Means Follow from the Principles. Revolution and Anarchy. The Efficacy of Reforms. The Experimental Method. What Then? Anarchism and Its Practicability. The Unvarnished Truth. The book is printed in large type and consists of 176 pages. Price, paper cover, 25 cents; bound, 60 cents; five copies, \$1. Send orders to Free Society.

EXHIBIT IX.

[Free Society, formerly the Firebrand. Exponent of anarchist communism. Holding that equality of opportunity alone constitutes liberty, that in the absence of monopoly price and competition can not exist, and that communism is an inevitable consequence. Vol. VII, No. 33. Chicago, Sunday, Oct. 6, 1901.]

A CANNON SPEAKS.

Mine is no mighty conquest blare,
No red, revengeful fury fire,
Not mine to fright God's quiet air
With peals of unrelenting ire.

Rather I sound the death and doom
Of the old tyrannies of earth,
And destine to the dreamless tomb
The cruel wrong of ancient birth.

And while my voice is that of war,
When its loud echoes shall cease,
For conquered and for conqueror
Shall dawn a far serener peace.

—Clinton Scollard, in the Junior Munsey.

THE TRAGEDY AT BUFFALO.

For they starve the little, frightened child
Till it weeps both night and day;
And they scourge the weak, and flog the fool,
And gibe the old and gray;
And some grow mad, and all grow bad,
And none a word may say.

—Oscar Wilde.

Never before in the history of governments has the sound of a pistol shot so startled, terrorized, and horrified the self-satisfied, indifferent, contented, and indolent public as has the one fired by Leon Czolgosz when he struck down William McKinley, President of the money kings and trust magnates of this country.

Not that this modern Cæsar was the first to die at the hands of a Brutus. Oh, no. Since man has trampled upon the rights of his fellow men rebellious spirits have been afloat in the atmosphere. Not that William McKinley was a greater man than those who throned upon the fettered form of Liberty. He did not compare, either in intellect, ability, personality, or force of character with those who had to pay the penalty of their power. Nor will history be able to record his extraordinary kindness, generosity, and sympathy with those whom ignorance and greed have condemned to a life of misery, hopelessness, and despair.

Why, then, were the mighty and powerful thrown into such consternation by the deed of September 6? Why this howl of a hired press? Why such bloodthirsty and violent utterances from the clergy, whose usual business it is to preach "peace on earth and good will to all"? Why the mad ravings of the mob, the demand for rigid laws to curtail freedom of press and speech?

For more than 30 years a small band of parasites have robbed the American people and trampled upon the fundamental principles laid down by the fore-

fathers of this country guaranteeing to every man, woman, and child "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." For 30 years they have been increasing their wealth and power at the expense of the vast mass of workers, thereby enlarging the army of the unemployed, the hungry, homeless, and friendless portion of humanity tramping the country from east to west and north to south in a vain search for work. For many years the home has been left to the care of the little ones while the parents are working their life and strength away for a small pittance. For 30 years the sturdy sons of America were sacrificed on the battlefield of industrial war and the daughters outraged in corrupt factory surroundings. For long and weary years this process of undermining the Nation's health, vigor, and pride, without much protest from the disinherited and oppressed, has been going on. Maddened by success and victory, the money powers of this "free land of ours" became more and more audacious in their heartless, cruel efforts to compete with rotten and decayed European tyrannies in supremacy of power.

With the minds of the young poisoned with a perverted conception of patriotism and the fallacious notion that all are equal and that each one has the same opportunity to become a millionaire (provided he can steal the first \$100,000), it was an easy matter, indeed, to check the discontent of the people. One is therefore not surprised when one hears Americans say, "We can understand why the poor Russians kill their Czar, or the Italians their King, for think of the conditions that prevail there; but he who lives in a Republic, where each one has the opportunity to become President of the United States (provided he has a powerful party back of him)—we are the people, and acts of violence in our country are impossible."

And now that the impossible has happened, that even America has given birth to the man who struck down the king of the Republic, they have lost their heads and are shouting vengeance upon those who for years have shown that the conditions here were beginning to be alarming and unless a halt be called despotism would set its heavy foot on the hitherto relatively free limbs of the people.

In vain have the mouthpieces of wealth denounced Leon Czolgosz as a foreigner; in vain they are making the world believe that he is the product of European conditions and influenced by European ideas. This time the assassin happens to be the child of Columbia, who lulled him to sleep with—

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty," etc.

and who held out the hope to him that he, too, could become President of the country. Who can tell how many times this American child had gloried in the celebration of the Fourth of July, or on Decoration Day, when he faithfully honored the Nation's dead? Who knows but what he, too, was willing to "fight for his country and die for her liberty" until it dawned on him that those he belonged to have no country, because they have been robbed of all that they have produced; until he saw that all the liberty and independence of his youthful dreams are but a farce? Perhaps he also learned that it is nonsense to talk of equality between those who have all and those who have nothing—hence he rebelled.

"But his act was mad and cowardly," say the ruling class. "It was foolish and impractical," echo all petty reformers, socialists, and even some anarchists.

What absurdity. As if an act of this kind can be measured by its usefulness, expediency, or practicability. We might as well ask ourselves of the usefulness of a cyclone, tornado, a violent thunderstorm, or the ceaseless fall of the Niagara waters. All these forces are the natural results of natural causes, which we may not yet have been able to explain, but which are, nevertheless, a part of nature, just as all force is natural and part of man and beast, developed or checked, according to the pressure of conditions and man's understanding. An act of violence is therefore not only the result of conditions, but also of man's physical and physical nature and his susceptibility to the world surrounding him.

Does not the summer fight against the winter; does it not resist, mourn, and weep oceans of tears in its eager attempt to shield its children from the icy grip of frost? And does not the winter enshroud mother earth with a white, hard cover, lest the warm spring sunshine should melt the heart of the hardened old gentleman? And does he not gather his last forces for a bitter and fierce battle for supremacy, until the burning rays of the sun disperse his rank?

Resistance against force is a fact all through nature. Man being part of nature he, too, is swayed by the same force to defend himself against invasion. Force will continue to be a natural factor just so long as economic slavery, social superiority, inequality, exploitation, and war continue to destroy all that is good and noble in man.

That the economic and political conditions of this country have been pregnant with the embryo of greed and despotism no one who thinks and has closely watched events can deny. It was therefore but a question of time for the first signs of the labor pains to begin. And they began when McKinley, more than any other President, had betrayed the trust of the people and became the tool of the moneyed kings. They began when he and his class had stained the memory of the men who produced the Declaration of Independence through the blood of the massacred Filipinos. They grew more violent at the recollection of Hazleton, Virden, Idaho, and other places, where capital has waged war on labor, until on the 6th day of September the child, begotten, nourished, and reared by violence, was born.

That violence is not the result of conditions only, but also largely depends upon man's inner nature, is best proven by the fact that while thousands loath tyranny, but one will strike down a tyrant. What is it that drives him to commit the act, while others pass quietly by? It is because the one is of such a sensitive nature that he will feel a wrong more keenly and with greater intensity than others.

It is, therefore, not cruelty, or a thirst for blood, or any other criminal tendency, that induces such a man to strike a blow at organized power. On the contrary, it is mostly because of a strong social instinct, because of an abundance of love and an overflow of sympathy with the pain and sorrow around us, a love which seeks refuge in the embrace of mankind, a love so strong that it shrinks before no consequence, a love so broad that it can never be wrapped up in one object, as long as thousands perish, a love so all-absorbing that it can neither calculate, reason, investigate, but only dare at all costs.

It is generally believed that men prompted to put the dagger or bullet in the cowardly heart of government, were men conceited enough to think that they will thereby liberate the world from the fetters of despotism. As far as I have studied the psychology of an act of violence, I find that nothing could be further away from the thought of such a man than that if the king were dead, the mob will cease to shout "Long live the king!"

The cause for such an act lies deeper, far too deep for the shallow multitude to comprehend. It lies in the fact that the world within the individual, and the world around him, are two antagonistic forces, and therefore must clash.

Do I say that Czolgosz is made of that material? No. Neither can I say that he was not. Nor am I in a position to say whether or not he is an anarchist; I did not know the man; no one as far as I am aware seems to have known him, but from his attitude and behavior so far (I hope that no reader of Free Society has believed the newspaper lies), I feel that he was a soul in pain, a soul that could find no abode in this cruel world of ours, a soul "impractical," inexpedient, lacking in caution (according to the dictum of the wise); but daring just the same, and I can not help but bow in reverenced silence before the power of such a soul, that has broken the narrow walls of its prison, and has taken a daring leap into the unknown.

Having shown that violence is not the result of personal influence, or one particular ideal, I deem it unnecessary to go into a lengthy theoretical discussion as to whether anarchism contains the element of force or not. The question has been discussed time and again, and it is proven that anarchism and violence are as far apart from each other as liberty and tyranny. I care not what the rabble says; but to those who are still capable of understanding I would say that anarchism, being a philosophy of life, aims to establish a state of society in which man's inner make-up and the conditions around him, can blend harmoniously together, so that he will be able to utilize all the forces to enlarge and beautify the life about him. To those I would also say that I do not advocate violence; government does this, and force begets force. It is a fact which can not be done away with through the prosecution of a few men and women or by more stringent laws—this only tends to increase it.

Violence will die a natural death when man will learn to understand that each unit has its place in the universe, and while being closely linked together, it must remain free to grow and expand.

Some people have hastily said that Czolgosz's act was foolish and will check the growth of progress. Those worthy people are wrong in forming hasty con-

clusions. What results the act of September 6 will have no one can say; one thing, however, is certain; he has wounded government in its most vital spot. As to stopping the wheel of progress, that is absurd. Ideas can not be retarded by restraint. And as to petty police persecution, what matter?

As I write this my thoughts wander to the death-cell at Auburn, to the young man with the girlish face, about to be put to death by the coarse, brutal hands of the law, walking up and down the narrow cell, with cold, cruel eyes following him,

Who watch him when he tries to weep,
And when he tries to pray;
Who watch him lest himself should rob
The prison of its prey.

And my heart goes out to him in deep sympathy and to all those victims of a system of inequality, and the many who will die the forerunners of a better, nobler, grander life.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

WHAT IS ANARCHY?

Anarchy is a word used by rulers and the privileged classes in society to frighten the balance of the people, so that they may not know the true meaning of the term anarchy. It is a word used to create reproach and prejudice and terror against any doctrine or teaching that exhibits the rottenness of the economic condition of a people. It is a word used by political teachers to conjure up dire calamity to the whole of society, in order to scare and intimidate electors in voting as they indicate, so they yell with one accord "anarchist!"

At the present time this word "anarchist" is frequently hurled at the heads of social reformers, in order to develop reproach and fear in the minds of the people against the doctrines they advocate.

The general meaning of the word "anarchy" given by rulers and people in power, is a state of society filled with disorder and destruction of property and life, neither of these being secure in a state of anarchy.

When property is being destroyed and life taken by others, then the regularly instituted authorities call this anarchy, meaning without legal authority.

Listen! To destroy property and to destroy life is the work of legalized authority, and is not called anarchy, but government; however, if destruction of life or property occurs in a riot, or in a strike, or by a mob of enraged men, this is termed anarchy, and government, a term synonymous with the accepted meaning of anarchy, is used to put a check to such destruction of life and property, by destroying life and property through legalized authority. "What fools we mortals be!"

Listen to me. Anarchy is a form or state of society conduct, born but not yet realized, not yet formed in its totality. It is the final form or state of society evolved through archy (government) in which archy is eliminated and anarchy is born a free child.

Remember that society, previous to the birth of this child, anarchy, is distinct from government; in other words, society in all the past ages to the present, has ordained, consecrated, honored and privileged a portion of its members above the rest and has called these members kings, czars, emperors, princes, nobles, lords, presidents, senators, governors, legislators, ambassadors; and society set apart for the use of these another portion of society, naming them from generals down to soldiers, navies, militia, police, with judges, jurors, jailors, executioners, a profession termed law, and tax collectors, all this portion of society constitute the machinery of government—is government.

Remember, a society which has eliminated all this machinery, classes of people, which is now carried as a burden to society itself, is anarchy a society without rulers; a society without master and slave; a society without law-makers, consequently, no privileged classes; a society without war or implements of war, consequently peace reigns between nations; a society without lawyers, consequently no courts or jails or criminals or feuds among neighbors; a society freed from all curses that have given a blight to all former people; finally, a people free in society—this is anarchy.

Now, I ask, what dread or fear or condemnation or attempt to destroy can anyone have for the advent of such a state of society conduct? There can be no fear only that given by teachers, for they constantly cry out "Great is goddess Diana" so as to continue a lease of Satanic reign.

The question naturally follows: Is such a state of society possible? It is not only possible, it is as certain to be realized as the light of day which appears after the night has passed away.

Its coming is as apparent as is the coming of the morning sun before it is seen above the horizon as it heralds its approach by infallible signs, so the coming or elimination from society of its rulers, its privileged classes and non-productive members, is heralded by the infallible sign seen in all history where a blow has been given against invasion and tyranny. Therefore all that class of people set apart and above the balance of society, either through physical force, or through false teachings which have deluded the people as to the necessity of their being ruled, they have constantly warned the ruled portion of society against all innovations, against all rebels, against all teachers who have suggested the overthrow of government, or the elimination of nonproductive members of society. Therefore the rulers, the privileged classes of people, have given death to the rebels only by using the ruled people as tools to carry forward the work of death and destruction.

Observe! The privileged classes, and the rulers, have put to death myriads and myriads of people and destroyed property beyond measure to estimate, and in so doing they have performed the acts they have said and still say anarchists do.

Out of their own mouths is their own self-condemnation! How false! How delusive! How cunning! How powerful! And how long they have deceived the people that they might prolong their unhallowed power; as rulers and privileged peoples of the earth!

Their sentence to doom has come; the scales, though so long attached by deceptive teachings, are falling from the eyes of the ruled and enslaved and long suffering people. The people are to see, clearly and more clearly, that they have lived a delusion and a lie, and that they can live in society in peace, plenty, and happiness without rulers, without laws creating privileged classes, and without property titles existing by fact of law. It is to be seen that the existence of rulers and privileged classes in society is the cause of the want of peace, want of plenty, and want of happiness of the whole people. It is to be seen that the existence of rulers and privileged classes in society is the cause of the enslavement of that portion of society distinct from the ruler and privileged and nonproductive classes which develops all the misery and woes that afflict all people in civilized countries; finally, the existence in society of rulers and privileged classes is the cause which has given every revolution the world ever experienced up to the present day, and the elimination of the rulers and the privileged classes is the work of anarchists.

This elimination began when the first revolt was made against restrictive influences; it began when the first effort was made by the slave to free himself from conscious oppression; this elimination began when the first blow for liberty was made; this elimination will continue till liberty is the common heritage of every man, woman, and child on the face of the earth.

It is seen, then, that they who are forced to break the chains which bind to servitude and misery are anarchists. In so far as they are successful they are in that proportion making ready for the complete birth of the child of freedom—anarchy.

When the ruled and unprivileged people of society see the enemy that destroys the worth of an earth life for the masses by having the means of life and its opportunities usurped by the ruled and privileged people, a swift whirlwind of power is given to the whole rotten fabric of rulership and privilege-ship. A glad shout of salvation is then heard as the Satanic power (man's selfish nature) goes down in the revolution and human power (man's nobler conduct) comes up to shed rays of "peace on earth and good will to man" forever, as long as mortals dwell on earth.

Who is there that does not desire such a state of society called anarchy, meaning without rulers? If there be such, all they must do is to perpetuate present institutions called Church and State, and continue the teachings given to-day in the higher schools of learning; continue to divide the people into political parties and cast ballots which ordain and set apart a part of society to rule the rest by making so-called laws, and you will still have rulers and the privileged classes of people who will thrive on the lifeblood of the balance of society.

Who is there that desires anarchy? Then cease voting, cease perpetuating the influences of your old and decayed State, Church, and false college teach-

ings; cease believing that salvation from the ills of our social life can ever come through political parties; cease believing salvation from the ills of either this life or a future one come by prayer and obedience to a priest or teacher of religion; for it is in all these things you bring upon your own heads the evils which curse your life.

Fear not what the rulers tell you of calamities of war, of sore evils, if you stray away from obedience to them; fear not what the privileged class tell you of distress, of famine, of want of labor, of need of capitalist to employ labor; fear not and believe not what the politician teaches you about tariff, about money, about taxes, about "good times," "about prosperity," about "honest dollars." None of these tell you the truth. They have deceived the myriads of people in all ages and climes, and they still preach falsehoods and salvation for your credence, only that they may perpetuate the reign of Satan over you; fear not, though the sky grow dark, and rumblings causing the earth to tremble come upon you unawares; these things are the harbingers of revolution and the glory of the natal day of the child of freedom—anarchy.

L. EMERICK.

"LAW AND ORDER."

The following letters are samples of what the lovers of the law are giving vent to. No such sentiments can be found in anarchist literature. They are an appropriate contrast to our supposed and the real sentiment of the "law and order" people. All the letters can not be printed, as they are under the postal regulations unmailable.

"Beast Goldman: The killing of our beloved President has sounded the death knell of you and your kind forever. Ill-looking cur, born of a beast, that you are, your time is short. You and your kind are not smart enough to know that you were set free, only to meet a fate that is awaiting all red devils whenever they are found. Great armies are going to be formed as soon as some changes are made in our laws, and then let all such low, nasty creatures as you and the Isaaks watch out.

"Damn you all, we will surely get you all. Go on with your thinking you are safe, you will get a surprise that will be too good for such a homely looking beast as you are. My advice to the Isaaks is to get out, for soon powder will blow up the house if they don't. I shall know no rest until you are all in jail to stay for years. Remember, I am only one of millions. No secret meetings, no, nothing any more, thank God, will be allowed such beasts as you.

"Thank God for it. A fighter forever of the anarchists.

"If I had that vile brat called Marie Isaaks here, I would tear her limb to limb, b—d of two beasts that she is, growing up to such a life. But we will get her all in good time. We can wait.

"Fiend incarnate; murderers: I'll kill you if I have to follow you to the ends of the earth. You can't disguise, as I know your scars; you can't escape, as I know your haunts.

"AN AMERICAN."

No doubt God will accept the thanks of one of his beloved children, and the "Americans" will be proud of their countrymen who manifest such beautiful sentiments. And he it said here, this man was not trained in anarchist meetings, but a creature of the public schools and the pulpit.

PHILADELPHIA, September 18, 1901.

Emma Goldman, in prison, Chicago—prepare to meet your God.

No power on earth can save your damned soul from the perdition that awaits it. May your place be found with the devil's own in the lowest pits of hell. By the side of the bier of our dead President whom you helped to murder, five oaths were yesterday taken to stop short the career of the damndest — that ever cursed our land and went unhung. Do not mistake yourself by hoping that our oaths will be broken. The one who fails to keep his oath when chance presents itself, must die by his own hand or by that of one of the other four. Cursed be your name for all time. Cursed be the womb that bore you, and cursed be the hand that ever attempts to aid you.

NEMESIS.

And such pitiable ignorance is going to save the country from anarchy. The press and pulpit, Senators and Congressmen, with a few exceptions, have not

manifested much more nobility and intelligence than the above victims of ignorance and bigotry, although their language was more refined.

WHY WE CONSIDERED CZOLGOSZ A SPY.

On July 12, the day of Comrade Emma Goldman's departure, I went downtown on business, with the intention to see our comrade off to Buffalo. Arriving at the depot, Emma Goldman pointed to a young man, saying, "There is a young man who wants to talk to you." After a few words of introduction he said that he had come to Chicago to learn all about the anarchist secret societies. This immediately aroused my suspicion.

"Are you an anarchist?" I asked.

"No," said he; "I am a Socialist, but since the Socialists split, I am disgusted with them."

"Have you ever read Free Society?"

"I have seen here and there a copy in Cleveland."

"Have you read any of our books and pamphlets?"

"No; I have not."

"But we have no secret societies," I then said. "We have nothing to hide and don't fear the light."

By this time the train was ready to leave and our conversation was interrupted. I invited him to come along to our house. Arriving at the porch of our home he informed me that he had but little means and wanted to know whether the comrades would help him with money.

"I don't think so," I answered. "If you are looking for work, we will try to help you along; but if you do not intend to stay here, I don't think you can expect any help. All the anarchists are poor and have a hard time to issue their papers and books. Yet I can find lodging for you and you can have meals with us." The next day he did not show up and I was told that he had left the city.

In answer to an inquiry, the Cleveland comrades informed us that a young man, calling himself Nieman, had been there, and owing to his strange conduct and contradicting statements they had considered him a spy, and thus it was that we published the warning.

A. I.

NOTICE.

It is unnecessary to warn our friends against the newspapers, for a little experience with them is sufficient to convince anyone of their absolute unreliability. But to others interested a word may not be amiss. The newspapers have been so full of misrepresentations and downright lies that we ask no one to believe anything they say unless confirmed from reliable sources.

New theories and issues, and their expounders, are always subject to misrepresentation and misunderstanding.

NOTES.

The arrest of the comrades in Chicago has delayed the publication of Free Society for several weeks; but from now on, with no obstacles intervening, it will again make its weekly appearance.

Comrades whose subscriptions have run behind on the paper, and who have hesitated to send remittances for fear they would not reach us, are asked to send their subscriptions promptly. Mail reaches us safely at our old address; and as soon as we can catch up with the work on hand all business will be expeditiously attended to.

SPLINTERS.

The police and officials of the country are at present engaged in the task of proving that they are not behind their European brethren in "dealing with anarchists." To speak a word of criticism of McKinley or this administration means almost certain arrest. "Stamping out anarchy" has become a fad. Several blockheads on the Chicago police department, not satisfied with the dirty work which comes to them as officials, have organized a society with the avowed purpose of inaugurating a campaign of persecution. The respectable Marquette Club is not behind the times. It has appointed a committee to "extirpate anarchists." The idlcy of the methods proposed on all sides promises great benefit to the movement.

Comrade Clancabilla, editor of *L'Aurora*, the Italian anarchist paper in Spring Valley, has been arrested. The ostensible charge against him is a lottery affair; but the real reason for his arrest is that he is an anarchist, and his utterances have displeased the rulers. Orders were given to exclude his paper from the mails if legally possible. Not being able to do this, a lottery affair of several months' standing was trumped up against him.

Three comrades of Home, Wash., have also been arrested for being anarchists. Charles Govan, J. W. Adams, and E. Larkin were taken to Spokane, and charges of misusing the mail placed against them. Further particulars of these persecutions will be given as soon as known to us.

In Europe the reaction finds many victims among the comrades. The persecution is carried on openly and without hypocrisy. In America the police know better. They dare not carry on their persecution, and at the same time state their real reason. Trumped-up charges are substituted. Charges of "conspiracy against the life of the President," "misusing the mails," etc., are used as convenient blinds. When will the rulers learn that persecution always advances the cause against which it is directed?

ABE ISAAK, JR.

THE OUTRAGE AT CHICAGO.

On September 8, on the afternoon of which President McKinley was shot at Buffalo, the Chicago police gave us another example of high-handed methods and their utter contempt for their own laws.

The inmates of the house at 515 Carroll Avenue had just come home for the night. It was between 10 and 11 o'clock, and we were on the point of retiring when Capt. Colleran, chief of detectives, with a number of his men, stepped in the house. Isaak was placed under arrest as soon as he had informed Colleran who he was. Colleran then questioned Havel. When he asked him if he was an anarchist a shout of "We are all anarchists" went up. We were then all placed under arrest. Those of us taken at this time were A. Isaak, Abe Isaak, Jr., Hippolyte Havel, Enrico Travaglio, Clemens Pfeutzner, and Alfred Schneider.

The officers appeared greatly excited and seemed to expect an armed resistance; but not one of us had weapons. Five or six detectives stepped into the front room where we were, and in a few moments one man was stationed in each of the nine rooms of the house. The house was surrounded on the outside. In a few moments a patrol wagon came with several policemen. The men were placed inside the wagon, and then the officers ransacked the place with the two women alone in the house. The correspondence and papers of Free Society were seized, with such other matter as they found, private letters, photographs, etc. We were then driven to the police station. Two policemen and a detective were inside the patrol wagon; while Capt. Colleran followed close behind in a buggy. One policeman took his pistol from his back pocket and placed it in the inside pocket of his coat. I suppose this was an extra "precaution," and shows what the police thought of us—and also that they had a good eye to their own skins.

On reaching the police station, Isaak was separated from the rest of us and taken to Colleran's office, while we were "booked" and put in separate cells. Isaak, Travaglio, Havel, and myself were "sweated"; that is, examined in a manner to confuse and surprise us into admissions the same night. Pfeutzner and Schneider were not examined at all. I asked Colleran upon what charge I was arrested, as I had a right to know.

"You will be informed later," was his reply.

Meanwhile Julie Mechanic, who also resides at the Free Society house, came home; and while Mary Isaak and her daughter Mary were relating what had happened the officers came and arrested them. They were taken to the Harrison Street police station. They were all "sweated" during the night.

An officer then took it upon himself to lecture young Mary Isaak upon the folly of being an anarchist.

"If it were not for government you would not be here," he said, after painting to her a horrible picture of his conception of anarchy.

She looked up at him and smiled calmly.

The officer saw his "break." "Oh," he hastened to correct, "I don't mean in prison; but you would not exist at all."

We were not aware of the arrest of the women until the afternoon of the next day, when we were first allowed newspapers. None of our friends who called were admitted. Only Miss Jane Addams was allowed to see Isaak. But hordes of detectives and swarms of newspaper reporters and artists came to satisfy their curiosity or the sensation-hunting newspaper managers.

A regular "anarchist hunt" was inaugurated, all active comrades being hounded or arrested by the police. A charge of conspiracy against the life of William McKinley was placed against us.

American travelers have often ridiculed the Russian Government for arresting indiscriminately all suspected of liberal views, and even young girls for alleged plotting against the Czar's life. They might now spare some of their scorn for the Chicago police. Mary Isaak is 16 years of age. Of the others arrested, Pfeutzner, Schneider, Havel, and Julie Mechanic had nothing to do with the publication of Free Society. But they were all anarchists; and that was enough.

The next day, on Saturday, when all were arrested, the police again ransacked the house. Two galleys of type were "pled"; that is, dumped on the floor. Books were strewn upon the floor. Several trunks were broken open and their contents turned upside down. Private letters were stolen, translated and read. On finding their contents of a purely personal nature, instead of returning them, the police had the indecency to make their character known to the press. There is nothing like a little experience to breed an absolute contempt for the police.

Among the papers seized was found a small card containing an address, 100 Newberry Avenue. It was given to Free Society for a change of address in the mailing lists. The police went there, surrounded the house, and arrested Jay Fox, Martin Raznick, and Michael Roz, the latter being a visitor. The police rifled the papers in this house also. It is needless to say that our "plots" were revealed—some reports of a few meetings were found.

On Monday morning we had a "hearing." The "justice" simply recorded what the prosecutor asked, which he called his "decisions." We were remanded 10 days without bail.

No warrants were shown for these arrests. Authority to search the houses was not shown either. In the case of the three last named no warrants were made until after the "hearing" in the police court.

This shows us that the police have as profound a contempt for the law as the anarchist, and at the same time are much more violent. No anarchist would dream of ransacking a neighbor's house.

The warrants, when obtained, were sworn to without evidence, which is again illegal. A telegram from Buffalo Bull requesting the arrest of Isaak was all that the police had as an excuse for their actions.

The prosecutor presented no evidence, but wanted time to get it.

The women prisoners were allowed to bail, \$3,000 in each case. Later in the day they were dismissed at the desire of the prosecution.

The hounding of the anarchists went on. H. Gordon was arrested in Pittsburgh, presumably for the reason that a letter dated from his address was found on one of the Chicago prisoners, and that Emma Goldman had stopped at his place. John Most was arrested for publishing an article, written by Karl Heinzen 50 years ago. Later Dr. Saylin was arrested; no charges were made against him.

By this time the entire police of the country were looking for Emma Goldman.

At the time of our arrest she was in St. Louis. She immediately came to Chicago. Her arrest was but a matter of time, and she contemplated giving herself up. But in an attempt to get a "scoop" on the newspapers, she delayed

awhile. Meanwhile she was arrested. She was also held over to the 19th without bail.

Habeas corpus proceedings were instituted by our attorneys. It was heard on Friday, but continued to Saturday. News of McKinley's death came; and our attorneys strongly urged us to postpone the hearing still further, as our release would have been nominal merely, the police being prepared to arrest us again immediately. The case was postponed until the 17th, and again until the 23d. When the hearing came the prosecution had no objection to our release. They had relied on Buffalo for "evidence." Buffalo Bull had in turn relied on Chicago. We were discharged by the judge. The next day Emma Goldman was dismissed in the police court on motion of the prosecution.

Throughout the whole affair the police had not the slightest bit of evidence, nevertheless they indulged in much talk on what they are "going to" prove, and dwelt on the great "importance" of the case. Prosecutor Taylor waxed eloquently on "equal to the charge of murder," "the whole civilized world," etc.

No attempt was made by us to conceal the fact that probably Czolgosz had been in Chicago. But he was a stranger to all of us, and some of us can not identify him. Schneider was not in Chicago at the time.

The newspapers made much of the case, and are to be praised chiefly for their diabolical ability to misrepresent and tell lies. There are one or two exceptions to this where the reporters treated us with decency and fairness.

There was a good deal of talk about mob violence. There was nothing of the kind. It existed only in official minds and newspaper columns. One evening a few hoodlums gathered around the jail and howled awhile, but that was all. We were aware of this only the next morning when reading the papers. Three crack-brained men did indeed call for "10,000 patriots to lynch the anarchists." We learned afterwards that it was suggested to one of them that there might be several thousand anarchists among them, and that the leaders of the mob might not fare well. The mere idea of such possibility made him take to his bed.

Were these "prominent citizens," who openly advocated murder and lawlessness, arrested and indicted? No; they are still at large advocating patriotism.

However, great precautions were taken in the county jail and the court room. After the death of McKinley we were exercised apart in a special corridor, and not allowed to mix with the other prisoners. On the day of McKinley's funeral we were not allowed out of our cells. The guards were kept on duty so long that they slept in their chairs.

The only time we were insulted was by the officers. One old fellow especially, on the morning when we were taken to the police court, an old "cop," took occasion to relieve his tongue. The prisoners are usually ignorant, but not more so than the officers, and not so coarse. When speaking of the old "cop," one of the detectives asked:

"Don't you know that every circus has a clown?"

A circus? Yes; that is about what the whole machinery of "justice" amounts to.

The caliber of the officers received several fine illustrations. When Emma Goldman was being taken to the county jail in a patrol wagon a policeman who was holding her arm made some outrageously insulting remarks. She demanded the release of her arm, and slapped his face. The brute had the wonderful courage of a police officer, and struck her in the face, knocking out one of her teeth.

There was a great scandal in the police department, and they seized upon the excitement to hush the matter up with the anarchist case; but they made themselves so contemptibly ridiculous that they now prefer to fact the scandal. Great are the Chicago police; and they are the butt of the whole country.

ABE ISAAK, Jr.

BY THE WAYSIDE.

The ministers of the gospel of love and forgiveness, who have made such violent utterances against the anarchists that would hardly find a parallel in any of the dark and barbaric ages, seem not to be very familiar with their "Master's" sermon, in which He says:

"And I tell you that whoever gets angry with his brother will be punished by the judgment; that he who says to his brother, Rocca, will be punished by the Council; and that he who says, Madman, will be punished by the gehenna fire."

Nor do they recollect Christ's words: "Vengeance is mine." Not even had these sycophants the least confidence in "God's wisdom" or governmental "justice," which they pretend to believe in. "Lynch the anarchists," "blow them up with dynamite," were samples of their noble suggestions. Neither have they learned anything from the history of Christianity. A little study in this line may convince these hypocritical sky pilots that the early Christians went through the same or worse ordeal than the anarchists are passing through at present. They were not only accused of being "enemies of society" and "good government," but also of "conspiracy," "arson," "murder," "felony," and all other imaginable crimes.

"By thy fruits shall ye be known." Well, whose fruit is it that manifests itself in assassinations; starvation, murder, prostitution, corruption, and misery all over the world? All the institutions of learning—the pulpit, the press—has been and is in the hands of those who claim to adhere to teachings of the gospel, or at least strongly believe in the sanctity of law and government; and look at the beautiful fruit! Rulers are trembling and all the world is in consternation. And if all this is due to the teachings of a handful of anarchists, as is now claimed by press and pulpit, is it not a declaration of bankruptcy of the whole prevailing system of society?

The Chicago American, the most contemptible daily in this city, after shedding crocodile tears to a degree preposterously ridiculous, boasts of the recent increase of its circulation, and says:

"But beyond doubt the obviously unfair, untruthful, and malicious attacks on the American have reacted for its advantage, and we are much obliged to the gentlemen that gave us so much of their attention."

No doubt the "worthy" editor caught a glimpse of the truth regarding persecution, "untruthful and malicious attacks," and it is to be hoped that the editor will learn that his theory is equally applicable to anarchism and its movement. The stronger the "stamping out" process will be inaugurated the sooner will the "stampers" be overcome in the proceeding.

WHY BLAME THE OPPRESSED?

We are not in the least surprised at this occurrence, because we anarchists maintain that the individual which stands highest in the social scale and impersonates the political and economical oppression under which the people are suffering so horribly is naturally most exposed to attacks by the oppressed and disinherited, who suffer under their emancipated thoughts and from an empty stomach. In his position as president, as king, as emperor, he also is most exposed to the vicissitudes of his position, he also has his labor accidents. Between the numerous victims which the brutal work in the factories, in the fields and mines kills and mutilates every minute, and the royal and presidential victims which the hatred of the rebel strikes, there is one great difference: One class is condemned to slave labor and hardships under penalty of starvation, the other volunteers in its own odious position of oppressor, and no reason on earth forces it to accept this position, unless it is the strenuous ambition, the desire for power and honors, or the thirst for wealth.

For this reason we think that if McKinley had been simple Mr. McKinley he would certainly have escaped the assault of Czolgosz.—L'Aurora.

Nature created community; private property is the offspring of usurpation.—St. Ambrose.

Iniquity alone has created private property.—St. Clement.

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

XXIII. As I have mentioned Marat's impending death, the last drop in the Girondin's cup of guilt, the occasion is suitable for summing up his life and

character. He is the most misrepresented man in the Revolution, though that is a bold word. Absurdity has reached its climax in dubbing him "a triumvir of anarchy"—"the worst of the triumvirate," says Alison (Robespierre and Danton were the others). To show the exquisite character of this nonsense, I need but remind the reader that Marat never held any office except that of deputy; that his party was in opposition till a few weeks before his death; and that, recent as was its hold on power during his time, he had already begun to censure it. In the November debates Danton publicly professed to dislike him and, though he had many admirers, there is no account of his having a single personal friend. The once orthodox explanation of his solitude—that his bloody deeds had alienated all but frenzied savages like himself—besides being inadequate, is given up. The only "bloody deed" his enemies, outside the royalist ranks, could make a reproach was signing the circular of Paris. I have read the circular and find nothing in it to warrant the obloquy it received. It does not recommend other massacres like that of the Salpêtrière or La Force. It merely states that Paris has disarmed and arrested all the conspirators and that some of the worst have been executed, after which other cities are, in terms, if possible, still more general, advised to do likewise. Should I form my opinion of Marat from what he said himself and what his contemporaries said, it would be that he was a fanatic whom that single passion to which he sacrificed fortune, reputation, health, and eventually life, had rendered the Diogenes of Jacobinism as disagreeable to all individuals as he was zealous for what he conceived to be the common good. But though the data appear satisfactory the conclusion is now too commonplace. In order to understand Marat we must realize that he was principally a journalist. Taking him at that, his style was detestable, but he is not without pretensions to genius. He was not a "newspaper man"; he was what newspaper men sometimes call an organ grinder. The French Revolution was the first great factory of political "organs." Among them none can compare with Marat's paper either in immediate or subsequent influence. He was the first to show what a man of intense personal convictions, devoted to a public cause, but the mouthpiece of no party, can do by daily publication of his own more or less fluctuating opinions. He was the legitimate precursor of Garrison, Greeley, and that entire breed in which our own country has been so prolific. He was the weather prophet of the Revolution. He was the watchdog of French liberty. Was he inordinately suspicious, noisy, mordant, savage? These are the virtues of a watchdog; and the need for one was very great. Was he consistent in nothing but devotion to the Revolution? Well, a weather prophet who can not tell what to-morrow requires is not a master of his art; one who predicts six months ahead is too rash; one whose barometer stands steady at either fair or stormy is a charlatan. Now, if we make reasonable allowance for Marat's palatial royal rhetoric it is past dispute that he almost always advocated just about what the public soon came to think necessary. This sagacious anticipation of the people's wishes and the vehemence with which he exposed every false reputation, whether that of a person or a party, abundantly account for both his popularity and his isolation. To bring in anything else is as unscientific as to suppose some other angel than gravitation steers the moon. His fidelity to his self-imposed mission is the more creditable because he appeared cut out for what in every worldly sense are better things. This man who emerged into blazing prominence from the life of a hunted dog and sewer rat, who was worshiped for a time by the whole nation as a saint and a martyr, and whom the entire tailor-made world has since pronounced (vaguely) the worst representative of the unbreeched, had been D'Artois's household physician and then exercised a marked influence upon the philosophic thought of Paris. His first book "On Man" (1778) is directed against the materialism of Helvetius. His "Plan of Criminal Legislation" (1780) is founded on the humane principles of Beccaria. Had he lived, I see every reason to think he would have headed revolt against the committee. He was now 50 years old. A cutaneous disease, contracted while he was hiding in the cloaca from those champions of "liberty through order," whose management had brought France to this, afflicted him with horrible torture.¹ He almost lived in a hot bath. He wrote his daily diatribes with hands swathed in damp towels. Like Robespierre and St. Just, he was gloriously poor. His lodging in the Rue de l'Ecole de Médecine was adorned only by his people's admiration and the love of a woman (not his legal wife) to

¹ The mean insinuation that it was syphilitic, to which Carlyle makes a reference, has been abandoned. See Watson, "Story of France."

whom his misery and deformity were sacred ties. At the door of his humble home a young woman from Caen presented herself three times during the week ending Saturday, July 13—third eve of the Bastille day. Marat was known to be very ill. The convention had sent him condolences. He refused to see his visitors. The second time she sent in a note professing to have important information and concluding with the words, "It is enough to inform you that I am unhappy in order to hope that your kind heart will not be insensible and to have a claim on your justice." Marat, who probably thought she came to intercede for some Girondin insurgent, at last allowed her to be admitted. He was in the bath. At his visitor's request the porter and the other women withdrew. After a few moments Marat called loudly for help. Rushing in they found him as good as dead from a stab with a long sheath knife which had penetrated the aorta and lung.¹ According to one account, the porter knocked the assassin down with a chair. A more probable statement asserts that she had already fortified herself behind some furniture and was arrested without violence on its appearing that she did not mean to resist. Her beauty and calmness disarmed an angry crowd which collected almost instantly. At the trial next Wednesday her appearance excited general admiration. She cut short the examination by stating that she killed Marat for his "crimes," meaning "the miseries he had brought on France"; that she had no accomplices and was a republican before the Revolution. The name of this charming fanatic was Marie-Anne Charlotte Corday. She belonged to an ancient but impoverished family. In a brief letter, most redolent of that style which characterized her party, she informed her parents of her act and fate. She also wrote to Barbaroux, anticipating "happiness with Brutus in the Elysian fields." Her portrait was taken by her own desire. At 7 that same evening she rode to her death in the prison cart wearing the red robe of a murderess. A thunder shower, which cleared before the end, made her look like a Nalad. An immense concourse filled the streets. The majority assailed her with execrations, for which she returned a serene smile, standing up on purpose to be seen. When the executioner held up her head he slapped it, for which irregularity he was sent to jail. Many witnesses declared that at the insult her pale face was seen to blush; an illusion perhaps caused by a glance from the setting sun.

¹ The tragedy of Charlotte Corday has evidently come to be enveloped in a legendary nimbus. Her letter to Barbaroux, if it is authentic, witnesses that she gave Marat the names of the Girondins at Caen (it is very improbable she would), which he took down, saying they would soon go to the guillotine. This sealed his doom (though she is made to say here and elsewhere that she left Caen on purpose to kill him). "Higher criticism," familiar with the laws by which fictions grow, recognizes in this the germ of later misrepresentation—her appeal to his compassion had to be purged of treachery by the statement that he made it occasion for an additional offense. Most historians leave it out or garble it, which destroys the point of that sufficiently inconsistent story said to be her own. Other contradictions, though palpable, are less easily explained. She stated, it is said, that she resolved on her fatal expedition because of what happened on May 31, but her passport is dated in April. On the scaffold, we are told with extravagant inconsistency, that she objected to having her feet bound, but submitted on being told it was the custom (it was not), and then lay down of her own accord, though both her hands and feet were tied. She was, of course, strapped in the usual way. However, the few facts known about her, specifically the original and striking parts of her correspondence, in which there is much commonplace of doubtful genuineness, enable a student of degeneracy to classify this "ange de l'assassination" quite accurately. She belonged to the dangerous and homicidal variety of the species crank, in which, Lombroso says, there are but few females. If any man call this a phillistine view, I appeal to Shelley's poem about her. The vanity of the crank tribe is very manifest in her letters; her actions before the court and at the guillotine; her desire to be perpetuated on canvas; her boast of descent from the poet Corneille, whom she loved to quote; her yearning for fame as a tragic heroine. By her favorite term "energy" she meant willingness to die for a cause (a name?). Her limited knowledge and judgment, so characteristic of the "mat-toid," are equally apparent. She not only swallowed raw all the Girondist abuse of Marat, but persuaded herself she could do some great good by killing a man whose whole power was in his appreciation of the way things were going. Such actions are useful only when they upset an already tottering idol. The uniqueness of her personality is all in the beauty and magnetism much better attested as concerns her than more successful enthusiasts, to whom romance attributes them—e. g., Jeanne D'Arc, with whom she has been compared. If Jeanne, when she shone in armor, rode "the right butter woman's gait to market," who was there likely to tell us so? Eyewitnesses' impressions of Charlotte are specific. The unprecedented thing is that a beautiful and fascinating girl, possessed with theatrical ambition, took such a way of gratifying it. There have been many Erctratufuses, among whom not a few were near enough in sympathy with large masses to leave a more or less fruitful example, but there has been only one whose aspect and bearing excited enthusiasm aside from or even contrary to the effect of what was done. The French Revolution's history, as my readers may have observed, by the way, needs, after a refuter of monumental lies, which I have tried to be, no other student so much as one with opportunity to verify what Carlyle calls "tombstone information." I take Marat's address from Carlyle, 44 Rue de l'Ecole de Médecine, but there are authorities who make it 20 Rue des Cordeliers. I have not succeeded in tracing either statement to the original source.

A judge who held other Girondins legally responsible for Charlotte Corday's crime would disgrace himself as deeply as Gary did at the trial of Neebe. There was actually, we shall see, no such judge on the Revolutionary tribunal! But we do not expect judicial discrimination from infuriated factions. To this foolish deed, "the Terror" must be very largely attributed. The murder of Marat excited as much indignation in Paris as that of Lincoln in Washington. All that had been said about dirty clothes, bloody editorials, communistic doctrines, was instantly forgotten. A patriot deputy above suspicion of dishonesty, covetousness, or lukewarmness, a man actually dying in agony as the sole reward of his devotion to France, had been murdered by the rebels who were negotiating with Vendéans, Sardinians, and Pitt. His bust became the most popular object of adoration. His name was given half the towns and public squares. A famous painting of his martyrdom adorned the legislative hall. His body was borne to the tomb in a torchlight procession, which almost the whole city followed. A pension was bestowed on his widow. At Nantes, Strasbourg, and elsewhere, his name was the word of vengeance. By their own logic, those who had prosecuted him as accessory to the September massacres were guilty of falling back on the dagger when the guillotine refused to serve, without any law ever known to man. For their denunciation of Marat quite as much caused his murder as his own talk Septembrism. They did their best to justify this estimate. It was on the day of Charlotte Corday's death they guillotined a Jacobin magistrate at Lyons. Vergniaud, who we remember was in Paris, said of her, "She has killed us—but she has taught us how to die." Up to the last rising of the metropolis, the good-natured Danton had tried accommodation with the Girondins, Vergniaud summed up the spirit in which they met him with a bit of Latin, "*Potius mori quam foedari*." A letter which Charlotte brought Duperret caused the seizure of his papers and expulsion of 73 deputies. The Jacobinized convention proceeded at once to execute those plans which the Girondins had hindered. In a week it adopted a new constitution, started by Condorcet's draft of one which had long been hanging fire. Every man of 21 was made a voter. Every 60,000 people were to have a deputy. There was to be only one chamber. All decrees were to take effect immediately. But it never went into action. The convention and the committees continued to act as a provisional government. They arranged, however, for a grand proclamation of the organic law, on a memorable anniversary, August 10. The alarming military situation made this new fete of federation really important. The five foreign armies had invaded France. Custine lost Mayence July 23. He then took the place once held by Dumouriez, and lost Valenciennes on the 28th. The Prussians entered Alsace. The English declared all French ports blockaded. Eight thousand delegates from primary assemblies which had ratified the constitution came up to Paris, a year after Louis's downfall. Danton addressed them on the needs of the hour, and proposed an oath, unanimously accepted, to conquer their enemies or die. Two weeks later Barere, as secretary of the committee on public safety, introduced decrees which embodied Danton's suggestions, with details proposed by Carnot. The language, as Carnot says, is "Tyrtacan"—Barere's best. All the French were declared in permanent requisition for the service of their country. Able-bodied males between 18 and 25 must be enrolled as soldiers. Older men were to forge arms and transport supplies, women to make tents and clothes or attend hospitals, children to pick lint. By this unparalleled measure, which altered the world's methods of making war, an immense, though undisciplined, army was immediately created. The returned delegates executed the decrees. All horses available for the purpose were taken to draw cannon or mount soldier. All weapons, even shotguns and pikes, were put into requisition. The owners generally remarked that, at all events, "France and the Revolution must be saved." Carnot formed the new levies into 14 grand army corps. A maximum price was at length set, first on flour and meat; then on many other staples, and even piecework. The rate was that of 1790, plus one-third of production; plus 5 per cent in wholesale stores; plus 10 per cent in retail; plus cost of transportation, when any. The price of wheat everywhere was later fixed to 14 livres (\$2.80) per quintal (200 pounds). The assignats were required to be received at par. The exchange was closed. The business of dealing in margins and options was prohibited. It is said, but we may doubt, that the paper money actually was forced up to its face value until the fall of the committees, next year. Beyond question the penalties were so severe and the Government so vigilant that evasion can not have been easy. Those unfit for military duty were pressed to till the soil. No closing of shops or stores or striking of work was

permitted. Seditious oratory, publications, dramas, ceased as by magic. The galleries of the legislative halls were closed for the first time. Mobs dared not assemble. She devils, once raucous, knitted in silence by the guillotine. This instrument was rapidly superseding jails, at first in great request as promoters of patriotism. The whole country was a military camp. Every great city was in a state of siege, with houses marked like soldiers' quarters, smithies incessantly making arms, lint pickers at work on every doorstep, recruits assembling, volunteers drilling, spies open eyed and eared watching every bargain and conversation, prisoners going to jail and from jail to death.

If the world contains a state socialist or worshipper of force, as such, who contemplates without dismay this photograph of his idol unveiled, an anarchist need make no bones of his opinion, and may enjoy the rare sensation of being on one side with "other people." The general levy is the most tyrannical of inventions, and ever since has ridden Europe like a nightmare saddle. The system of requisitions is one forbidden by its nature to last—a monster drinking up the water at whose exhaustion he must perish. The inevitable effect of a maximum, if slackly enforced, is to fetter trade; if rigorously enforced, to stop production. The remedy of making unwilling men work, besides involving all the misery and demoralization of slavery, does not reach the disease. Slaves are poor; slaves can earn nothing but necessities; when only necessities are sold only necessities will be produced. The bourgeois maximistes, assembled in certain councils of industry called trusts, are beginning to find that out! It is only by reducing production—in other words, by raising the value of goods—that such actions can have forced up the gold price of the common measure for home exchanges. To forbid redemption of notes by speculators was a method of proclaiming they would never be redeemed, as conducive to lowering them, as if Pitt had hired it to be done. Suppression of agitation, indeed, showed a proper subordination of means to ends. If agitation had not meant death, the committees' tyranny must have fallen before it induced a general reaction toward the old régime—as in good time it did.

The special admirers of Danton, and others responsible for these measures, say their acts, though quite unjustifiable under ordinary circumstances, were required by the desperate situation. They were like those mutilations by which the operator may perhaps kill at once a patient who without them will certainly die in a very few days. But the truth is these measures failed to cause a counter-revolution only because the French people generally preferred anything else to a counter-revolution. These measures owed all their success to this, that advocates of a different policy were less opposed to counter-revolution than the French people. These measures were so entirely what a French mob would have adopted that they brand their authors with lack of any quality more statesmanlike than the thoroughgoing zeal of a mob. Two of these individuals—Danton and Carnot—had, indeed, some insight into the seeds of time. The rest were merely units in a mob which comprised the people. Not one possessed a quality, except zeal, which should make the mob accept his lead. We look in vain among their doings for a trait of that gift in expedients, that capacity for detail, which constitutes executive talent. Let them have the praise of doing badly what the Girondins were too irresolute to do at all. They did it as a tyrant like Attila might have solved a similar problem. To do it without robbing a peasant, closing a debating society, or ruining a trade, to do as Bonaparte did a greater job of the same sort, that would have been statecraft.

C. L. JAMES.

UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASED.

After arresting 13 men and women without warrant and holding 10 of them more than two weeks, denied the right of bail, the Chicago police admitted that they had no evidence against their prisoners, who were therefore unconditionally released. This is a case which should receive cool, calm consideration. If the police had evidence to justify the arrest of these men and women, why was it not forthcoming? Only a few days ago these prisoners were held up to public execration as being such desperate criminals that they could not be trusted out on bail; they were to be extradited and possibly executed for complicity in the murder of McKinley. They, and their friends have been hounded by the police and maligned by the public press. And for what? Absolutely no charge was made against them when their cases came up for trial.

Thousands of dollars, probably, have been spent in the effort to obtain evidence against the Free Society workers and Emma Goldman. The police had possession of the house of the Isaaks; everything, even to the most private possessions of the prisoners was ransacked, and yet nothing to their discredit could be found. And now the question is, what redress have these people? The Free Society workers have lost nearly three weeks' time, and their business has been seriously interfered with. Most of the others, besides losing their time, have lost their situations; Miss Godman, in addition to losing her time, enduring insults and physical abuse at the hands of the Chicago police, is tried, convicted, and condemned in nearly every newspaper in the country, from the metropolitan daily to the cross-roads weekly. Certainly the law offers a recourse to these people. They may bring suits for damages against the city, and for libel against the publishers who slandered them. But it must be remembered that when city officials are prosecuted they defend themselves with their victims' money—the money with which they defend themselves and carry the cases from court to court is that which we pay in taxes, and even if, after a long and expensive fight, a case is won against these officials, we, the taxpayers, bear the loss. Well may the city officials, from judges and prosecuting attorneys down, exclaim, "Heads, I win; tails, you lose."

And thus are the anarchists taught the erroneousness of their views; thus are they taught respect for the administration of the law; thus are they given a practical illustration of the defense it provides the weak against the strong. (L. H., in Lucifer.)

I am convinced that those societies (as the Indians) which live without government, enjoy in their general mass infinitely greater degree of happiness than those who live under European Governments. Among the former, public opinion is in the place of law and restrains morals as powerfully as laws ever did anywhere. Among the latter under pretense of Government, they have divided their nations into two classes—wolves and sheep. I do not exaggerate. This is a true picture of Europe.—Thomas Jefferson.

What would Jefferson say of the present affairs in America, I wonder? The wolves have wonderfully increased since Jefferson's time; and the sheep's holidays are a thing of the past.

EXHIBIT X.

STATE OF NEW YORK, *County of New York, ss.*

Edward J. Caddell, being duly sworn, states as follows:

I was appointed as a patrolman to the New York Police Department on August 24, 1915, and after three months' service was detailed to the bomb squad of that department, under the direction of Inspector Thomas J. Tunney, and in the performance of my duties was continuously required to use shorthand and typing.

On May 18, 1917, in my capacity then as detective, second grade, I was assigned by Inspector Tunney to take shorthand notes of the speech to be delivered by Emma Goldman to the public in the Harlem River Casino at One hundred and twenty-seventh Street and Second Avenue, New York City, on May 18, 1917. I attended said meeting and reported in full in my notebook the speech made by Emma Goldman on that occasion.

I further state that the seven typewritten sheets which are annexed hereto and made a part hereof and each of which has been initialed by me contain a full, true, and accurate transcript of the speech made by Emma Goldman as shown by my notebook.

I am at present residing at 81 Decatur Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

EDWARD J. CADDELL.

Sworn to before this 1st day of October, 1919.

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

(Speech by Emma Goldman in Harlem River Casino, One hundred and twenty-seventh Street and Second Avenue, at 9.45 p. m., May 18, 1917.)

We don't believe in conscription. This meeting to-night being a living proof. This meeting was arranged with limited means; so, friends, we who have arranged the meeting are well satisfied. If we can only urge the people of entire New York City and America, there would be no war in the United States; there would be no conscription in the United States [applause] if the people are given an opportunity to have their say. Therefore we hope at least that a small portion of the population of New York City to-night is having its say.

Friends, what I have to tell you to-night I want to impress upon you with all the intensity of my being; that we have with us people who came to break up this meeting; therefore, friends, I ask you, friends, in the name of peace, in the name of freedom, and all that is dear to you to be perfectly quiet and when the meeting is over, to leave the hall quietly, for that is a better argument than by the provocators who came to-night to break up the meeting. Therefore, friends, I repeat once more that after our speakers will be through, I hope you will leave the hall quietly and if there is the slightest trouble, we will hold the trouble makers, the provocators, and the police responsible for the trouble.

Friends, I know perfectly well that to-morrow morning the daily papers will say that the German Kaiser paid for this meeting. I know that they will say that those employed in the German service have arranged this meeting, but there is all of us friends who have something serious at hand, those of us to whom liberty is not a mere shadow, and found to be celebrated on the 4th of July and to be celebrated with firecrackers, that we will not only speak for it, but die for it if necessary.

We are concerned in our own conscience, and we know that the meeting to-night has been arranged by workingmen and workingwomen who probably gave their last cent from their wages which the capitalistic régime is granting them.

And so, friends, we don't care what people will say about us; we only care for one thing, and that is to demonstrate to-night and to demonstrate as long as we can be able to speak that when America went into war, ostensibly to fight for democracy, it is a dastardly lie; it never went into war for democracy. If it is true that America went into war in order to fight for democracy, why not begin at home? We need democracy; we need democracy even more than Germany, and I will tell you why. The German people were never brought up with the belief that they lived in democracy. The German people were nursed from their mother's breasts, that they were living in liberty and that they had all the freedom they desired; therefore, the German people are not disappointed in the Kaiser. They have a Kaiser, the kind of a Kaiser they want and are going to stand for.

We in America have been brought up—we have been told that this is a free Republic. We have been told that free speech and free press and free assemblage are guaranteed by the Constitution. Incidentally, friends, the only people who still believe in the Constitution are you poor fools for the other fellows. We are rather disappointed when suddenly, out of a clear sky, a few months after we have been told he kept us out of war, we are now told he drew us into war.

We who came from Europe came here looking to America as the promised land. I came believing that liberty was a fact, and when we to-day resent war and resent conscription it is not that we are foreigners and don't care; it is precisely because we love America and we are opposed to war.

My friends, when I say we love America I wish you to remember that we don't love the American Wall Street, that we don't love the American Morgan, that we don't love the American Rockefeller; we don't love the American Washington; we don't love the American ammunition manufacturers; we don't love the American National Security League, for that is Russia transferred to America.

We mean the America of Wendell Phillips; we mean Emerson; we mean America of great pioneers of liberty. We mean writers and great men and women who have fought for years to maintain the standard of effort. I, for one, am quite willing to stand up face to face with patriots every night, patriots blind to the injustice committed in this country, patriots who don't care a hang. We are willing to stand up and to say to them, "Keep your dirty hands off America; you have no right to tell the people to give their lives in behalf of democracy when democracy is the laughing stock before all Europe; and, therefore, friends, we stand here and we tell you that the war which is now declared by America in the last six weeks is not a war of democracy and is not a war of the urging

of the people. It is not a war of economic independence; it is a war for conquest. It is a war for military power; it is a war for money; it is a war for the purpose of trampling under foot every vestige of liberty that you people have worked for for the last 40 or 30 or 25 years, and therefore we refuse to support such a war.

We are told, friends, that the people want war. If it is true that the American people want war, why not give the American people a chance to say whether they want war. Friends, we are told that the American people have a chance to say whether they want war through Congress or through the Senate. Congress is in the hands of those who pull the string; it is a jumping jack. [Applause.]

Friends, in Congress there are a few men, in the Senate—Stone, La Follette, etc.—who wanted to keep America out of war; they have been hounded and persecuted and abused and insulted and degraded because they stood up for a principle, and so it was not true that the people of America have a chance to express their voice. It was impossible, because each Congressman and each Senator is taken into a private room where spiritualistic mediums are being used and there mesmerized and massaged until every revolutionary fiber is out of them, and then they come out and do as they are told by the administration in Washington.

The same is true about conscription. What chance have you men to say if you men are to be conscripted? It took England 18 months—a monarchy—to decide whether she shall have conscription. Upon the people born under a free sky conscription has been imposed upon you. You can not have democracy and have compulsory military training. You have become Russia. [Applause.]

Friends, I suggest that Wall Street and the military powers invite the Russian Czar to America; he belongs here; and tell them how to deal with the revolution, with the antimilitarists; the Czar ought to know; he handled them. He used every method in his power in order to subdue all human beings, but he succeeded—I should say not. He is now sitting in his palace, that the revolution may go a little further. [Applause.] Americans are evidently working for the Czar. We already have the beginning of the Czar who wants to employ all the liberties of the American people.

Now, friends, do you suppose for one minute that this Government is big enough and strong enough and powerful enough to stop men who will not engage in the war because they don't want the war, because they don't believe in the war, because they are not going to fight a war for Mr. Morgan? What is the Government going to do with them? [Applause.] They are going to lock them up. You haven't prisons enough to lock up all the people. [Applause.]

We believe in violence, and we will use violence. Remember, friends, that the very Government which worships at the altar of the Christian religion, that this very Government knows perfectly well that they attempted to silence them, and so if it is their intention to make us quiet, they may prepare the noose; they may prepare the gallows; they may build more prisons for the spread of revolt and conscience.

How many people are going to refuse to conscript? And I say there are enough. I could count 50,000, and there are enough to be more, and they are not going to conscript only when they are conscripted. They will not register. [Applause.] I realize perfectly that it is possible to gather up 50 and 100 and 500 people. What are you going to do if you have 500,000 people? It will not be such an easy job, and it will compel the Government to sit up and take notice; and therefore we are going to support with all the means at our support, with money and publicity, we are going to support all the men who will refuse to register and who will refuse to fight. [Applause.]

We want you to fill out these slips and as you go out drop them in the baskets at the door. We want to know how many men and women of conscriptive age—and they are going to take women and not soldiers. It is the same thing as if you fight in the war. Don't let them tell you that they will send you to the farm. Every stroke of what you do you are supporting the war, and the only reply that you can make against war is that you are making men; that you are busy fighting your internal enemy, which is the capitalistic class. [Applause.]

I hope that this meeting is not going to be the first and last. As a matter of fact, we are planning something else. Friends, listen—think of it—not only are you going to be compelled, coerced to wear the soldier's uniform, but on the day when you leave to be educated to the monster war—on the day when it will be decided that you will be driven into the trenches and battle field—on that day we are going to have a demonstration [applause], but be careful [applause], you might [continued applause].

We will have a demonstration of all the people who will not be conscripted, and who will not register. We are going to have the largest demonstration this city has ever seen and no power on earth will stop us. I will say in conclusion, that I for one am quite willing to take the consequences of every word I said and am going to say on the stand I am taking. I am not afraid of prison. I have been there often. It is not quite so bad. I am not afraid of the authorities; I have dealt with them before; or, rather, they have dealt with me; and I am still living and stand before you. I am not afraid of death; I would rather die the death of a lion than live the life of a dog.

For the cause of human liberty, for the cause of the working class, for the cause of men and women who live and till the soil, if I am to die for them, I could not wish a more glorious death, even in my wildest dreams; and so patriots and police and gentlemen who represent wealth and power, help yourself. You can not stop the revolutionary spirit. It may take as long as one year or two; you can't do it because the spirit of revolution has a marvellous power of liberty. It can break through bars; it can go through safely. It can come out stronger and braver. If there is any man in this hall that despairs, let's look across at Russia, let's look across at [Breshnavosky], who was tortured by the Russian soldiers, who never believed that she would see Russia and see her people alive, and yet see the wonderful thing that revolution has done. It has thrown the Czar and his clique and his ever-staunch henchmen into prison; it has opened Siberia and all the dungeons; and the men and women are going to be free. They are not going to be free according to American democracy.

Friends, I insist it is a good place for them in Russia; let's go back home tomorrow. So, friends, don't be afraid. Take this marvellous meeting, take this wonderful spirit and remember that you are not alone; that to-night in every city, in every hamlet, and in every village and town there are hearts beating that they don't want war, they don't want conscription; that they are not going to be conscripted.

The ruling classes fight a losing game. The Wall Street men are fighting a losing game. They represent the past and we represent the future.

The future belongs to the young men who are barely of age and barely realizing their freedom. The future belongs to the young girls and young boys. They must be free from militarism; they must be free from the military yoke. If you want war, help yourselves; fight your own battle; we are not going to fight it for you.

So, friends, it is our decision to-night; we are going to fight for you; we are going to assist you and cooperate with you and have the grandest demonstration this country has ever seen against militarism and war. What is your answer? Your answer to war must be a general strike, and then the governing class will have something on its hands.

So, friends, before I close I want to make an appeal to you; I want to make you know that this meeting sprang simultaneously from a group of people. It cost money, and therefore I ask you to contribute as much as you can. I wish to say that Mother Earth is opening pledges with \$50; I hope that those who can do so will do so. We want to have money; we want to have more literature; we want to have a demonstration; and we want to prove that with little money, no public support, with no militia, with no soldiers we can support the campaign of real freedom and liberty and brotherhood.

Finished 10.15 p. m.

EXHIBIT XI.

STATE OF NEW YORK, *County of New York*, ss:

William H. Randolph, being duly sworn, states as follows:

I was appointed as a patrolman to the New York police department on November 7, 1911, and am still connected with that department in the office of chief inspector, John Daly, at police headquarters, in the city of New York.

Prior to my appointment to the New York police department I had been a stenographer and typist for a number of years in commercial life and Government service, and between 1911 and 1917 had occasion from time to time to use shorthand and typewriting.

On May 18, 1917, I was officially connected with the New York police department bomb squad under the direction of Inspector Thos. J. Tunney and the latter assigned me to take shorthand notes of the speech to be delivered by

128 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Emma Goldman in the Harlem River Casino at One hundred and twenty-seventh Street and Second Avenue, New York City, on May 18, 1917. I attended said meeting and reported in full in my notebook the speech made by Emma Goldman on that occasion.

I further state that the nine typewritten sheets which are annexed hereto and made a part hereof and each of which has been initialed by me contain a full, true, and accurate transcript of the speech made by Emma Goldman as shown by my notebook.

WILLIAM H. RANDOLPH,
Patrolman, N. Y. P. D. No. 5916, New York Police Department.

Sworn to before me this 1st day of October, 1919.

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

SPEECH BY EMMA GOLDMAN IN HARLEM RIVER CASINO, ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH STREET, 9.45 P. M., MAY 18, 1917.

We don't believe in conscription, this meeting to-night being a living proof. This meeting was arranged with limited means. So, friends, we who have arranged the meeting are well satisfied if we can only urge the people of entire New York City and America, there would be no war in the United States—there would be no conscription in the United States [applause] if the people are not given an opportunity to have their say. Therefore, we hope at least that a small portion of the population of New York City to-night is having its say.

Friends, what I have to tell you to-night I want to impress upon your minds with all the intensity of my being, that we have with us people who come to break up this meeting, and therefore, friends, I ask you, friends, in the name of peace, in the name of freedom, and all that is dear to you, to be perfectly quiet, and when the meeting is over to leave the hall quietly, for that is a better argument than by the provocators who came here to-night to break up the meeting. Therefore, friends, I repeat once more, that after our speakers will be through, I hope you will leave the hall quietly, and, if there is the slightest trouble we will hold the troublemakers, the provocators, and the police responsible for the trouble. [Applause.]

Friends, I know perfectly well that to-morrow morning the daily papers will say that the German Kaiser paid for this meeting. I know that they will say that those employed in the German service have arranged this meeting. But there is all of us, friends, who have something serious at hand—those of us to whom liberty is not a mere shadow—and found to be celebrated on the 4th of July, and to be celebrated with firecrackers—that we will not only speak for it but die for it if necessary. [Applause.]

We are concerned in our own conscience, and we know that the meeting to-night has been arranged by workingmen and workingwomen, who probably gave their last cent from their wages which the capitalistic régime is granting them.

And so, friends, we do not care what people will say about us; we only care for one thing, and that is to demonstrate to-night and to demonstrate as long as we can be able to speak, that when America went into war, ostensibly for the purpose of fighting for democracy—because it is a dastardly lie—it never went into war for democracy. If it is true that America went into war in order to fight for democracy—why not begin at home? We need democracy. [Applause.] We need democracy even more than Germany, and I will tell you why. The German people were never brought up with the belief that they lived in democracy. The German people were nursed from their mothers' breasts that they were living in liberty and that they had all the freedom they desired. Therefore, the German people are not disappointed in the Kaiser, they desire. Therefore, the German people are not disappointed in the Kaiser. They have a Kaiser, the kind of a Kaiser they want and are going to stand for. Republic. We have been told that free speech and free press and free assembly are guaranteed by the Constitution. Incidentally, friends, the only people who still believe in the Constitution are you poor fools for the other fellows. [Applause.] We are rather disappointed. When suddenly, out of the clear sky, a few months after we have been told he kept us out of war—we are now told he drew us into war. [Applause.]

We, who came from Europe, came here looking to America as the promised land. I came believing that liberty was a fact. And when we to-day resent

war and resent conscription, it is not that we are foreigners and don't care; it is precisely because we love America and we are opposed to war. [Applause.]

My friends, when I say we love America, I wish you to remember that we don't love the American Wall Street, that we don't love the American Morgan, that we don't love the American Rockefeller, we don't love the American Washington, we don't love the American ammunition manufacturers, we don't love the American National Security League—for that America is Russia transferred to America. [Applause.]

We mean the America of Wendell Phillips, we mean Emerson, we mean America of great pioneers of liberty. We mean writers, and great men and women who have fought for years to maintain the standard of effort. I, for one, am quite willing to stand up face to face with patriots every night—patriots blind to the injustice committed in this country—patriots who didn't care a hang. We are willing to stand up and to say to them: "Keep your dirty hands off America." You have no right to tell the people to give their lives in behalf of democracy, when democracy is the laughing stock before all Europe. And, therefore, friends, we stand here and we tell you that the war which is now declared by America in the last six weeks is not a war of democracy and is not a war of the urging of the people. It is not a war of economic independence. It is a war for conquest. It is a war for military power. It is a war for money. It is a war for the purpose of trampling under foot every vestige of liberty that you people have worked for for the last forty, or thirty, or twenty-five years, and, therefore, we refuse to support such a war. ["Hurrah"—applause.]

We are told, friends, that the people want war. If it is true that the American people want war, why not give the American people a chance to say whether they want war. Friends, we were told that the American people have a chance to say whether they want war through Congress and through the Senate. Congress is in the hands of those who pull the string. It is a jumping jack. [Applause.]

Friends, in Congress there are a few men in the Senate [mentioning some names] who wanted to keep America out of war. They have been hounded and persecuted and abused and insulted and degraded because they stood up for a principle. And so it was not true that the people of America have a chance to express their views. It was impossible, because each Congressman and each Senator is taken into a private room where spiritualistic mediums are being used, and they are mesmerized and massaged until every revolutionary fiber is out of them, and then they come out and do as they're told by the Administration in Washington.

The same is true about conscription. What chance have you men to say if you men are to be conscripted. It took England 18 months—a monarchy—to decide whether she shall have conscription. Upon the people born under a free sky—conscription has been imposed upon you. You can not have democracy and have compulsory military training. You have become Russia. [Applause.]

Friends, I suggest that Wall Street and the military powers invite the Russian Czar to America—he belongs here—and tell them how to deal with the revolution, with the antimilitarists, the Czar ought to know, he handled them. He used every method in his power in order to subdue all human beings. But he succeeded; I should say not. He is now sitting in his palace, that the revolution may go a little further. [Applause.] Americans evidently are working for the Czar. We already have the beginning of the Czar, who wants to employ all of the liberties of the American people.

Now, friends, do you suppose for one minute that this Government is big enough and strong enough and powerful enough to stop men who will not engage in the war because they don't want the war, because they don't believe in the war, because they are not going to fight a war for Mr. Morgan? What is the Government going to do with them? They're going to lock them up. You haven't prisons enough to lock up all the people. [Applause.]

We believe in violence and we will use violence. Remember, friends, that the very Government which worships at the altar of the Christian religion, that this Government knows perfectly well, that they attempted to silence them. And so, if it is their intention to make us quiet, they may prepare the noose, they may prepare the gallows, they may build more prisons, for the spread of revolt and conscience. [Applause.]

How many people are going to refuse to conscript, and I say there are enough. I would count at least 50,000, and there are enough to be more,

and they're not going to when only they're conscripted. They will not register. [Applause.]

I realize perfectly, that it is possible to gather up 50 and 100 and 500 people, and what are you going to do if you have 500,000 people? It will not be such an easy job, and it will compel the Government to sit up and take notice and, therefore, we are going to support, with all the means at our command, support with money and publicity, we are going to support all the men who will refuse to register and who will refuse to fight. [Applause.]

We want you to fill out these slips and as you go out drop them into the baskets at the door. We want to know how many men and women of conscriptive age, and they're going to take women and not soldiers. It is the same thing as if you fight in the war. Don't let them tell you that they will send you to the farm. Every stroke of what you do you are supporting the war, and the only reply that you can make against the war is that you are making men, that you are busy fighting your internal enemy, which is the capitalistic class. [Applause.]

I hope that this meeting is not going to be the first and last. As a matter of fact, we are planning something else.

Friends, listen, think of it. Not only are you going to be compelled, coerced to wear the soldier's uniform, but on the day when you leave to be educated to the monster war, on the day when it will be decided that you shall be driven into the trenches and battle field, on that day we are going to have a demonstration [applause], but be careful whom [applause] you might bury yourself and not the working class. [Applause.] We will have a demonstration of all the people who will not be conscripted and who will not register. We are going to have the largest demonstration this city has ever seen, and no power on earth will stop us.

I will say, in conclusion, that I, for one, am quite willing to take the consequences of every word I said and am going to say on the stand I am taking. I am not afraid of prison—I have been there often. It isn't quite so bad. I am not afraid of the authorities—I have dealt with them before—and, rather, they have dealt with me, and am still living and stand here before you. I am not afraid of death. I would rather die the death of a lion than live the life of a dog. [Applause.]

For the cause of human liberty, for the cause of the working class, for the cause of men and women who live and till the soil, if I am to die for them, I could not wish a more glorious death ever in my wildest dreams. And, so, patriots and police and gentlemen, who represent wealth and power, help yourself; you can not stop the revolutionary spirit. It may take as long as one year or two. You can not do it, because the spirit of revolution has a marvelous power of liberty. It can break through bars; it can go through safely; it can come out stronger and braver. If there is any man in this hall that despairs, let's look across Russia; let's look across. [Applause.] Als—, who was tortured by the Russian soldiers, who never believed that she would see Russia and see her people alive, and yet see the wonderful thing that revolution has done. It has thrown the Czar and his clique and his ever-staunch henchmen into prison. It has opened Siberia and all the dungeons, and the men and women are going to be free. They are not going to be free according to American democracy. [Applause.]

Friends, I insist it is a good place for them in Russia. Let's go back home to-morrow. So, friends, don't be afraid. Take this marvelous meeting, take this wonderful spirit, and remember that you are not alone; that to-night, in every city, in every hamlet, and in every village and town there are hearts beating that they don't want war; that they don't want conscription; that they are not going to be conscripted.

The ruling classes fight a losing game. The Wall Street men are fighting a losing game. They represented the past and we represent the future. [Applause.]

The future belongs to the young men, who are barely of age and barely realizing their freedom. The future belongs to the young girls and young boys. They must be free from militarism; they must be free from the military yoke. If you want war, help yourself. Fight your own battle. We are not going to fight it for you. [Applause.]

So, friends, it is our decision to-night. We are going to fight for you; we are going to assist you and cooperate with you, and have the grandest demonstration this country has ever seen against militarism and war. What's your answer? Your answer to war must be a general strike, and then the governing class will have something on its hands.

So, friends, before I close I want to make an appeal to you. I want to make you know that this meeting sprang simultaneously from a group of people. It cost money; and therefore I ask you to contribute as much as you can. I wish so say that Mother Earth is opening pledges with \$50. I hope that those who can do so will do so. We want to have money; we want to have more literature; we want to have a demonstration; and we want to prove that, with little money, no public support, with no militia, with no soldiers, we can support the point of real freedom and liberty and brotherhood.

(Finished speaking about 10.15 p. m.)

EXHIBIT XII.

[Certificate of citizenship, United States of America.]

STATE OF NEW YORK, *Monroe County, ss.*

Be it remembered, That on the 13th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1894, Abraham Goldman, late of Russia, at that time of Rochester, in the State of New York aforesaid, appeared in the county court (the said court being a court of record, having common law jurisdiction, and a clerk and a seal), and applied to the said court to be admitted to become a citizen of the United States of America, pursuant to the directions and requisitions of the several acts of Congress in relation thereto; and the said Abraham Goldman having hereunto produced to the court such evidence, made such declaration and renunciation, and taken such oaths as are by the said acts required; thereupon, it was ordered by the said court that he be admitted, and he was accordingly admitted to become a citizen of the United States of America.

In witness whereof, the seal of the said court is hereunto affixed, this 18th day of October, 1919.

By the court.

[SEAL]

JAMES L. HOTCHKISS, *Clerk.*

EXHIBIT XIII.

To the Surrogate's Court of the County of Monroe, in the State of New York:

The petition of Samuel Cominsky of Rochester, in the county of Monroe and State of New York, respectfully shows that Abraham Goldman died on the 14th day of January, 1909, at Rochester in the county of Monroe and State of New York, leaving personal property within said county and leaving a will of personal property bearing date the 20th day of December, 1908, executed in presence of Louis B. Lazarus and Jacob Hochstein at witnesses, as prescribed by the laws of the State of New York, in which will Samuel Cominsky is designated as executor.

That the said testator was, at the time of his death, a resident of said county of Monroe and resided at Rochester, in said county.

That the said testator left him surviving, his wife, Theresa Goldman, who resides at Rochester in the State of New York and that the following are all the heirs and all the next of kin of said testator, and their respective ages and places of residence, to wit:

Theresa Goldman, widow, residing at Rochester, in the State of New York; Emma Goldman, daughter, aged 39 years, residing at New York, in the State of New York; Herman Goldman, son, aged 37 years, residing at Rochester, in the State of New York; Morris Goldman, son, aged 29 years, residing at New York, in the State of New York.

That no petition for probate of said will has been filed in any surrogate's court.

That your petitioner is informed and believes that the personal estate of said decedent does not exceed in value the sum of \$5,000, and that the decedent left no real property.

Your petitioner therefore prays that the said will may be proved, and that the said widow, Theresa Goldman, and the said heirs and next of kin of the said testator may be cited to attend the probate thereof.

Dated the 15th day of February, 1909.

SAMUEL COMINSKY, *Petitioner.*

132 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
City of Rochester, County of Monroe, ss:

Samuel Cominsky, being duly sworn, says he is the petitioner named in the foregoing petition, and that the said petition is true to his knowledge, except as to the matters therein stated to be alleged on information and belief, and that as to those matters he believes it to be true.

SAMUEL COMINSKY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 16th day of February, 1909.

KATHERINE VETTER,
Commissioner of Deeds.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
City of Rochester, County of Monroe, ss:

Samuel Cominsky, being duly sworn, says that he will faithfully and honestly discharge the duties of his office as executor of the will of Abraham Goldman, the testator named in the within petition.

SAMUEL COMINSKY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 16th day of February, 1909.

KATHERINE VETTER,
Commissioner of Deeds.

[Surrogate's Court, Monroe County, N. Y. In the matter of the probate of the last will and testament of Abraham Goldman, deceased.]

I, Emma Goldman, of the city of San Francisco, Calif., one of the next of kin of Abraham Goldman, late of the city of Rochester, county of Monroe, N. Y., deceased, being of full age, do hereby waive the issue and service on me of a citation in the above-entitled proceeding; I appear in person herein, and consent that an order or decree may be made and entered in said proceeding accordingly.

Dated this 25th day of January, 1909.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
San Francisco, ss:

On this 25th day of January, 1909, before me personally came Emma Goldman, to me known to be the person described in and who executed the foregoing instrument and acknowledges the execution thereof.

J. J. KERRIGAN,
*Notary Public in and for the City and County of
San Francisco, State of California.*

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
City and County of San Francisco, ss:

I, H. I. Mulcrevy, county clerk of the city and county of San Francisco, and ex officio clerk of the superior court thereof, the same being a court of record, do hereby certify: That J. J. Kerrigan, whose name is subscribed to the certificate of the proof or acknowledgment of the annexed instrument and thereon written, was, at the time of taking such proof and acknowledgment, a notary public in and for said city and county, residing therein, duly commissioned and sworn, and authorized by the laws of said State to take the acknowledgments and proofs of deeds or conveyances for lands, tenements, or hereditaments in said State to be recorded therein. And further that I am well acquainted with the handwriting of such notary public, and verily believe that the signature to said certificate of proof or acknowledgment is genuine.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court the day of January 25, 1909.

[L. S.]

H. I. MULCREVY, *Clerk.*

STATE OF NEW YORK,
City of Rochester, County of Monroe, ss:

Herman Goldman, of the city of Rochester, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is well acquainted with Emma Goldman, the person mentioned in the foregoing waiver, and with her manner and style of handwriting, hav-

ing often seen her write, and that deponent verily believes that the signature purporting to be the signature of the aforesaid person signed to the said instrument, is the true and genuine handwriting and signature of the above-named person.

HERMAN GOLDMAN.

Sworn to before me this 11th day of February, 1900.

KATHERINE VETTER,
Commissioner of Deeds.

STATE OF NEW YORK, *Monroe County*, ss:

I, Andrew Ludolph, clerk of the surrogate's court of the said county of Monroe, being a court of record and having a clerk and seal, do hereby certify that I have compared the foregoing papers, viz: A copy of the petition and waiver of citation in the matter of the estate of Abraham Goldman, late of the city of Rochester, county of Monroe and State of New York, deceased, with the original filings thereof, now remaining in the surrogate's office of said county of Monroe, and in my care and custody as the clerk of said surrogate's court, and that I have found the same to be a full, exact, and correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of such original filings.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at the city of Rochester, N. Y., this 17th day of October, 1919.

[SEAL.]

ANDREW LUDOLPH,
Clerk of the Surrogate's Court.

STATE OF NEW YORK, *Monroe County*, ss:

I, Selden S. Brown, surrogate of said county of Monroe, and sole judge and presiding magistrate of the said surrogate's court, do hereby certify that Andrew Ludolph, the person attesting the above certificate, is the clerk of said surrogate's court; that his signature to said attestation is genuine, that he is the legal custodian of the records and files of said court, and that said certificate and attestation are in due form.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at the city of Rochester this 17th day of October, 1919.

[SEAL.]

SELDEN S. BROWN, *Surrogate.*

STATE OF NEW YORK, *Monroe County*, ss:

I, Andrew Ludolph, clerk of the surrogate's court of the county of Monroe, N. Y., do hereby certify that the Hon. Selden S. Brown is the surrogate of said county of Monroe, duly commissioned and qualified, and the sole judge and presiding magistrate of the said surrogate's court, and that his signature to the foregoing certificate is genuine.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at the city of Rochester this 17th day of October, 1919.

[SEAL.]

ANDREW LUDOLPH,
Clerk of the Surrogate's Court.

OCTOBER 18, 1919.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

Joseph Raymond McCuen, duly sworn, deposes and says that he was employed as a reporter on the staff of the New Haven Palladium during the month of May, 1909; that on or about the 12th of May, 1909, he called on Dr. Ben Reitman, who submitted to deponent information in article appearing in the New Haven Palladium newspaper published at New Haven, Conn., under date of May 13, 1909, under headline "'Reitman doesn't blame Czolgosz.'" Further the deponent saith not.

JOSEPH RAYMOND MCCUEN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18th day of October, 1919.

JOHN H. HOLLINSWORTH, *Notary Public.*

REITMAN DOESN'T BLAME CZOLGOSZ.

Dr. Ben Reitman, general manager of Miss Emma Goldman's lecture tour, said last night that he was going right ahead to make arrangements for the women anarchist's advent into this city next Friday and Saturday nights, despite the warning yesterday of Chief of Police Cowles that he would not allow Miss Goldman to speak in this city.

Dr. Reitman further stated that he did not see what right the chief has to stop their meeting. He says it is unconstitutional and that the chief will only be able to stop the meeting by force.

During the course of conversation Reitman was asked if anarchy taught violence. He replied that it didn't but that it tolerated violence.

"Do the anarchists tolerate such an act as Czolgosz's, who killed President McKinley?"

"Most certainly they do. I certainly would," he replied.

EXHIBIT XIV.

And yet the 1st of May looms big with promise. Arrayed against the harbingers of new wars that sit in Paris and Washington, in London, aye and in Berlin, there will stand a working-class that understands, better than it ever understood before, the meaning of proletarian brotherhood, a working-class that is ready, more desperately ready than ever before to give that last full measure of devotion to a cause that has become to them a tremendous, living reality.

Let it be a 1st of May worthy of the greatness of the year that has passed, worthy of the future that lies before us.

The National Government, the capitalist State, had stepped in. The steel trust was in danger of being beaten. It might have to submit before the power of the workers. To save itself it brought into the field the instrument forged by the capitalists to uphold their system of exploitation and oppression, the State, which in spite of all its democratic pretensions is but the physical expression of the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

Workingmen of the United States, the capitalists are challenging you!

They are demonstrating before your very eyes that the governmental power is theirs, for use against you when you dare strike against the enslavement which they force upon you.

The homes of the workingmen of Gary are being raided, their meetings forbidden, their literature confiscated by the military régime which controls Gary. Martial law is supreme. The instruments to destroy lives of the workers are ready.

Are you, workingmen of this country, going to submit meekly to the use of military invasion and force to break your strikes? Shall the iron heel rule unchallenged?

This is the hour to rouse the workers.

Gather in great mass meetings. Bring to the attention of the unenlightened workers the meaning of martial law at Gary. Show them that it is not enough to strike against low wages and bad working conditions, but that the strike must be directed against capitalism.

The workers must capture the power of the State. They must wrest from the capitalists the means through which the capitalist rule is maintained.

The answer to the dictatorship of the capitalists is the dictatorship of the workers. (Printed in the New York Times.)

EXHIBIT XV.

HOW TO HELP.

This paper is distributed by volunteer committees organized in the shops by the workers themselves. Do you like it? Do you think it worth while helping?

If you do, this is how you can help:

Organize a committee in your shop—or among your fellow-workers; fellows you know are “all right”—even if there are only one or two of you. Get together and talk it over. Have a smoker, a lecture of some kind or an entertainment by which you can raise a little money. If you want speakers, write to us.

With this money order a few hundred copies of *The Voice of Labor*, and distribute them to the workers On The Job. If you can sell them, so much the better; if not, give them away.

Increase your committee by adding to it other workers who are interested. Start new committees in other shops.

Use these committees to spread the ideas of Industrial Unionism. Make them the basis for shop committee which will control your jobs, which can deal with the bosses direct, without the interference of reactionary Union officials.

This is your paper. Write us articles. Criticize the paper. Ask for anything you want to know about, and we'll try to tell you. Get subscribers. Get people interested. It is up to you.

If the paper succeeds, we'll make it larger, publish pictures, and keep you thoroughly informed of what is really going on in the labor movement, both here and abroad.

Were you versed as a Congressman ought to be, in sociology and economics, you would know just as well as we do that all of the cities where large groups of Negroes dwell are magazines of race prejudice dynamite, ready to explode at any moment upon lighting the fuse. To be very frank, your own State is an arsenal at this very moment, where something may happen any day to prove that the Negroes of your State are not so satisfied and contented as you think. You had better look around you—you and all your Southern colleagues. You had better cut out your Jim-crow car pretty quick. You had better extend the vote to Negro citizens at once. You had better relinquish your time-worn reaction and make way for democracy unstreaked by race or color lines.

Lastly, you say, “Neither political equality nor social equality is essential to the happiness of the Negro.” On the contrary, we hold that both are not only essential, but inevitable. We have made considerable headway along both lines and the period of acceleration is not far away. And even you, Mr. Byrnes, may yet sit with us in Congress or in Pullman and dining cars in South Carolina.

The old order is passing. It is passing in race relations. It is passing in class relations. The old relations are yielding to the magic touch of the new democracy. They struggle to hold their own, but are doomed to disappointment, as under the corroding tooth of time they wear away and cease to be. The new order of society is upon us. It is sweeping away the system which maintains you, Mr. Byrnes, and all your ilk. With the passing of the system, the representatives of the system will follow in a slow, sad cadence to the cosmic tread of democracy. For us there is hope; for you despair. We have all to gain; you all to lose. As we watch your frantic alarm and your myopic desperation, we remember that the nearness of a ruling class to the end of its reign can be judged by the rashness of statement and the severity of measures to which it resorts.

The sword of Damocles dangles over your so-called white man's domination! Rumblings of revolution are heard in the distance! Nemesis is at hand!

And what did she do, she who put that uniform on them,

And bade them to do and die if needs be for her?

Did she raise an arm to protect them?

Did she raise her voice to frighten away the reptilian thing?

Did she lift a finger or shy a word of rebuke at it?

Did she do anything in defence of her black soldiers?

She did nothing. She sat complacent, indifferent in her seat of power.

She had eyes but she refused to see what Houston was doing to her black soldiers,

She had ears but she stuffed them with cotton,

That she might not hear the murmured rage of her black soldiers.

They suffered alone, they were defenseless against insult and violence,

For she would not see them nor hear them nor protect them.

Then in desperation they smote the reptilian thing.

They smote it as they had smitten before her enemies,
 For was it not her enemy, the reptilian thing, as well as their own?
 They in an hour of madness smote it in battle furiously,
 And it shrank back from their blows hysterical,
 Terror and fear of death seized it, and it cried unto her for help.
 And she, who would not hear her black soldiers in their dire need,
 She, who put her uniform on them, heard their enemy.
 She flew at its call and hanged her brave black soldiers.
 She hanged them for doing for themselves what she ought to have done for
 them,
 She hanged them for resenting insult to her uniform,
 She hanged them for defending from violence her brave black soldiers.
 Loyal to the last were they and obedient.

EXHIBIT XVI.

See in Exhibit No. 10.

When the riots between French and American soldiers and sailors occurred at Brest, the French made it emphatically clear that American Negroes, "camarades," could walk the streets without molestation. To show how well the French people received American Negroes, various estimates place the number of marriages of American Negroes and French girls between one and two thousand. Though most of these marriages were among the bourgeoisie and proletariat, a surprisingly fair percentage was found among women of culture and refinement. It was quite the custom for Negro officers to spend their leaves with French families to whom they had become endeared. Barring misunderstandings, due to differences in language, American Negroes in France enjoyed the highest degree of social equality compatible with current conditions.

While enjoying unrestricted social equality among the French population, Negroes saw among other things: Negro deputies in the French Chamber; French Negro officers commanding French soldiers, white and colored; no color or caste discrimination whatsoever; in short—a country characterized by the fullest social, religious, and political equality for every class and race and nationality.

EXHIBIT XVII.

And once again it has been made but too apparent that not only have the authorities no intention of protecting the Negro in his rights, but that when he beats back the wanton aggression of white mobs these are usually reinforced, aided and abetted by the white Militia or Regulars called out to preserve "law and order." At Knoxville as in Washington the white police and Militia protected only their kind and in many instances they were the worst offenders in the attacks on Negro life and property.

* * * * *

We do not know whether it would be considered seditious to call the President a liar, but one does not need to exercise a great stretch of the imagination to know that the rude and naughty word is finding place to-day on the lips and in the hearts of millions of Irishmen, Egyptians, Indians, Chinese, and Africans, who can by their own experience at the hands of the New Holy Alliance repudiate every democratic argument that Mr. Wilson has so far advanced or is ever likely to advance in favor of the treaty.

BOLSHEVIST!

Bolshevist is an epithet that present-day reactionaries delight to fling around loosely against those who insist on thinking for themselves and on agitating for their rights. We do not know exactly what the reactionaries desire to convey by the term—we do not think they know themselves. However, if, as appears by its frequent use against those who are agitating in the people's interests and for justice for the oppressed, the term is intended to cover those "bad agitators," who are not content that the people shall forever be enslaved in the clutches of the cutthroat, child-exploiting, capitalist-imperialist crew, then assuredly we are Bolsheviks. This epithet nor any other holds any terrors

for us. If to fight for one's rights is to be Bolsheviks, then we are Bolsheviks and let them make the most of it!

And for the further information of the asses who use the term so loosely we will make the statement that we would not for a moment hesitate to ally ourselves with any group, if by such an alliance we could compass the liberation of our races and the redemption of our Fatherland. A man pressed to earth by another with murderous intent is not under any obligation to choose his weapons. He would be a fool if he did not use any or whatever weapon was within his reach. Self-preservation is the first law of human nature.

EXHIBIT XVIII.

WHY WE MUST ORGANIZE.

The Negroes and Industrial Workers of the World have interests not only in common, but interests that are identical. For example, those who largely constitute the Industrial Workers of the World are unskilled. So is the Negro. They are migratory workers and have no political rights. Neither has the Negro. Hence, the Negro and white migratory workers have no political action. The suffrage laws of residence have disfranchised the white migratory worker. The Southern States have disfranchised the Negro, along with the profiteering landlords who move both of them so fast that they can't stay in a house long enough to vote. Hence, there is no other course, then, to adopt but industrial action. * * *

The Negro who is disfranchised must join other voteless workers. The Negro, who is largely the unskilled worker in industry, must join that organization in which the workers are organized upon the basis of industry, thereby giving the skilled and unskilled equality of rights.—The Messenger.

EXHIBIT XIX.

- Here the steel workers catch the tang of the real fight. Here they are recalled to the truth that the steel union and the steel strike is only an incident; at behind it, is the background of a world-wide class struggle and that this struggle will bring victory only when the workers are capable of industrial control. Here they find themselves by the side of I. W. W. miners, I. W. W. lumber jacks, I. W. W. construction workers, I. W. W. transport men. They are no longer bound in a single union; they are in a class organization, and the spirit of class wideness gives the vision of a new society.

Let Foster build his one big union; may it grow, may it increase, may it win its battle with the steel trust. But though we may be called "Orthodox," we of the I. W. W. will still toll for our I. W. W. one big union—and we know that when we have at last built it, we have also built a new society.

EXHIBIT No. 7.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

Alexander Berkman is a Russian subject and not a citizen of the United States. He was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, and is stated to be about 50 years of age. His occupation has been that of an editor and publisher. He has stated that he was single; that his parents were dead. Prior to his arrest in June, 1917, Alexander Berkman was the publisher of The Blast, a publication issued in San Francisco, several issues of which were barred from the mails because they violated section 211 of the Criminal Code, which prohibits in the circulation of the mail matter intended to incite arson, murder, or assassination.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 1" is a copy of a book written by Alexander Berkman in the first person, entitled "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association in 1912. This book contains the story of certain phases of the career of Alexander Berkman, and the title "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" plainly refers to Berkman himself, in which he designated himself as an anarchist. Particular attention is called to the following quotations found in this book:

From pages 4 and 5 of said book I quote the following:

I could no longer remain indifferent. The moment was urgent. The toilers of Homestead had defied the oppressor. They were awakening. But as yet the steel workers were only blindly rebellious. The vision of anarchism alone could imbue discontent with conscious revolutionary purpose; it alone could lend wings to the aspirations of labor. The dissemination of our ideas among the proletariat of Homestead would illumine the great struggle, help to clarify the issue, and point the way to complete ultimate emancipation.

My days were feverish with anxiety. The stirring call, "Labor, awaken!" would fire the hearts of the disinherited, and inspire them to noble deeds. It would carry to the oppressed the message of the new day, and prepare them for the approaching social revolution. Homestead might prove the first blush of the glorious dawn. How I chafed at the obstacles my project encountered! Unexpected difficulties impeded every step. The effort to get the leaflet translated into popular English proved unavailing. It would endanger me to distribute such a fiery appeal, my friend remonstrated. Impatiently I waved aside his objections. As if personal consideration could for an instant be weighed in the scale of the great cause! But in vain I argued and pleaded. And all the while precious moments were being wasted and new obstacles barred the way. I rushed frantically from printer to compositor, begging, imploring. None dared print the appeal. And time was fleeting. Suddenly flashed the news of the Pinkerton carnage. The world stood aghast.

The time for speech was past. Throughout the land toilers echoed the defiance of the men of Homestead. The steel workers had rallied bravely to the defense; the murderous Pinkertons were driven from the city. But loudly called the blood of mammon's victims on the banks of the Monongahela. Loudly it called. It is the people calling. Ah, the people! The grand, mysterious, yet so near and real, people.

From pages 7 and 8 of said book I quote the following:

The people—the toilers of the world, the producers—comprise to me the universe. They alone count. The rest are parasites, who have no right to exist. But to the people belongs the earth—by right, if not in fact. To make it so in fact, all means are justifiable, nay, advisable, even to the point of taking life. The question of moral right in such matters often agitated the revolutionary circles I used to frequent. I had always taken the extreme view. The more radical the treatment, I held, the quicker the cure. Society is a patient; sick constitutionally and functionally. Surgical treatment is often imperative. The removal of a tyrant is not merely justifiable; it is the highest duty of every true revolutionist. Human life, is, indeed, sacred and inviolate. But the killing of a tyrant, of an enemy of the people, is in no way to be considered as the taking of a life. A revolutionist would rather perish a thousand times than be guilty of what is ordinarily called murder. In truth, murder and attentat—an act of political assassination—are to me opposite terms. To remove a tyrant is an act of liberation, the giving of life and opportunity to an oppressed people. True, the cause often calls upon the revolutionist to commit an unpleasant act; but it is the test of a true revolutionist—nay, more, his pride—to sacrifice all merely human feeling at the call of the people's cause. If the latter demand his life, so much the better.

Could anything be nobler than to die for a grand, a sublime cause? Why, the very life of a true revolutionist has no other purpose, no significance whatever, save to sacrifice it on the altar of the beloved people. And what could be higher in life than to be a true revolutionist? It is to be a man, a complete man. A being who has neither personal interests nor desires above the necessities of the cause; one who has emancipated himself from being merely human and has risen above that, even to the height of conviction which excludes all

doubt, all regret; in short, one who in the very inmost of his soul feels himself revolutionist first, human afterwards.

Such a revolutionist I feel myself to be. Indeed, far more so than even the extreme radicals of my own circle. My mind reverts to a characteristic incident in connection with the poet Edelstadt. It was in New York, about the year 1890. Edelstadt, one of the tenderest of souls, was beloved by everyone in our circle, the Pioneers of Liberty, the first Jewish anarchist organization in American soil.

From pages 9 and 10 of the said book I quote the following:

No; the thorough revolutionist needs no such self-doubting preparations. For I know I do not need them. The feeling is quite impersonal, strange as it may seem. My own individuality is entirely in the background; aye, I am not conscious of any personality in matters pertaining to the cause. I am simply a revolutionist, a terrorist by conviction, an instrument for furthering the cause of humanity; in short, a Rakhmetov. Indeed, I shall assume that name upon my arrival in Pittsburgh.

From page 11 of said book I quote the following:

The horrible vision revives in my mind a similar incident, lived through in imagination before. It was the sight of an executed nihilist. The nihilists! How much of their precious blood has been shed; how many thousands of them line the road of Russia's suffering! Inexpressibly near and soul kin I feel to those men and women, the adored, mysterious ones of my youth, who had left wealthy homes and high station to "go to the people" to become one with them, though despised by all whom they held dear, persecuted and ridiculed even by the benighted objects of their great sacrifice.

Webster's New International Dictionary gives the following definition for nihilism:

(a) The doctrine that conditions in the social organization are so bad as to make destruction desirable for its own sake, independent of any constructive program or possibility; (b) the program or doctrine of a Russian party, or succession of parties of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, proposing various schemes of revolutionary reform, and, in reprisal for the persecution of the Russian Government, resorting to terrorism and assassination for the promotion of its ends. (c) In loose usage, violent revolutionary propaganda; terrorism; anarchism.

Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary gives the following definitions of nihilist:

(a) One who denounces existing social and political institutions; a disbeliever in all existing creeds and systems, and bent on the destruction of all; (b) a Russian anarchist; after 1878, often, a terrorist. "The nihilists are revolutionists who would overthrow the existing State by violence. They are divided and subdivided into sects, but generally into two parties—those who would promote open revolt, and those who will resort to the assassination of obstructive officers and of the Emperor himself." J. M. Buckley, *The Midnight Sun*, page 356.

From chapter 4 of said book, entitled "The Attentat," pages 33, 34, and 35, the following is quoted:

The door of Frick's private office, to the left of the reception room, swings open as the colored attendant emerges, and I catch a fleeting glimpse of a black-bearded, well-knit figure at a table in the back of the room.

"Mistah Frick is engaged. He can't see you now, sah," the negro says, handing back my card.

I take the pasteboard, return it to my case, and walk slowly out of the reception room. But quickly retracing my steps, I pass through the gate separating the clerks from the visitors, and, brushing the astounded attendant aside, I step into the office on the left, and find myself facing Frick.

For an instant the sunlight, streaming through the windows, dazzles me. I discern two men at the farther end of the long table.

"Fr—," I begin. The look of terror on his face strikes me speechless. It is the dread of the conscious presence of death. "He understands," it flashes

through my mind. With a quick motion I draw the revolver. As I raise the weapon I see Frick clutch with both hands the arm of the chair and attempt to rise. I aim at his head. "Perhaps he wears armor," I reflect. With a look of horror he quickly averts his face as I pull the trigger. There is a flash, and the high-ceilinged room reverberates as with the booming of cannon. I hear a sharp, piercing cry, and see Frick on his knee, his head against the arm of the chair. I feel calm and possessed, intent upon every movement of the man. He is lying head and shoulders under the large armchair, without sound or motion. "Dead?" I wonder. I must make sure. About 25 feet separate us. I take a few steps toward him, when suddenly the other man, whose presence I had quite forgotten, leaps upon me. I struggle to loosen his hold. He looks slender and small. I would not hurt him; I have no business with him. Suddenly I hear the cry, "Murder! Help!" My heart stands still as I realize that it is Frick shouting. "Alive?" I wonder. I hurl the stranger aside and fire at the crawling figure of Frick. The man struck my hand—I have missed! He grapples with me, and we wrestle across the room. I try to throw him, but, spying an opening between his arm and body, I thrust the revolver against his side and aim at Frick, cowering behind the chair. I pull the trigger. There is a click—but no explosion! By the throat I catch the stranger still clinging to me, when suddenly something heavy strikes me on the back of the head. Sharp pains shoot through my eyes. I sink to the floor, vaguely conscious of the weapon slipping from my hands.

"Where is the hammer? Hit him, carpenter!" Confused voices ring in my ears. Painfully I strive to rise. The weight of many bodies is pressing on me. Now—it's Frick's voice! Not dead? * * *. I crawl in the direction of the sound, dragging the struggling men with me. I must get the dagger from my pocket—I have! Repeatedly I strike with it at the legs of the man near the window. I hear Frick cry out in pain—there is much shouting and stamping—my arms are pulled and twisted, and I am lifted bodily from the floor.

Police, clerks, workmen in overalls surround me. An officer pulls my head back by the hair, and my eyes meet Frick's. He stands in front of me, supported by several men. His face is ashen gray; the black beard is streaked with red, and blood is oozing from his neck. For an instant a strange feeling, as of shame, comes over me; but the next moment I am filled with anger at the sentiment, so unworthy of a revolutionist. With defiant hatred I look him full in the face.

"Mr. Frick, do you identify this man as your assailant?"

Frick nods weakly.

The following is quoted from page 55 of said book:

Not that lying is to be condemned, provided it is in the interest of the cause. All means are justified in the war of humanity against its enemies. Indeed, the more repugnant the means, the stronger the test of one's nobility and devotion. All great revolutionists have proved that. There is no more striking example in the annals of the Russian movement than that peerless nihilist—what was his name? Why, how peculiar that it should escape me just now, I knew it so well. He undermined the Winter Palace, beneath the very dining room of the Tsar. What debasement, what terrible indignities he had to endure in the rôle of the servile, simple-minded peasant carpenter. How his proud spirit must have suffered, for weeks and months—all for the sake of his great purpose. Wonderful man! To be worthy of your comradeship.

From page 57 of this book, the following is quoted:

To be sure, an attentat on a Frick is in itself splendid propaganda. It combines the value of example with terroristic effect.

Following is quoted from page 58 of said book:

As if the mere death of Frick was my object! The very thought is impossible, insulting. It outrages me that even a bourgeois should so meanly misjudge the aspirations of an active revolutionist. The insignificant reptile, Frick—as if the mere man were worth a terroristic effort! I aimed at the many-headed hydra whose visible representative was Frick.

The following is quoted from page 59 of the book:

But this is the first terrorist act in America. The people may fail to comprehend it thoroughly. Yet they will know that an anarchist committed the deed. I will talk to them from the courtroom. And my comrades at liberty

will use the opportunity to the utmost to shed light on the questions involved. Such a deed must draw the attention of the world. This first act of voluntary anarchist sacrifice will make the workingmen think deeply. Perhaps even more so than the Chicago martyrdom. The latter was preeminently a lesson in capitalist justice. The culmination of a plutocratic conspiracy, the tragedy of 1887 lacked the element of the voluntary anarchist self-sacrifice in the interests of the people. In that distinctive quality my act is initial. Perhaps it will prove the entering wedge. The leaven of growing oppression is at work. It is for us, the anarchists, to educate labor in its great mission. Let the world learn of the misery of Homestead. The sudden thunderclap gives warning that beyond the calm horizon the storm is gathering. The lightning of social protest—

The following is quoted from page 61 of the book:

In vain I strove to explain to him: I don't believe in your laws, I don't acknowledge the authority of your courts. I am innocent, morally.

The following, quoted from page 67, of book in question:

Our whole civilization, false to the core as it is, must be destroyed, to be born anew. Only with the abolition of exploitation will labor gain justice. Anarchism alone can save the world.

The following is quoted from page 73 of the book:

The Russian tyrant has frequently attempted to bait his prey with a beautiful woman. Our comrades there are careful not to associate with any woman, except of proved revolutionary character.

The following is quoted from page 91 of the book:

"I address myself to the people," I begin. "Some may wonder why I had declined a legal defense. My reasons are twofold. In the first place, I am an anarchist. I do not believe in man-made law, designed to enslave and oppress humanity. Secondly, an extraordinary phenomenon like an attentat can not be measured by the narrow standards of legality. It requires a view of the social background to be adequately understood. A lawyer would try to defend or palliate my act from the standpoint of the law. Yet the real question at issue is not a defense of myself, but rather the explanation of the deed. It is mistaken to believe me on trial. The actual defendant is society—the system of injustice, of organized exploitation of the people."

The following is quoted from page 497 of the book:

The very exaggeration of my self-estimate was a source of strength; I looked upon myself as a representative of a world movement; it was my duty to exemplify the spirit and dignity of the ideals it embodied. I was not a prisoner, merely; I was an anarchist in the hands of the enemy; as such, it devolved upon me to maintain the manhood and self-respect my ideals signified.

The example of the political prisoners in Russia inspired me, and my staying in the penitentiary was a continuous struggle that was the breath of life.

Was it the extreme self-consciousness of the idealist, the power of revolutionary traditions, or simply the persistent will to be? Most likely it was the fusing of all three that shaped my attitude in prison and kept me alive. And now, on my way to Pittsburgh, I feel the same spirit within me at the threat of the local authorities to prevent my appearance in the city. Some friends seek to persuade me to cancel my lecture there, alarmed at the police preparations to arrest me. Something might happen, they warned me; legally I am still a prisoner out on parole. I am liable to be returned to the penitentiary, without trial, for the period of my commutation time—eight years and two months—if convicted of a felony before the expiration of my full sentence of 22 years.

But the menace of the enemy stirs me from apathy, and all my old revolutionary defiance is roused within me. For the first time during the tour I feel a vital interest in life and am eager to ascend the platform.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 2" is a booklet entitled, "Trials and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman in the United States District Court in the City of New York, July, 1917." This contains the speech of Alexander Berkman before the

court when he was charged with obstructing the draft and upon which charge he was convicted and sentenced to two years in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 3 is a copy of The Blast, dated August 15, 1916, volume 1, No. 17, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 4 written by Alexander Berkman, entitled "Violence and Anarchism." In this article it is stated:

Anarchism is the science of social order, as opposed to existing disorder; of brotherhood, as against present Ishmaelism; of individual liberty and well-being, as opposed to legal oppression, robbery, and universal misery.

In the same article the following appears:

Our graves will speak louder than the voices you strangle! In spite of all the strenuous governmental, capitalistic, and journalistic efforts to misrepresent and suppress anarchists and anarchism—because of those efforts—the people will yet learn the truth.

Attached hereto and marked "Exhibit 4" is a copy of The Blast, dated May 1, 1916, volume 1, No. 12, and especial attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 thereof, entitled "To Hell with the Government," by Alexander Berkman. This whole article breathes with the most radical revolutionary sentiments.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 5" is a copy of the publication entitled "The Blast," dated February 12, 1916, volume 1, No. 5, and especial attention is called to the article appearing on page 4 entitled, "A Word to You," and to an article on page 6 thereof entitled, "Direct Action v. Respectability," which is an attack upon the conservative and sane policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 6 is a copy of The Blast for June 1, 1917, volume 2, No. 5, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 entitled "To the Youth of America," an article written by Alexander Berkman in which the following is set forth:

But if you know anything at all, then you should know that the cry of democracy is a lie and a snare for the unthinking. You should know that a republic is not synonymous with democracy, and that America has never been a real democracy, but that it is the vilest plutocracy on the face of the globe. * * *

If you are not deaf, dumb, and blind, then you know that the American bourgeois democracy and capitalistic civilization are the worst enemies of labor and progress, and that instead of protecting them you should help to fight to destroy them.

In the same issue of The Blast, appears an article entitled "War Dictionary." It is particularly illuminating to note some of the definitions contained in the so-called War Dictionary. Mailed at the same time with this issue of The Blast was a circular letter written upon stationery of The Blast emanating from Berkman's office in which an appeal is made to the revolutionary element of this country. This letter offers to subscribers of The Blast, a copy of The Anarchist's Morality by Kropotkin, the notorious anarchist writer and also the book of Bakunin entitled "God and the State."

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 7 is a copy of The Blast for January 15, 1916, volume 1, No. 1, and especial attention is called to the article on page 2 thereof, entitled "Why the Blast," this article being an open admission of the doctrine of The Blast which was not only constructive but destructive as well.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 8 is a copy of The Blast dated January 22, 1916, volume 1, No. 2, and especial attention is called to an article appearing on page 7 thereof entitled "A blast from Youngstown."

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 9 is a copy of The Blast for February 19, 1916, volume 1, No. 6, and particular attention is called to the article entitled "Reflections," appearing on pages 4 and 5, also to the articles on page 7 as follows: "Involuntary servitude" and "A step toward conscription—same fake."

Attached hereto and marked Exhibit 10 is a copy of The Blast for February 26, 1916, volume 1, No. 7, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 entitled "Patriotism," in which Berkman refers to the American flag as a "striped rag."

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 11 is a copy of The Blast for June 1, 1916, volume 1, No. 14, and particular attention is called to the article appearing therein on page 5 entitled "The New Strike."

The publication entitled "The Blast" hereinbefore mentioned contains the statement that it is a revolutionary labor paper and that Alexander Berkman is the editor and publisher.

There is also attached hereto and marked Exhibit 12 a copy of a publication entitled "Mother Earth Bulletin," dated January 18, 1918, volume 1, No. 4, and especial attention is called to the article appearing on page 8 entitled "The Surgeon's Duty," by Alexander Berkman.

There is also attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 13 a copy of the transcript of the record of the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1917, No. 702, entitled, "Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, plaintiffs in error, v. The United States." Especial attention is called to page 511 of the transcript, upon which appears an article headed "A Gauge of Change," by Alexander Berkman. The following is a quotation from this article:

Do you still ask me what the anarchists have accomplished in the last quarter of a century? Just this: They have taught the people that violence is justified, aye, necessary in the defensive and offensive struggle of labor against capital. They have freed the public mind, to a remarkable extent, from the superstition of bourgeois morality, as is evident from the Union Square demonstration and from the numerous expressions of sympathy and encouragement we are receiving from heretofore indifferent if not unsympathetic sources.

On page 507 of the transcript of the record is set forth Alexander Berkman's open address contained in the edition of Mother Earth for July, 1914, volume 9, No. 5. In referring to the death of three persons named in this article, Berkman makes the following statement:

There is another possibility, and that is that our friends had themselves prepared the infernal machine, bomb, or whatever it was. And, of course, if that is the case, then I am quite sure that they did so with the intention of using it upon the enemy. The facts so far do not prove either the one supposition or the other; but if the latter be correct, then their death as a result of a perhaps premature explosion lies at the door of that iniquitous social system of capitalism which has brought our comrades to the point where persecution, tyranny, and oppression drove them to the climax of resisting by the might of dynamite. If society has forced our friends to resist oppression with violence, then capitalist society is guilty of creating the spirit which can find expression only in such violent methods. Therefore, whatever the actual facts, our comrades are either victims of capitalism or they are martyrs to the cause of labor and of humanity in general.

On page 49 of the transcript of the record appears a letter written by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to the United States District Attorney, under date of June 8, 1917, in which letter the following appears:

* * * We hereby state in the most emphatic manner that we, the undersigned, are anarchists and firm believers in the principles enunciated by the no conscription league.

As pointed out above this letter was signed by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman and contains the specific statement that they are anarchists of their own admission.

At the conclusion of the Berkman trial the Assistant United States Attorney advised the court of the criminal record of Alexander Berkman and referring to page 446 of the transcript of the record it will be found that Alexander Berkman on July 22, 1892, was convicted in Pittsburgh, Pa., upon an indictment charging him with attempted murder. He was sentenced upon that conviction to serve 21 years in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania.

In the testimony given by Berkman in his trial in New York in 1917, he endeavored to show that he did not believe in violence but the record shows that in Pittsburgh in 1892 he went to the office of Henry C. Frick and there shot him down in cold blood and attempted to do so without giving him a chance to fight for his life.

EXHIBIT No. 8.

[Novomirsky—Manifesto of anarchists—Communists—Published by the Federation of Unions of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada. New York, 1910. Price 8 cents.]

THE STRUGGLE OF CLASSES.

The collective struggle for existence lies at the foundations of social life. The organization and history of the long and mighty struggle is also society in its development.

In order to make this struggle successful, people must harmonize their efforts as much as possible; in other words, adapt their work to their instruments as much as possible. These relations of people to the combat with nature are of an economic or productional character. Their form depends upon the instruments of toil, and upon the degree of development of the productive powers of society.

Every form of production corresponds to the precise form of its appropriation; that is, to the precise form of property ownership which is preserved by the governing system of law.

The productional relations of people depend but little upon human will, inasmuch as they constitute the semielementary process of adaptation to lifeless instruments of labor.¹ But the forms of prop-

¹ In an issue of the present work in 1905, the author, in treating of the question of estimating the degree of influence of the powers of production upon the historical development of society, undoubtedly was still under the influence of bourgeois and social democratic economists; whereas in his latest work, "From the Program of Syndical Anarchism," editions of 1907, he already appraised this influence from the anarchistic point of view, directly stating, on page 15: "We do not regard the instruments, but the owner of the instruments, as the maker of history—the conscious activity of man; they fall (come) from man." According to such a deduction, the views of the author should have changed concerning the rôle of the productional forces, namely, productional forces do not govern man, but man governs the forces of production, adapting the instruments of labor to his purposes. Publisher.

erty ownership are entirely the products of the destruction of the existing law.

In primitive times, instruments of labor were very simple, and economic conditions were equally simple, and the division of labor into organization and production was in the most embryonic stage.

But when the powers of production developed, naturally the organizational and productional functions were separated. Society was divided into classes. The productive class carried on a struggle immediately with nature, changing and assimilating it by an expenditure of their energy. The organizational class guides people in this struggles, and organizes their relation to production.

In the course of time the producing class, bearing the heavy burden of toil by reason of their ignorance and downtrodden condition, became subservient to the organizational class, who performed their social functions as an enlightened and powerful people. Society was divided into two hostile classes—the persecutors and the persecuted, the exploiters and the exploited, lords and slaves.

Every governing class naturally wishes to maintain for all time its privileged position. With this purpose it must firmly defend the existing form of ownership and its outward expression—a given system of law.

But how can this be done? First of all, it is necessary to consecrate, in the eyes of the persecuted ones, the existing conditions of law and economics, and various religious or philosophical systems of morals are created or developed. For this purpose force is needed, and courts, police, and armies are created. Thus does Government inevitably grow up.

So long as social organization fulfills its basic function of co-operating in a collective struggle with nature, and the governing class proves itself to be an actual organizer of production, society lives and peacefully develops. But sooner or later technical improvements lead to revolution on the lives of production. In order that there be a normal functionation of society, there must be a corresponding change in the form of property ownership. But this necessary change comes in conflict with the interests of the exploiting class and its formidable organized force—governmental authority.

As a result, the form of appropriation of the product (that is, the form of ownership) finds itself in conflict with the form of its production (that is, with economic conditions). All the advantage is on the side of the governing class, and all the suffering is the lot of the oppressed. Society ceases to be an organization for collective struggle with nature, and becomes the cause of degeneration of the working masses.

That is not all. The governing class not only became an obstacle to the further development of society, but made itself a socially useless parasite. Its destiny was to organize general production. With the change of the conditions of production as a consequence of mechanical improvements, this rôle of organizer was relegated to another social group, arising from the ranks of the hitherto homogeneous masses of the oppressed.

Then the class struggle assumed an especially violent form. A new organizational class entered the struggle with the old in order

to wrest from it the class dictatorship or political hegemony. As the old régime led the masses of the people through great hardships, they would gladly follow new organizing leaders, and with their blood, help to overthrow their old lords, but alas! only in order to place new burdens upon their shoulders and begin the harsh struggle anew.

So, the objective class struggle has as its final aim the creation of new forms of ownership for new forms of products; that is a struggle for right. But with a change in economic conditions, old creeds and ideals wither and die, and a new morality grows up among the oppressed; the struggle of classes subjectively assumes the character of a struggle for new ideals and a new morality.

The class struggle can not enter upon nor end in a compromise like its fountain-head social organization, the division of society into exploiting organizers and exploited producers. There are necessarily opposing interests and opposing ideals among the struggling classes. Their struggle is the struggle of two worlds, the past and the future; the old world must perish in order to make place for the new.

The entire historical life of humanity is written in the blood of the struggles of classes. In it the East pined away and the classic world was stifled.

After centuries of the most savage class struggle, Roman society lapsed into a dull by-lane, where it has writhed convulsively to this day where it was not wiped out by innumerable masses of fair-haired barbarians.

It had to perish, because not one social class could take upon itself the initiative of regenerating the antiquated forms of property ownership corresponding to new conditions of production arising from the development of productional forces.

As a matter of fact, slavery as a form of ownership finished its career, for it was no longer possible even to feed the producing slaves, and the dominating class were transformed into the parasites of to-day, as even the organization of production passed into the hands of intelligent slaves. No further development was possible in the line of slavery, and it was necessary to free the slaves; that is, to change the form of ownership. But a full emancipation of the slaves in view of the low productivity of labor would have been tantamount to the ruin of the dominating class. It is clear that they, one and all, as a class, could not take upon themselves the initiative steps for their own ruin.

But the slaves, owing to their ignorance, diversity of race, and scattered condition, did not perfect a clear class consciousness and class organization which could assume the grand task of social revolution.

The impulse came from without. Decrepit Roman society fell beneath the blows of barbarians and their allied slaves, as formerly the East had fallen under the blows of Rome. Still class exploitation did not disappear, but only changed its form; slavery was replaced by serfdom.

Centuries of technical development again drew from the midst of the one oppressed mass of people a new social class—that of the bourgeoisie—which, in fact, became the organizer of production, and perverted the feudal nobleman into just such a parasite as the slaveholder of old. But hunger, suffering, and the revolt of the people

well showed that the feudal form of ownership acted as a brake upon bourgeois production. The fight and triumph of the bourgeoisie over the nobility again changed the form of exploitation; the serf became a "free" laborer, and the feudal form of ownership gave place to that of the bourgeoisie. The dominant class were no longer in position to feed their feeder workers. Unemployment, crises, famines, and sickness among the working classes tell of this too eloquently. But the bourgeoisie itself already became parasitical, as did the former nobility. The ruin of the bourgeois class—that is, a new change in ownership—became inevitable. The solemn hour of the great social revolution had struck.

THE EMPIRE OF CAPITAL.

The contemporary bourgeois form of appropriation, private ownership, grew out of the earlier bourgeois form of production, out of so-called handicraft.

But the great technical revolution of the eighteenth century radically changed all forms of industry. Small artisans with their primitive implements of labor could not compete with the mighty implements of large capitalists. Step by step, big capital with its machinery has forced its way into every corner of small industry.

The free artisan had to give up his accustomed workbench with the accustomed atmosphere of family labor, and subject himself to the harsh commands of capital. Labor lost all its charm of variety; the individual workman degenerated into a part of a soulless machine. Neither the former frequent holidays, nor the former short working days, nor the high wages of old! Capital has the tendency to seize within its cruel talons the entire life of the worker, and to turn day, night, and week day into one continuous working time; into one continuous penal servitude. At the same time the capitalist dreams to himself of a lowering of the working wage to the limit beyond which death begins.

Capital has but one longing; uninterruptedly and boundlessly to increase the number of additions to its treasures; the quantity of squeezed-out and unpaid-for toil. Once the machine did work accessible to all; capital drew whole throngs of women and children into its sanctuary, where the sweat of delicate women and the hands of children were transmuted into lace and tissue. But the influx of these new rivals still further lowered the worker's wage, shockingly lengthened the working day, rendered the condition of the laborer still more precarious and hopeless. The terrible death rate, incredible increase of occupational diseases, mental dulling, and moral hardening, formed a marvelous culmination to this brilliant capitalistic progress.

But it is not sufficient to squeeze all the working force possible from the lifeblood of the workman, the capitalist must sell the wares created by labor. And here, after a shameless, wasteful expenditure of human forces of slaves of to-day, a senseless struggle for the sale of the products of blood, and a competition, begins between the capitalists themselves. And in this conflict the richer scores a victory and snatches wealth from the hands of his vanquished rival.

Crises and colonial wars come as results of this insatiable thirst to produce and sell as much as possible. The market is inevitably

filled with wares which can not be bought by the impoverished masses of the people. A powerful slump in prices begins. The capitalists curtail or suppress production and commercial and financial settlements. Whole masses of workers are left on the street without employment and threatened with hunger, poverty, and crime. This terror continues so long as the superfluous masses of goods are not sold, and the prices do not rise and the equilibrium is not restored; then the crisis gradually gives way to the daybreak in order again to make place for a still more prolonged, profound, and more severe crisis.

There can be but one means of protection against crises with capitalists: The opening of new markets. And the capitalist ransacks the whole world with fire and sword in order to gain, not glory—oh, no!—but a market. Woe unto the laggard nation that does not wish to comprehend the magnanimous impulses of the enlightened bourgeoisie to endow and bestrew it with his wares! The “honor” of a cultured nation demands revenge, and bayonets and cannons are needed to compel “barbarians” to use products of national industries. In this way capitalism inevitably leads to cruel colonial wars.

In order to keep for themselves the markets which they have gained by plunder and violence, and restrain the growing revolt in the spirit of the working class, the bourgeoisie have imposed such a heavy burden of militarism and marinism on the shoulders of the people that society will be stifled if it is not liberated by labor's revolution.

Crises, unemployment, and hunger, a tremendous percentage of mortality among the workers, an intolerable burden of taxation, recruiting for the Army, which kills in man all that is free, proud, and enlightened—prostitutes—these are what the bourgeoisie have brought to the world. But it not only destroyed the well being of the laboring masses, it rudely invaded all the recesses of human life and soiled and debased it. It turned the comfortable workshop into dirty manufacturing barracks, and the family into prostitution; made the restless spirit of gain the very soul of life, war of all against all—these are its laws.

It was not ashamed to bring falsehood and vice into that sacred temple of science where not long ago it most reverentially offered sacrifices to the god of reason. Its lackeys, hired scholars, began a shameful sermon on religion and metaphysical idealism, to create and restore the most senseless system of morals; they began to raise from the dust all that which itself had thrown so insolently on the ground in time of youth. And all this merely in order to poison the working class with spiritual venom, to lull their consciousness with metaphysical opium, and, under the protection of God and morality, maintain their cruel dominion, the empire of cash and profit.

Without doubt the world expected a new, complete barbarism; an incredible growth of wealth upward, and a frightful misery downward. Gigantic development of scientific knowledge in a small, privileged circle, and boundless ignorance among the masses. On the one hand, the growth of man's dominion over nature, and on the other hand the swift degeneration of the working class.

But, happily for humanity and culture, forces were born in the bosom of contemporary society which must and can put an end to the empire of capital. And these forces grow with every day. No one can stop their growth. Against them, prison, army, and false

science are powerless. Slowly and faithfully they are blowing up the very roots of the present order of things. These forces are the consciousness and organization of the working class.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

All the sufferings and torments of former oppressed toiling classes could not give full freedom to the toiler because the producing forces were too feeble for a full economic equality, that is, a completely free organization of labor, to bring humanity forward and not backward, and because the toiling class were not sufficiently developed in order themselves to undertake the direction of production. But, when organizing production, the organizers inevitably placed themselves at its head, economic inequality sooner or later led them to political dominion, to a class dictatorship. Were not the ancient patriarchs generally useful, and persons necessary to production? And yet, out of these peaceful patriarchs grew the Greek and Roman aristocrats. And could European society have dispensed with the profoundly useful activities of the feudal landlords, who, in the beginning of the Middle Ages, built mills and highways, kept peaceable toilers and lived no better than the lowest laborer? But in the course of time they degenerated into the vilest, most presumptuous, useless, and despotic caste. And our lewd, licentious, cruel bourgeoisie? Was it not born in the bosom of our peaceful city workshops? All history irrefutably convinces us that where there is an organizational group, sooner or later an economic inequality will be created, which inevitably crowns the organizers with political dominion. Only a free anarchistic organization of society gives room for the formation of new classes of the oppressed. But it was capitalism only that first made the terms for the complete liberation of the working class.

The gigantic implements of the present have increased the productivity of labor a thousandfold. Any country now produces, or can produce, enough to satisfy even the demands of luxury for all society. And a rational agriculture could feed one hundred times the present population. Only absolute ignorance or blind devotion to the interests of the dominating class can deny the fact that the present immense productive forces render communism perfectly possible.

But what shall we say of our means of communication, our theaters, museums, universities, and clubs? How much intellectual and artistic enjoyment can they afford to a liberated humanity? Yes; only at present is there a material foundation for a complete emancipation of labor; for a complete emancipation of the sacred human personality.

Capital did still more; it created that social force which can and must assume the task of destroying bourgeois society—it created the proletariat of the present. And not only created it but aroused its consciousness and drove it to the work of class organization.

In the nature of capital lies the tendency to level all the working class before the despotic will of capital. A uniform working day, a uniform hour for beginning and ceasing work, a uniform discipline, the same exploiter, and almost a uniform wage! All this involuntarily develops among workers the idea of the solidarity of their interests, and awakens a mutual, brotherly sympathy. Moreover, capi-

talism concentrates the industrial and commercial working classes in some places, and thereby immeasurably increases their force, renders them masters of industrial centers, and, it may boldly be said, masters of nearly all countries.

Mutual work, mutual struggle, mutual sufferings create among the working classes noble dreams and the consciousness of their great social significance and high historic mission. And the growth of this consciousness is parallel with that of capitalism.

When capitalism was still weak in its development it represented something casual and transitory. The struggle of the working classes is still of a casual and transitory nature. We then see only solitary outbursts from the laborers, often because of silly nothings. At this stage of capitalism the struggle of the laborers is purely elementary. They have no conception of social antagonism. They attribute their hard condition to abuse by the boss or master. It is quite clear that the idea does not enter their heads of forming any sort of labor organization to protect their interests; you see they have the haziest sort of conception of those interests. In order to remove this or that "abuse" by the master it seems sufficient to punish well the guilty party—the factory must be burned, machines broken, the master murdered, but a permanent organization is superfluous.

But the further development of capitalism establishes, by the general conditions of labor, also the position of laborers in a large number of enterprises and in whole branches of industry. Separate and particular trifles are relegated to the rear; the matter of primary importance for the whole mass of workers is to acquire for them common conditions of labor and common pains of exploitation. The time has come for mass strikes or partial ones. Then will be buried the former naive, Utopian view of capitalism and social conditions; then for the first time will mature the idea of the solidarity of workers, or at least of their professional solidarity. Elementary strikes will give way to thorough ones. Workmen's battling professional organizations will be created.

In the subsequent development of capitalism, with the complete triumph of big production, machinery will forge the chains, binding the worker to the capitalist, the master and sovereign of the country. Society will be converted into one prodigious factory, where the same capitalist will be in command, with the same oppressed and crushed worker. Disputes between separate groups of exploiters will disappear more and more. Industrial capitalists, merchants, financiers, and agriculturists will turn into one mass, one closely united class, living upon the lifeblood of workers. But differences among the workers will also disappear; distinctions and rivalry between skilled and unskilled laborers will die out; and intelligent workers will be converted into real proletarians. Then it will not be a struggle of separate groups of workmen with separate capitalists; proletariat will battle with bourgeois and labor with capital. At that stage of development there will be an enormous national and international union of workmen and the idea will mature of a united and world-wide organization of labor. That will be the epoch of general strikes.

What will there be further?

One must be blind in order not to see how new and recent phases of the struggle of the working class are outlining themselves on the horizon.

Through a general strike within the bounds of the existing order of things an eight-hour, or even seven-hour working day, may be secured, as well as considerable increase in pay. But further mechanical improvements, the growth of the army of the unemployed, the entry of new capitalistic competitors into the arena, crises, increased cost of articles of prime necessity, the growth of the burden of taxation, will almost nullify the significance of the amelioration heretofore won by conquest. It is imperatively necessary for workers to throw themselves against the barrier—against capitalism. They must then understand that it is not a matter of the capitalists of one country or of the whole world, but of the capitalistic order of things itself. Then the direct purpose of the struggle will be social revolution, and the program of the day will be the destruction of private ownership by all the means of production.

In that manner the proletariat with their revolution will remove the fundamental abnormality of present-day society—a private form of appropriation where there is a general form of production, and private ownership on the basis of collectivism.

But what effect will the form of property have upon articles of consumption? Will they remain as private property, or will they become the property of all? In other words, in the future will production alone be general, or will consumption also be likewise? Upon this point there is dispute between collectivism and communism.

COMMUNISM INEVITABLE.

What lies at the foundation of communism? A clear and exact principle: To everyone according to his needs. That means that all members of labor societies have the same right to the satisfaction of all their daily necessities. We have already stated that present society made communism possible. It is now necessary to show only that every other form is impossible, and that communism is necessary.

In fact, what does collectivism say? "To everyone according to his labor," or, in other words, "To everyone the product of his labor."

What a pitiful Utopia!

To every one according to his labor! But how measure the quantity of labor of separate individuals? Every branch of labor is so crowded, so indissolubly linked with the rest that it is quite impossible to determine what share of the product belongs to each of them. How will the general product be distributed upon which, not two or three branches of industry, but all mankind, not only in the present, but also in the past, were employed?

Now, in every item of present production there is concealed an immense amount of work of all past generations. More than that: How is to be determined what belongs to every member of society?

If labor is to be measured by the hours of work, how is the working time to be measured? Is it necessary to admit that all aspects of labor and all hours of labor are equal?

If all hours of labor are equal on one and the same working day, all wages will also be equal. Now, this plainly shows that every member of society will have the right to an equal share of the general wealth. This is a round-about recognition of communism, which anarchists are openly aiming at.

If, then, the aspects of labor are not equal among themselves how will the social democratic leaders establish relations between them? Now they carry on a merciless competition in an elementary manner. But that, now, will disappear along with private ownership of means of production. Who, then, will establish relations between the labor of the weaver, the tailor, and the teacher? When and by whom shall be found a criterion for an appraisal of all the varieties of human labor? Nowhere and by no one except on arbitrary law-making authority.

The law determines by whom, where, how, and how much work shall be done. Thus the law establishes the relations between all aspects of labor; that is, who should get such and such pay for his labor.

It is clear that from the pay of each workman the Government will deduct (1) the expense of maintaining the law-making authority and the executive officers; (2) means for maintaining those incapable of working; (3) the expense of keeping up public institutions, and (4) for compensation higher than average wages for those kinds of work which the law recognizes as more complicated. How much ignorance and impudence are needed to declare that under such circumstances everyone should be paid according to his work! Now, with the same right, the present-day bourgeois may claim that in bourgeois society every workman should be paid according to his work, according to the amount of energy expended.

In what way, then, is the renowned collectivism distinguished from capitalism? The wages of labor remain untouched, the working day is regulated by law, economic inequality remains, and, most important of all, there still remains the most shameful institution of the times—hired labor. What has been changed? In all probability wages have been somewhat increased. That is all. Will unemployment, that scourge of the workman, disappear? Not at all. You see the State will pay only for work that it recognizes as generally useful at the time. For that reason it is not impossible that many workmen will not have work because of a plethora of labor in this or that branch of work. For if the State will pay every laborer for any work that he likes, it will be quite unable to regulate production, and can not prevent nonproduction. Production will fall into an absurd chaos such as not anarchy, but its foulest caricatures, can show.

The State can escape this chaos in only two ways: Either by not paying superfluous workers, and in that way forcing them to seek other lines of labor, where working forces are needed, or by compelling them to take up this or that employment.

The first means completely restores contemporary capitalism, and the second goes farther and resurrects all the charms of slavery. The only difference is that now the employer or proprietor of labor is voluntarily selected by the people by means of a general election, and their yoke will be all the more lasting because they will content themselves with the fiction of national self-sovereignty. The historical irony will be repeated which attached to the Roman proleta-

riat when by law they were considered the rulers of the world, and overlords of all the earth and all nations, but who, themselves, lived but half-fed upon the bounty of their own masters, the authorities of the state. Many things in common with the Roman Republic are promised us by our future socialistic republic. The radical difference will consist only in the fact that the Roman State was constructed upon a foundation of slavery, but the socialistic state will be founded upon hired labor. We can, therefore, say with confidence that collectivism is only a further development of capitalism. And capital already feels the need of a nationalization of land. The nationalization of the remaining means of production is being completed little by little by the trusts. Collectivism crowns this elementary process and delivers all means of production to one trust, selected by the people. But as the slave could not be made free by giving him the right to choose his master, so the hired laborer remains a slave of the present time, although he obtains the right to choose his employers. Collectivism is merely State capitalism. The workman becomes a complete slave to his master state, since the only barrier to the arbitrary will of the present-day capitalist vanishes, namely, competition between the capitalists themselves. The State becomes the sole owner of capital, the sole employer, and the sole holder of authority. The authority of owners, judges, and police will be concentrated in the hands of a single monster—the State, omnipresent and almighty.

It is clear that the judges, and functionaries, and in general the so-called intelligent workers, would obtain an unprecedented influence. From the feudal aristocracy of the sword and the bourgeois aristocracy of the sack of gold would grow the new aristocracy: that of knowledge. How terrible this yoke would be it is difficult now to imagine.

Fortunately, collectivism shows itself to be just such a utopianism as feudalism. The new social revolution would wind up with this new form of slavery, and there would come that social order of things which alone can be the lasting successor of capitalism, namely, complete communism; that is, common ownership of all means of production, and of products for consumption.

But communism in the economic field must inevitably be crowned with anarchy in the field of politics. Therefore, along with complete destruction of private ownership must go complete destruction of the state.

THE STATE.

What is the State? We already know the answer to this question. The State is an organization for the preservation of existing forms of ownership; that is, of given forms of exploitation. In all times from the era of the Orient down to our day, class society rested upon the state. China, Egypt, India, Judea, Rome, and Greece, the municipal communes of the Middle Ages, free cities, monarchies—and republics—in a word, all the societies of history worked out only certain forms of state authority only as class antagonism was developed within them. The diversity of forms of state corresponded to the various conditions of warring classes.

But Oriental despotism, the city commune, and free Novgorod, like every state, have one fundamental task—to preserve the existing

form of property ownership. How is this to be done? There is but one means; to prevent and punish any attempt upon it.

This is attained first of all by the gradual building up of a whole system of mutual binding norms, a system of law. Upon this basis sooner or later will arise a special organ—the lawgiving authority. In societies having a ruling class few in number, concentrated in one center, such an organ consists of the entire ruling class altogether, assembled in common council. In more extensive societies, with the deepening of the class struggle, the lawgiving function passes to the leader of the ruling class—the king or some prominent group of families from among the lords. In bourgeois society, the official law-giver is the sovereign nation, the actual assembly of delegates of the bourgeoisie parliament, the same as officially in bourgeois society every man draws from the national wealth proportionately to his general usefulness, but as a matter of fact all wealth is in the hands of the bourgeoisie alone; as in production the workman spends his life only in order to augment the material might of the bourgeoisie, so in parliament the representatives of workers only strengthen the authority of the political dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Besides the law-making authority an organ is needed whose function is to decide questions as to whether the law has been violated, and which law. This is the court. Whether the judicial authority is chosen by the ruling class by means of the ballot or by lot, whether appointed by a king or elected by the whole people, it can have but one task to perform: that of punishing every violation of the existing law.

The crowning feature of the State is its executive authority in which is vested the material power which, day in and day out, forestalls, or cuts off and punishes. It is government, with police, spies, gendarmes and armies. A distinct organization of governmental authority at various times and places arose only from the necessity of the best possible adaptation to given social conditions.

All these parts of State authority are bound to each other with indissoluble ties, like the links of one chain. Where there exists the smallest embryo of authority, even if only in the form of mutually binding laws, sooner or later through natural necessity the whole State machine will arise: at first the court, and then a more or less mitigated form of government, and subsequently also a suitable form of organized forces. Whether the laws shall simply be called rules for regulating production, or whether the Government shall bear the modest title of central industrial committee, or any sort of social group is tagged with the name even of noble citizens—preservers of the legal order—it is all the same; we have before us an embryo which will soon turn into a real State vampire. Therefore, negation of the army and police is negation also of government, court and law.

We see such a complete absence of State authority only in primitive society, where there was no division into classes; that is, property was held in common. There we see no laws; customs take their place. There is no court, because all society shares the customs as well as property. There is also no executive authority, as there is no foundation for it—laws and courts. So, in spite of all conscious and unconscious idealists of the fist and the police, mankind lived and de-

veloped for thousands of years and carried on the same hard struggle with nature without any beneficent state authority.

The history of the State is the history of the enslavement of the toiling masses, the history of oppression, plunder, and violence. The State has always crushed every phase of human activity with its heavy paws. Under its poisonous breath art has withered, poetry has died, and noble aspirations to liberty and light have fruitlessly perished.

Examine the history of mankind; if you come upon some bright oasis you are at once convinced that it was a time of absence or weakening of the State authority. Why was the development of the oriental people arrested so early at a certain stage? Because with a recrudescence of class contradictions there was created and strengthened a powerful State authority, which killed all impulses toward spiritual creative power and strangled culture. When did the golden age of Hellenism reach its zenith? When the municipal commune, although living off the lifeblood of slaves, in its own midst knew no class contradictions and had no need to exert forcible authority. But as soon as deep antagonism manifested itself in the municipal commune a State authority grew up and Hellenism began to decay. Rome never knew an independent culture which could be compared with that of the Greeks, because the stern authority of the State, which from earliest times pressed upon the Roman people, killed free creative power. And so the Roman ruling class drew its material sustenance by shamelessly sucking the lifeblood of the slaves of the whole world. So it also lived on the spiritual food of conquered nations. Only one thing was created by this people—a State product par excellence—this was Roman law, which ever afterwards served as an instrument of oppression, enslavement of toilers, and justification of every sort of violence and ferocity. But how about the municipal communes and free cities at the beginning of the Middle Ages? What was the cause of their sudden and marvelous bursting into bloom? It was because, in their struggle with feudalism, the ruling class needed the constant and active assistance of the people, and therefore created a weak and hardly noticeable State authority. But as soon as the State was strengthened in the communes their death warrant was signed and they died a spiritual death; the songs of the troubadours were hushed; the wonderful national art died; everything began to wither away and was extinguished. And how do you explain the cultural preeminence of England except by the fact that she never experienced such ferocious State authority as did continental Europe?

The State kills human personality and thereby tears up the noble roots of intellectual and moral life. There are no free people in the State—they are all officials and subjects. Its ideal is to make subjects even of its officials, in order that all may be bound to its infamous chariot and to extirpate every possibility of a social revolution.

In Rome the ruling class made a great effort to take as their pay a whole class of people, namely, the Roman proletariat, and in that manner really delayed their downfall. But Rome realized only a part of the State ideal, for behind the bribed proletariat there remained still one class, the slaves, who could not be taken into the State service, because no one would be left to feed the aristocrats and give "bread and circus" to the imbruted populace. The union of this class with the barbarians destroyed Roman society.

The bourgeoisie likewise make every effort to bind the proletariat in the bourgeois State and in that way to bribe and corrupt them. It attacks intelligent proletarians directly into the State service. It tries to bind the industrial workers by means of State insurance. The State attempts to take over the greatest possible number of enterprises and become the master of the greatest possible masses of workers. But it directs all these efforts to make the revolutionary elements of present society themselves interested in its existence; with this end in view it creates the so-called "State socialism" and invites workmen to take part in legislative activities. In that way the social democracy, with its parliamentary tactics, is forging chains which bind the working class and make them a tool of the bourgeois State.

But the ideal of enslavement by the State realizes only the socialistic State, where all are officials; even more, "soldiers of industry."¹

It is difficult to imagine a more powerful State or to think of a more fearful slavery. Woe unto mankind if the proletariat should sell their sacred right to freedom of personality for the mess of pottage of rude, beastly, herdlike ease. No! The proletariat will not place upon themselves the fearful yoke of State authority, for it is not only useless but hurtful to them.

The State is unnecessary, because, with the extermination of classes, its principal function will cease—the preservation of the dominion of one class. All the other functions can well be performed by voluntary sectional associations. The posts, telegraphs, and lines of transportation not only do not gain through State monopoly, but lose much, as the State subjects them to its interests of dominion and exploitation. Still more does public education lose through the interference of the State, which by its officialism, bureaucracy, ignoring of individuality, and its authoritativeness instills an actual poison into the spiritual food of the people and nourishes their prejudices, which constitute the greatest obstacle to their own liberation. And the universities flourish the more as they keep the more distant from the path of the spider of State. Even in its own special field, in military art, the State is powerless, and the progress of military science is connected only with free society, as not one genius has yet come forth from the patented universities and academies. Authority kills initiative, without which nothing great can be accomplished.

Why is the State necessary to the proletariat? It can not oppress anyone, as the triumph of the proletariat is the death of classes and privileges. To preserve the existing form of property ownership is an absurdity where complete communism dominates; that is, the property of everybody. To protect the established order from change is repugnant to the fundamental interests of laboring society, which can gain only by the uninterrupted development of new forms of communal life. Who, then, in the future will need State authority, where it can only do harm, bring with it the vice of love of authority, become a menace to national and individual liberty, and kill the fearless impulses of human personality?

But perhaps it may be necessary as a guide to production! What narrowness of view! Would it, then, be possible to direct production without guiding the producers? Is it, then, possible to "manage things" without managing the masters of things—people? It is

¹ End of Chapter II, "Kom Man."

clear that the innocent "management of production" conceals within itself just such a form of domination as capitalism or slavery, as we have already shown. Free labor organizations can abolish overproduction and underproduction by means of free agreements, just as trusts very often do now. Why can capitalists regulate production excellently without the assistance, and sometimes behind the back, of the Government, by means of simple contracts, while labor organizations are unable to do the same? Why should not well-arranged statistics under present means of intercourse still further lighten the task of regulating production?

Take a general view of the industry of the present day. Fundamentally, it represents a whole system of labor organizations. Every one of them having turned out a mass of products, turns them over to a person who is entirely superfluous in production—the capitalist. From him the wares go into the hands of a large number of middlemen, leaving a good share of profit with each, and finally fall partly into the hands of the organizations who produced them and partly into the hands of other workmen's associations. Why should the product follow such a roundabout way instead of the naturally direct route to the producing labor organizations? Private ownership of property requires this. It is plain what it costs only the labor organizations of the present day to refrain from prejudice against private ownership and to recognize the fact that everything belongs to everybody; and as soon as the whole pack of parasites goes overboard, hunger, unemployment, and hired labor will disappear, and with the disappearance of capitalism, as the world will be merely a union of labor organizations, society will become communistic and anarchistic.

Who can hinder this? Only one force—the State. For the bourgeoisie themselves, few in number and cowardly, could not offer even the slightest opposition to the multitudinous, closely joined, and revolutionary proletariat. That is why the destruction of the State means the principal work in the formation of the new society. We do not wish to make some sort of a new world. No! We wish to remove only such obstacles as hinder present-day society from passing peacefully into another phase, and manifestly drive it to new barbarism and ruin. We see that the beginnings of communism and anarchy have already fully matured in the bosom of present-day society, but government forcibly maintains the present order of poverty, injustice, and ignorance; and naturally the slogan suggests itself, "Down with the State! Long live anarchy!"

OUR TACTICS.

What should be our means of carrying on the fight?

The tactics of the working class should not be a matter of invention or contrivance, nor imparted from without, any more than their ideal, the overthrow of capital and the State. No! It must be revealed in the bosom of present-day society. It is necessary carefully to learn where are those elements, the development of which will destroy present society and create a new one. Having discovered these elements, we must with our tactics consciously hasten their development.

As the labor organizations of the present are the germs of future free associations, as the natural weapon of the laboring class, the strike is the seed of our tactics.

We see that the proletariat, along with the development of capitalism, more and more broaden and deepen their struggle, partial strikes lose their significance and mass strikes pass into general ones.

What must we do, the vanguard of the proletariat? We must consciously hasten the elementary movement of the struggle of the working class; we must convert small strikes into general ones, and convert the latter into an armed revolt of the laboring masses against capital and State.

At the time of this revolt we must at the first favorable opportunity proceed to an immediate seizure of all means of production and all articles of consumption, and make the working class the masters in fact of all general wealth. At the same time we must mercilessly destroy all remains of governmental authority and class domination, liberating the prisoners, demolish prisons and police offices, destroy all legal papers pertaining to private ownership of property, all field fences and boundaries, and burn all certificates of indebtedness—in a word, we must take care that everything is wiped from the earth that is a reminder of the right to private ownership of property; to blow up barracks, gendarme, and police administration, shoot the most prominent military and police officers must be the important concern of the revolting working people. In the work of destruction we must be merciless, for the slightest weakness upon our part may afterwards cost the working class a whole sea of needless blood. In completely destroying all vestiges of the dominion of capital and State, we must try as soon as possible to start production upon new foundations. That is, extend the existing labor organizations and their unions, and give production over to them. Every city should begin the work separately, and proclaim a commune; that is, the union of all free labor organizations will become masters of the city. At the first favorable opportunity the city commune will get in touch and establish relations with the surrounding village communes. The extension of the union and the unification of all communes into one grand national and international federation is a matter of further development.

But is such a general strike possible now? Is it not a Utopian effort to call for a general and simultaneous stoppage of work, production, and commerce? Skepticism upon this point is founded upon a simple misunderstanding of that close interdependence which exists between all branches of toil; hardly any one can work without the others; and a stoppage of work in some fields of industry must inevitably cause a strike in all the others.

We are asked: Does a universal strike have any chance of success? How can the entire laboring class be fed, even if but for a few days? Would not such a strike inevitably end in a complete defeat of the workers? Undoubtedly a general strike system of "folded arms" would have to suffer a complete failure. But we will not summon the working class to a social revolution in order to strengthen in them a respect for private ownership of property created by their bloody toil. On that day, when all workers go forth upon the street, we will say to them: "See how all productive and commercial life is stilled, how dark and dismal stand the silent mills, manufactories, workshops, and warehouses from that minute when we stopped work. Who

created all this wealth if not you workers? To whom should it belong if not to you, the proletariat? What, then—is it possible that you will suffer and starve in the midst of this sea of products created by your toil? Throw away your slavish respect for the law; take everything you need! Feed all the hungry! And everybody put on clean, holiday attire! Destroy your dirty cellars and move into the luxurious palaces of the idle rich! Whosoever shall hinder you, remove him from your path as a foe of your freedom!" As is evident, we anarchists have beautiful means of feeding the working class who stop work.

But they may tell us that the advantages of a general strike will not warrant the fearful sacrifices which it must cost. To that we will give a clear answer. We would like to save the proletariat from needless suffering. But how is this to be done? We are convinced that legislative reforms will accomplish almost nothing for workers, or will be rendered futile by the bourgeoisie. It is therefore necessary for the working class themselves, through their activities and their struggles to gain for themselves a better existence. But for the workers there is only one weapon of war—the strike. But the partial strike loses in importance every day with the growth of the power of capital and with the augmentation of capitalistic unions. But one mighty, irresistible, and fearful weapon remains in the hands of the workers—a general strike. How can we desist from it? Where was it ever seen that any class obtained freedom without great effort and severe sufferings? Look around and ask yourselves how much blood the bourgeoisie have drunk every hour all over the world. We note these senseless sheddings of blood only because they are committed under the protection of shameless law. What are we afraid of then? For the working class there is the choice only between eternal slavery and bloody struggle. Our choice is made, and we call all workers to a merciless war upon capital and government.

But they may still say to us: Is it possible that you dream of breaking such a formidable force as that of present-day government? We answer that the general strike is the best means of weakening and destroying that force. The Army is strong only at that time when it is concentrated at a few points and fully maintains a strict discipline. But what will become of the Army when it has to be scattered all over the country? What will become of discipline when the soldier is convinced that he has to do, not with a little bunch of "internal enemies," but with the whole of the working people? Will he not remember that he left kindred in his homeland who are also on a strike and who are also threatened with death at the muzzle of a gun? Does not the heart of the worker in uniform quake before the grand majesty of a people in revolt? Does there not awaken in him a fraternal feeling of the solidarity of all toilers, of all the oppressed? In that hour the Army will at once stand powerless in the face of rebellious toil and government will crumble away to the exulting shouts of liberated humanity.

So that for us anarcho-communists the economic struggle and the political struggle do not in themselves represent two entirely separate provinces set apart from each other. No! They flow together for us in one and the same struggle of the same working class against all forms of oppression—against capital and against government.

We alone give life to the great principles: "The liberation of workers must be the business of the working class themselves," for we do not entrust the liberation of the toilers to a gang of politicians unloading upon the shoulders of the proletariat only the grievous struggle for small reforms. We are convinced that only the direct struggle of the working class can and must lead to a complete destruction of the existing order of things.

We may therefore formulate our tactics thus: By participating in the struggle of the working class, guiding it, and uninterruptedly widening and deepening that struggle, kindle and maintain the conflagration of civil war until we have torn up by the roots capitalism and government.

This is our teaching and this is our means of struggle. Let the absurd tale about the "New barbarians" disappear! We do not wish to destroy culture (civilization?) but the yoke of slavery; we are "Barbarians" only for the Messrs. present-day slaveholders.

Harsh are the means of our struggle. But is this our fault? Cruel life pushes us into the fight and puts into our hands an iron hammer to smash enemies without mercy and attain the goal, our glorious goal.

We go tranquilly, cheerfully; not because it is not painful to us eternally to be calling to bloody combat. No! No! But because there, far beyond the corpses of heroes, beyond the blood-covered barricades, beyond all the terrors of civil war, there already shines for us the magnificent, beautiful form of man without a God, without a master, and free of authority.

We hate religion because it lulls the spirit with lying tales, takes away courage and faith in the power of man, faith in the triumph of justice here on the real earth and not in a chimerical Heaven. Religion covers everything with fog; real evil becomes visionary, and visionary good a reality. It has always sanctified slavery, grief, and tears. And we declare war upon all gods, and religious fables. We are atheists.

We hate slavery in all its forms. And is a "Free workman" not a slave? Does the knout of the master not hang over the head of the proletariat? The workman has ceased being the slave of one lord, of one master. But is he not the slave of the whole class of masters? Let the present-day slave rise and cast off his lord—it is all the same; hunger will drive him to another master, and the collar of perpetual toil, hunger, and slavery will be tightened upon him anew. It is necessary to tear up by the roots the division of people into lords and slaves. We are communists.

We hate authority, that eternal preserver of slavery and foe of freedom. The lords having been destroyed, why leave the whip of the lords; the power of capital having been destroyed, why allow its safeguard, the State, to remain. Does giving man bread mean depriving him of freedom? Even pigs in their sty have food. Not to the happiness of citizenship do we call the workers—we call them to liberty—to absolute liberty. We are anarchists.

We wish to disperse darkness and ignorance and abolish prejudices, so that the proletarian may understand the whole world, and understand himself and all the majesty of man. We wish to divert the workman from eternal anxiety about his stomach, give him a chance

to unbend his back and to open to him a whole new world—a world of beautiful forms and marvelous sounds.

To you we address our speech, our brother workmen: Wake up, look around you! See how poor and degraded you are! Remember that you are a man, and that you—you created all that world of wealth! Understand that the workers of all countries are your brothers, and that you all have one task—to destroy the world of gain and create a world of freedom; for all there is one means—an armed insurrection and forcible seizure of all instruments and all products of toil. * * * Woe to the enemies of the laboring class!

EXHIBIT No. 9.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS.

The present society is divided into two opposing classes—the downtrodden workers and peasants, on the one side, producing by their work all the riches of the world; the rich people, on the other side, who have grabbed all the riches into their hands.

Many a time the class of the oppressed stood up against the rich parasites and their faithful servant and protector—the Government—to conquer its full liberation from the yoke of capitalism and political power, but every time is suffered defeat, not being fully conscious of its own final goal and means, by which victory can be accomplished, thus remaining only a weapon in the hands of its enemies.

The struggle between these two classes is being fought also at the present time and will end only when the toiling masses, organized as a class, will understand their true interests and will make themselves masters of all the riches of this world by means of a violent social revolution.

Having accomplished such a change and having annihilated at the same time all the institutions of Government and State, the class of the disowned must establish the society of free producers, aiming at satisfying the needs of every individual person who, on its side, is giving to the society its labor and its knowledge.

For the attainment of these aims, we consider as of the primal importance the necessity of building up a wide revolutionary organization of toilers, which, by conducting a direct struggle with all the institutions of capitalism and Government, must train the working class to initiative, and an independent action in all its acts, thus educating in its the consciousness of the absolute necessity of a general strike—of the social revolution.

EXHIBIT No. 10.

RADICALISM AND SEDITION AMONG THE NEGROES AS REFLECTED IN THEIR PUBLICATIONS.

Since the first report was prepared there have occurred the several race riots in Washington, Knoxville, Chicago, Omaha, and Arkansas,

and the more radical Negro publications have been quick to avail themselves of the situation as cause for the utterance of inflammatory sentiment—utterances which in some cases have reached the limit of open defiance and a counsel of retaliation. Every indication given in previous expressions of insubordination has been amply fulfilled in subsequent publications, until, at this time, there can no longer be any question of a well-concerted movement among a certain class of Negro leaders of thought and action to constitute themselves a determined and persistent source of a radical opposition to the Government, and to the established rule of law and order.

Among the more salient points to be noted in the present attitude of the Negro leaders are, first, the ill-governed reaction toward race rioting; second, the threat of retaliatory measures in connection with lynching; third, the more openly expressed demand for social equality, in which demand the sex problem is not infrequently included; fourth, the identification of the Negro with such radical organizations as the I. W. W. and an outspoken advocacy of the Bolsheviki or Soviet doctrines; fifth, the political stand assumed toward the present Federal administration, the South in general, and incidentally, toward the peace treaty and the league of nations. Underlying these more salient viewpoints is the increasingly emphasized feeling of a race consciousness, in many of these publications always antagonistic to the white race and openly, defiantly assertive of its own equality and even superiority. When it is borne in mind that this boast finds its most frequent expression in the pages of those journals whose editors are men of education, in at least one instance, men holding degrees conferred by Harvard University, it may be seen that the boast is not to be dismissed lightly as the ignorant vamping of untrained minds. Neither is the influence of the Negro press in general to be reckoned with lightly. The Negro World for October 18, 1919, states that "there are a dozen Negro papers with a circulation of over 20,000, and scores with smaller circulation. There are half a dozen magazines with a large circulation and other magazines with a smaller circulation, and there are easily over 50 writers who can write interesting editorials and special articles, written in fine, pure English, with a background of scholarship behind them." Notwithstanding the clumsiness of expression of this particular assertion, the claim is not an idle one. It may be added that in several instances the Negro magazines are expensive in manufacture, being on coated paper throughout, well-printed, and giving evidence of the possession of ample funds.

In all the discussions of the recent race riots there is reflected the note of pride that the Negro has found himself, that he has "fought back," that never again will he tamely submit to violence or intimidation. The sense of oppression finds increasingly bitter expression. Defiance and insolently race-centered condemnation of the white race is to be met with in every issue of the more radical publications and this one in moderateness of denunciation carries its own threat. The Negro is "seeing red," and it is the prime object of the leading publications to induce a like quality of vision upon the part of their readers. A few of them deny this, notwithstanding the evidence of their work. Others of them openly admit the fact. The number of restrained and conservative publications is relatively negligible, and even some of these, it will later be shown, have in-

dulged in most intemperate utterance, thought it would be unfair not to state that certain papers—I can think of no magazine—maintain an attitude of well-balanced sanity.

Believing that the object of this paper will be better served by taking up in succession the activities of the more representative Negro publications, and quoting as fully therefrom as the means at my disposal permits, rather than by writing an article of a more general nature, I call attention first to The Negro World, a weekly publication of this city.

[The Negro World, New York. Editors: Marcus Garvey and William H. Domingo.]

In its issue of July 26, 1919, the Negro World bore an editorial closing with these words:

It is true that all races look forward to the time when spears shall be beaten into agricultural implements, but until that time arrives it devolves upon all oppressed peoples to avail themselves of every weapon that may be effective in defeating the fell motives of their oppressors.

In a world of wolves one should go armed, and one of the most powerful defensive weapons within the reach of negroes is the practice of race first in all parts of the world.

In the September 13 issue of this paper appeared as a corollary to the above, a set of verses by Carita Owens Collins, who, in the language of the Negro World, "like the Maid of Orleans, sounds the clarion call to men of ebony hue." This is the way she sounds it:

THIS MUST NOT BE!

This must not be!
The time is past when black men,
Laggard sons of Ham,
Shall tamely bow and weakly cringe
In servile manner, full of shame.

Lift up your heads!
Be proud! be brave!
Though black, the same red blood
Flows through your veins
As through your paler brothers.

And that same blood
So freely spent on Flanders fields
Shall yet redeem your race.
Be men, not cowards,
And demand your rights!

Your toil enriched the Southern lands;
Your anguish has made sweet the sugar cane;
Your sweat has moistened the growing corn,
And drops of blood from the cruel master's whip
Has caused the white cotton to burst forth in mute protest.

Demand, come not mock suppliant!
Demand, and if not given—take!
Take what is rightfully yours;
An eye for an eye;
A soul for soul;
Strike, black man, strike!
This shall not be!

It was in this same issue that a Boston address by Marcus Garvey was printed which preached a doctrine of the negro for the negro.

In the issue of September 20 there occurred an exchange of letters between Claude McKay, the author of a much-quoted poem about the negro with his back against the wall and fighting to the death, and W. H. Ferris, literary editor of the Negro World. McKay advocates Bolshevism as a means of freedom for the negro in these words:

Every negro who lays claim to leadership should make a study of Bolshevism and explain its meaning to the colored masses. It is the greatest and most

scientific idea afloat in the world to-day that can be easily put into practice by the proletariat to better its material and spiritual life. Bolshevism (as Mr. Domingo ably points out in the current Messenger) has made Russia safe for the Jew. It has liberated the Slav peasant from priest and bureaucrat who can not longer egg him on to murder Jews to bolster up their rotten institutions. It might make these United States safe for the negro. When the Cracker slave frees his mind of the nightmare of race equality, when he finds out that his parasite politicians have been fooling him for years, when he takes back the soil from his Bourbon exploiters and is willing to till it alongside of the negro and tries to forget that he is a "nigger," while the latter ceases to think of him in terms of poor trash, when the Vardamans and Cole Bleases find themselves jobless, then the artificial hate that breeds lynchings and race riots might suddenly die.

If the Russian idea should take hold of the white masses of the western world, and they should rise in united strength and overthrow their imperial capitalist government, then the black tollers would automatically be free! Will their leaders educate them now to make good use of their advantages eventually?

There was in the September 27 issue an editorial the object of which was to cast discredit upon the late Booker T. Washington and the policies he stood for. This effect is a significant index to the attitude held by the Negro World and certain other negro publications toward the more conservative element among the negro leaders and publicists.

The October 11 issue of the Negro World contained the following article featured on its first page:

NEGROES SHOULD PREPARE—BLACK MEN ALL OVER THE WORLD SHOULD PREPARE
TO PROTECT THEMSELVES—NEGROES SHOULD MATCH FIRE WITH HELL FIRE.

[So says leader of great movement.]

Fellow men of the negro race:

Greeting. Once more the white man has outraged American civilization and dragged the fair name of the Republic before the court of civilized justice.

Another riot has visited the country and Omaha, Nebr., has placed her name upon the map of mob violence; so it can be seen that the mob spirit is spreading all over, going from South to East, to mid-West and then to the West.

Mobs of white men all over the world will continue to lynch and burn negroes so long as we remain divided among ourselves. The very moment all the negroes of this and other countries start to stand together, that very time will see the white man standing in fear of the negro race even as he stands in fear of the yellow race of Japan to-day.

The negro must now organize all over the world, 400,000,000 strong, to administer to our oppressors their Waterloo.

No mercy, nor respect, no justice will be shown the negro until he forces all other men to respect him. There have been many riots in the United States and England recently, and immediately following the war of democracy, there will be many more as coming from the white man. Therefore, the best thing the negro of all countries can do is to prepare to match fire with hell fire. No African is going to allow the Caucasian to trample eternally upon his rights. We have allowed it for 500 years and we have now struck.

Fellow men of the world, I here beg of you to prepare, for a great day is coming * * * the day of the war of the races, when Asia will lead out to defeat Europe, and Europe and the white man will again call upon the negro to save them as we have often done. The new negro has fought the last battle for the white man, and he is now getting ready to fight for the redemption of Africa. With mob laws and lynching bees fresh in our memories, we shall turn a deaf ear to the white man when Asia administers to him his final "licking" and place and keep him where he belongs.

If the white men were wise they would have treated negroes differently, but to our astonishment they are playing the part of the dog biting the hand that feeds. If it were not for the negro the white man would have been lost long ago. The black man has saved him, and the only thanks we get to-day is mob law.

Him and the only thanks we get to-day is mob law.

Let every Negro all over the world prepare for the new emancipation. The Fatherland, Africa, has been kept by God Almighty for the Negro to redeem, and we, young men and women of the race, have pledged ourselves to plant the flag of freedom and of empire. Our forces of industry, commerce, science, art, literature, and war must be marshalled when Asia or Europe strikes the blow of a second world war. Black men shall die then and black women shall succor them, but in the end there shall be a crowning victory for the soldiers of Ethiopia on the African battlefield.

[The-Veteran, New York. Editors: William Y. Bell, James B. Adams, Thos. J. B. Harris.]

The Veteran, recently suspended for lack of funds, published in New York, and claiming to represent the views of the returning negro soldiers, had in its June 28th issue an editorial, "The remedy for mob violence," in which occurred the following paragraph:

The day of the gang hasn't passed yet. Every week brings new and frightful stories of gang violence in the South. Men, women, and children are beaten and done to death by the cowardly mob. The slightest acquaintance with the psychology of the gang ought to be sufficient to convince us that the cringing, pleading attitude is not going to get the black man any favorable consideration at the hands of the mob. Mobs are not moved that way. They are too brutally inhuman to respond to any argument except the argument of cold steel and fire. The race man who determines that if he must die at all by the hands of the mob he will die game makes an incalculable contribution to the majesty of the law.

The August 30 issue of this paper (on file in the Washington office) contained a very objectionable cartoon depicting a negro in the uniform of the United States Army, standing armed with sword and rifle on the soil of France, his feet upon a rope that leads to the background of the cut, where the United States of America is portrayed by a tree, against which is a Statue of Liberty and by which is a figure of the devil, entitled "Obstruction." At the negro soldier's feet is a large decapitated head of a white man—Obstruction—with labels of Jim Crow Him—Burn Him—Lynch Him—Kill—Mob—Starve. The general caption is, "Must he carry on"?

This same issue carried a news item from Chicago purporting to be the account of a singularly atrocious instance of a negro being buried alive in a cage, his head alone exposed to the attack of a vicious bulldog. The item was headed, "How is this for democracy"?

The issue of September 6, in an editorial on the Knoxville race riots, expressed significantly that feeling of triumph the Negro is experiencing over the fact that he has fought back. After referring to the white inhabitants "anticipating great fun seeing the negroes scurrying before them like so many rats driven by the flames," the editorial proceeds:

They went, they saw, they were defeated. They saw new things that day and they met a new people. They saw fire—deadly, well-directed fire, and volley after volley of it, belch forth from the mouths of rifles and revolvers held by the hands of black men who now have "stiff backs, straight shoulders, and know how to shoot." They saw their vile comrades fall at their sides. They saw what others had seen at Chicago, at Washington, and at Longview, Tex.—that Uncle Tom is dead and that a new Negro rises in his tracks, a Negro who values liberty as he does not cherish life. One other thing they saw. They saw that the way behind them was more desirable than that before them. They turned on their heels, like the miserable cowards they have always been; they fled in confusion and fear.

[The Crusader, New York. Editors: Cyril V. Briggs, Bertha F. Briggs, W. Francis, Jr., Gertrude E. Hall, R. L. Ross, Bertha De Basco.]

The monthly magazine, the Crusader, published in New York, was in its issue for September, 1919, full of significant material. In an article by C. Valentine, entitled "Why Lynching Persists," the author endeavors to show by an attack on the more conservative Amsterdam News that lynching persists because of the "lick-spittle" attitude of certain of the negroes themselves, and their willingness to "stay put," his pride in being "the white man's slave, door-mat, football, and other nice things." The editorial in the Amsterdam News of July 23 on which this attack in the Crusader is based, was counseling a decent attitude upon the part of the negroes with regard to recent race riots. Says the article in the Crusader concerning it:

It is a concrete example of one of the chief reasons for the persistence of lynching and mob spirit. The white man reading such damnable swiveling, driveling would undoubtedly feel sure that the negro was perfectly contented with his lot in this country. The Southern white man, using it as a proof of the negro's contentment with his treatment could easily make himself out an angel from above rather than the fiend incarnate he is. * * * This Government in which the negro has no representation whatever, and which has not within the last 50 years shown the slightest disposition, under Republican or Democratic régime to safeguard his constitutional rights, is great and good, in fact, according to the Amsterdam News, "the best there is in all the world," so why, white men may ask, should they make any effort to improve it to the end that it would afford equal protection to all its citizens? The negro is satisfied—his papers say so.

The article is characteristic of that policy, before mentioned, of the more radical negro element to denounce the conservative element represented by Booker T. Washington and his successors, for like the socialists and radicals, the negro party already has its "lesser fleas to bite 'em."

As dressing for the same sort of salad, is the article, "The Negro and His Instinct," by J. Griffith, in which the negro's superiority to the white man, mentally and physically, is dwelt upon:

That the negro mind instinctively believes in himself and his race is a fact beyond doubt or question. What the negro needs to know is that in many qualities he is the superior of the white man. He needs to know these qualities and to believe in them and insist on them. Especially are the negroes who live in America superior to the whites among whom they live. This may be accounted for by the fact that the negro has not had the opportunity to be mean, brutal, cruel, and inhuman that the white have had for several centuries. Taken as a whole the negro population are better looking than the whites. Take the colored women for instance; they are much more beautiful, judging them by every physical measure that might be applied. They are better formed, of better carriage and fuller of life and female vanity. As a rule they are never ungracious. Negroes have not realized this fact, merely because they have had instilled into them for centuries the false doctrine that that only is beautiful which is white, etc.

Also in this issue occur two poems, "If We Must Die," by Claude McKay, which has been widely used in the negro press, and "Don't Tread on Me," by Razafkoriefo (if that is a name). I copy these poems as of significance in the record.

IF WE MUST DIE.

If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot
While 'round us bark the mad and hungry dogs
Making their mock at our accursed lot,
If we must die, Oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead.
Oh, kinsman! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us still be brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

DON'T TREAD ON ME.

There is a wondrous symbol
Which has come from 'cross the sea;
It's worn by every member
Of the Fifteenth Infantry.
A snake curled up, prepared to strike,
And one can plainly see
That by its threatening attitude
It says: Don't tread on me!
O race, make this your battle cry,
Engrave it on your heart.
It's time for us "to do or die,"
To play a bolder part.
For by the blood you've spilled in France
You must and will be free,
So from now on let us advance
With this: Don't tread on me!

The October, 1919, issue of The Crusader rings changes upon all the themes touched upon in the September issue. It has an editorial on the "Negro First" and another, "The Old Negro Goes: Let Him Go In Peace". There is further attack on the more conservative Negro press. There is another editorial urging the negro to vote the Socialist ticket.

Just as by joining the I. W. W. in large numbers we forced the A. F. or L. to open its doors to us, so by joining the Socialist party we can force belated justice and consideration from the Republicans.

There is also an editorial "Bolshevist", which in part states:

If to fight for one's rights is to be Bolshevist, then we are Bolshevists, and let them make the most of it. And for further information of the asses who use the term so loosely we will make the statement that we would not for a moment hesitate to ally ourselves with any group, if by such an alliance we could compass the liberation of our race and the redemption of our Fatherland. A man pressed to earth by another with murderous intent is not under any obligation to choose his weapons. He would be a fool if he did not use any or whatever weapon was within his reach. Self-preservation is the first law of human nature.

It is in this issue that C. Valentine, the author of the article "Why Lynching Persists", in the September issue, attacking the conservative Negro press, has another article "Savers of Souls and Sellers of Men," which is a similar attack on the well-conducted negro preacher.

The November issue of The Crusader begins by carrying an obnoxious cartoon representing in the left division the caricature of a southerner pointing to the lynched body of a Negro, and asserting: "We want no interference in our affairs. We can settle this nigger problem ourselves." The right-hand division of the cartoon represents "The South" in the person of a southerner on the run with arm outstretched toward Congress as represented by the dome of the Capitol, and pursued by a negro, revolver in hand. The

southerner is crying: "Help! Help! Help! This nigger problem has changed." The caption for the whole cartoon is: "The Worm Turns."

This cartoon is followed by an editorial boasting of the success the negro has attained through agitation in bringing the negro problem before Congress.

In another editorial, "The American Negro's Duty to the Negro Race" emphasizes the Negro's fitness for self-government closes with these words:

Existing, as we are, in a hell on earth, where mob murder, court injustice, inequality and rank, widespread prejudice, are the rule, it should be a comparatively easy matter for the American Negro in particular (though Lord knows the West Indian Negro is not much better off, except in the freedom from lynching which his number maintain) it should be a comparatively easy matter to pull up stakes from out of the hellish soil of American mobocracy and answer the call to duty—the call to duty that is also the call to unhampered enjoyment of the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

There is also an editorial on "Intervention" (with regard to Mexico) which, as characteristic of the negro's opinion of the United States, is significant. I give this editorial in full:

Intervention is in the air, and strange as it may seem to those uninitiated in the mysteries of that ancient fetish, "law and order," it is not to be intervention by some civilized powers in the interests of "law and order" and the suppression of the race wars and mob rule in the United States, but intervention—please don't laugh, it's serious—by these same barbarous and benighted United States in the affairs of the Mexicans—a people who, by all indications, seem quite able to live together without engaging in race wars, mob violence, and the fiendish torture of human beings, which are so freely and heartily indulged in on this side of the Rio Grande, and which, more than and other thing in contemporary American history, are the salient and identifying features of the much-vaunted American civilization.

But Mexico is rich in oil minerals. And it is inhabited by a colored race. And what's more human life—especially when it's colored human life—when there's such wealth to be reaped by the American capitalists and junkers and nothing on the Mexican side strong enough to oppose the might that is admirably held up as the right?

[The Challenge, New York; editor, William Bridges.]

The Challenge, a monthly magazine, which "fears only God," had in its August issue an editorial entitled "American Huns," which as an exposition of the regard in which the South is held by many of the negro publications is illuminative. It reads in part:

The very worst German can not be so vile, inhuman, contaminative of every civilized instinct as the Huns of America who delight in standing with their families, children included, over the burning, stinking flesh of negro men tied to trees or in public squares; or as those midnight devils that tear from the bellies of black mothers their unborn babies and crush their soggy brains underneath their feet.

The South is more hellish than Germany ever was, even under its tyrannical régime of the Kaiser. The South in the twentieth century stoops to atrocities that only the South can stoop to without shame or remorse; from which Germany would recoil in loathing and disgust. In four years of war the most barbarous known in history, taking every crime committed by German soldiers on peasant women, black-robed priests, and Red Cross nurses, I can find none so black as the burning of young Lloyd Clay at Vicksburg, Miss., in the "Land of the free and the home of the brave."

The same issue, in an editorial on "Bolshevism not lawlessness," says in part:

Bolshevism is not bad. It is not nearly as prohibitory in dealing with the constitutional activities of society as are some putative democracies. * * *

Bolshevism is not an institution of lynching, segregation, and disfranchisement. It is an institution of security, equality, giving the ballot to every male and female 18 years old. * * * Sovietcy takes away nobody's freedom. It gives a larger freedom.

The editorial proceeds in its defense of Bolshevism, concluding with its advice to the United States Congressmen to cease turning their thoughts to Bolshevism in Russia and "focus their anti-Bolshevist grenades on the South—on Vardaman, Cole Blease, Hoke Smith, and Bilbo; not on Lenin and Trotski."

On this subject there will be more to say when the activities of The Messenger are being considered.

The article in the same issue of The Challenge, "Six demands," is so important that I incorporate it in full:

SIX DEMANDS.

We demand, first, that instead of being re-Americanized into accepting sterner patriotic obligations we be thoroughly informed why we should be loyal to any Government that does not protect our lives and property the same as it protects those of other people with less claim to protection. Loyalty, fortunately for civilization, is no longer the outgrowth of traditional devotion to events written into histories with the blood of the people. It can only grow from and thrive on liberty and justice; out of and on the liberal equalization of every social, political, and industrial privilege necessary to the vigorous upbuilding of the human race. Loyalty in Negroes is not stifled by proscription, lynching, and segregation. It is stunted and annihilated.

Second, that we be told why we should disclaim all previous respect for Germans and Germany, when, no matter how diminished the respect of white Americans for them may be, it still transcends that which white Americans have for us. Moreover, America has no social, political, and industrial opportunities, not within easy reach of the "detested" German, while being completely out of ours. Germany, on the other hand, does not lynch, Jim Crow, and disfranchise.

Third, that the full responsibility for lynching be placed where it properly belongs on the American Government; not upon the feeble-minded groups that practice it, not upon the governors that permit it, not upon the States where it is carried on. Each and all of these are component parts simply of the organism of the United States subject to its laws and not above them.

Fourth, that we be told why we were shipped 8,000 miles oversea to wage war, brutal and insensate, on people against whom we had less real grievance than against that lawless element of American that robs us of life. We no more believe that it was to make the "world safe for those people who live upon it and have made it their own" than we do that satan rebelled in heaven to make it safe for angels.

Fifth, that the same Federal officers used now in hunting down illicit whisky makers all over the South, often using force to meet resistance from captives, be likewise employed to hunt out every white devil that lynches. Maybe white officers will refuse this. If so, there are millions of Negroes willing to enter the Government service, giving guarantees to stamp out mob violence in every section of the Republic.

Sixth, that to avoid threatening bloodshed both Congress and the President take immediate steps to make life better for the thousands of Negro soldiers who made as daring sacrifices "over there" and for the millions of civilians who gave as patriotic services over here as any other group amongst our citizenry. In a race conflict of any dimensions many of us will be slaughtered, but we have reached a point in the evolutionary stages of human development that we know it is more honorable to die defending our lives than to die pleading with some illiterate white dog to spare them. Until it is made as unsafe to lynch a Negro as it is to lynch a United States Senator there can be no peace.

In this issue those verses by Claude McKay, "If We Must Die," are reprinted, as is "An Oath," which has a constant place in many of the Negro publications.

AN OATH.

By eternal heaven—I swear never to love any flag simply for its color, nor any country for its name.

The flag of my affections must rest over me as a banner of protection, not as a sable shroud.

The country of my patriotism must be above color distinctions, must be one of laws, not of men; of law and not lawlessness, of liberty and not bondage, of privilege to all, not special privilege to some.

Kaiser is not the only word synonymous with imperialism, tyranny, murder, and rapine.

President and king are not the only words synonymous with democracy, freedom, progress.

I shall love not names, but deeds. I shall pay homage to any and all men who strive to rid the world of the pestilential diseases of war, prejudice, oppression, lynching.

I am a patriot.

I am not merely of a race and a country, but of the world.

I am brotherhood.

From the September issue of the Challenge I copy as significant of this magazine's feeling toward the South, "A confession of prejudice," written by a Negro soldier. The issue is by no means devoid of other inflammatory material:

A CONFESSION OF PREJUDICE.

I am Prejudice—supreme monarch of the South, with vassal tributaries in the North and West.

Conceived in the "lily white" heart of the South, I was born, like sin, full-fledged and armed with terror.

My rage inspired the Rebellion—though resisted, baffled, beaten by a superior foe, I rose in brutal grandeur, the frightful genius of Vengeance.

The "Ku-Klux" and "Patrolers" were my ministering spirits. They executed my flaming decrees during the hideous nights and tragic days of the Reconstruction.

I have murdered Negroes without cause, hanged them without provocation—I have raped, robbed, maligned, segregated a defenseless people, and neither pulpit, press, nor President has disturbed my exalted peace of mind.

Enthroned in the heart of Dixie, I am more powerful than any church, I condemn all constituted authority, whether State or Federal.

The rope, torch, and shotgun are the sacred symbols of my majesty and power, and my will is enforced from Boston to Los Angeles, from Seattle to Miami—I am not a stranger at the Capitol!

I am protected by State rights—thanks be—and my bloody orgies have been dramatized and rehearsed in Atlanta, Springfield, East St. Louis, and Fort Sam Houston.

I am the acknowledged genius of church division, race separation, city segregation, and I am supreme in the Navy and triumphant in the Army.

I am the cementing tie that binds the solid South—the patron goddess of white supremacy. I have the keys of the doors of culture, opportunity, and wealth.

I scorn the patriotism of him whose right to "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness" I must forever deny.

I, alone, know how to keep him blind, poor, and degraded, for I recognize none of his distinctions, I acknowledge none of his merits, I ignore all of his "progress."

No law can shelter him from my hatred, no ethics can conceal him from my fury, for I am adored, worshipped—the young sing my praise, the old repeat the triumphs of my blessed brutality.

As the relentless "scourge of the race," I am coextensive with the breadth of this Republic.

My record of the past insures my supremacy for the future.

I am "Ruthlessness." I am "Frightfulness." I am "Brutality." I am "Inhumanity." I am, Mr. President, that "Intolerable Thing."

I am the disgrace of democracy, the shame of its justice, and the condemnation of its civilization!

In spite of the league of nations, in spite of the covenant of peace, in spite of Germany's defeat—I care nothing for the Negro's loyalty, his patriotism, his heroism, his supreme sacrifice—I thunder at him my eternal decree—thunder at him in Washington “down!”—I thunder at him in Chicago “back!” I thunder at his ambition, at his aspirations, at him in all his upward struggle—since the World's War.

Negroes! “As you were.”

For I am Prejudice!

The October issue of the Challenge is particularly offensive in its several editorial attacks on the President, attacks, it may be pointed out, that transcend political opposition and become inflammatory in their suggestion. In the leading editorial (there are several editorials on the President in this number). “A man without a purpose,” there occurs the following paragraph, linking the President with the matter of lynching.

Lynching and mob intimidations are nearly a century old in America. They are dead in every other country where they once existed. Once the mobs' weapons were gun and rope. To sanctify their calling and strike fear into very colored man's heart—as if anything either in America or in hell can ever strike fear into their hearts again—they have adopted fire, set up the rule of Satan in the solid South. Mr. Wilson knows of all this barbarity. He preaches for “humanity” and sees black men and women shot to pieces under his window. He reproaches a Germany that was Kaiser ruled; smiles approvingly on a South that is devil ruled. He acquiesces in the trial of those who murdered Edith Cavell and asks, perhaps, if it is really so that Negro women are ripped apart and thrown to the buzzards in his “dear Motherland.”

Another editorial which I quote in full is entitled:

LET US STAND AT ARMAGEDDON AND BATTLE FOR THE LORD.

Negroes, unite! Brutal oppression is sweeping over us like storm-swept tidal waves.

There will be no mercy shown us because we are black, standing on the highways of the world, pleading for mercy. There will be no sympathy given except what we have always gotten from a small coterie of white men whose puny numbers make them, with us easy victims, for the stigmatizing, lawless crowd. They, too, have cried out with us like Sumner, and Phillips, Lovejoy, Garrison, Beecher, and John Brown, but their voices have been drowned with ours in a holocaust of slander and abuse.

We are ignored by the President and lawmakers. When we ask for a full man's share, they cry “Insolent.” When we shoot down the mobist that would burn our properties and destroy our lives, they shout “Bolshevist.” When a white man comes to our side armed with the sword of righteousness and square dealing, they howl “Nigger lover and bastard.” If we take our grievances to Congress they are pigeonholed, turned over to moth. We are abandoned, cast off, maligned, shackled, shoved down the hill toward Golgotha in “the land of the free and the home of the brave.”

Every day we are told to keep quiet. Only a fool will keep quiet if he is being robbed of his birthright. Only a coward will lie down and whine under the lash if he, too, can give back the lash.

There is little pity from the strong for the one that is weak. There is no altruistic religion in the soul of the strong for dispensation among the weak. The only pity obtained is that obtained by superior strength.

America hates, lynches, enslaves us not because we are black but because we are weak. A strong united Negro race will not be mistreated any more than a strong united Japanese race. It is always strength over weakness, might over right.

But with education comes thought; with thought comes action; with action comes freedom.

Read! Read! Read—then when the mob comes, whether with torch or with gun, let us stand at Armageddon and battle for the Lord.

[The Messenger, New York; editors, A. Philip Randolph, Chandler Owen, Victor R. Daly, W. A. Domingo, William N. Colson.]

The Messenger, the monthly magazine published in New York, is by long odds the most able and the most dangerous of all the Negro publications. It is representative of the most educated thought among the Negroes. We find on its editorial board men bearing degrees from Harvard University, and among its regular special contributors those actually engaged upon other Negro publications and prominent among the Negro radical movement. The March, 1919, number was the first to be published after the return of the editors from military service. There was no April issue, and the May-June issue is one. Since then the Messenger has come out regularly and with an increasing crystallization of radical purposes. A glance at the relatively harmless nature of the March issue with that succeeding in May-June will show how speedily the Messenger took the bit in its teeth. Indeed, the credo of the Messenger as published in the March issue almost at once became an outworn creed, as this magazine threw all discretion to the winds, and became the exponent of open defiance and sedition.

It is in the May-June issue that the Messenger strikes its gait with a short editorial on the progress of sovietism entitled—

"THE MARCH OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT."

Still it continues! The cosmic tread of the soviet government with ceaseless step claims another nation. Russia and Germany have yielded to its human touch and now Hungary joins the people's form of rule. Italy is standing upon a solid volcano. France is seething with social unrest. The triple alliance of Great Britain—the railroad, transport, and mine workers—threaten to overthrow the economic and political Bourgeoisism of "Merry Old England." The red tide of socialism sweeps on in America. South America is in the throes of revolution.

Soviet government proceed apace! It bids fair to sweep over the whole world. The sooner the better. On with the dance!

The first counsel to the Negro to align himself with Bolshevism occurs in this same May-June issue in the editorial, "Negro mass movement." This editorial reads:

The time is ripe for a great mass movement among Negroes. It ought to assume four distinct forms, viz, labor unions, farmers' protective unions, cooperative business, and socialism.

Negro workers especially suffer from low wages, long hours, and bad conditions under which to work. Everywhere in the country they ought to come together, organize their labor power either by trades and crafts, or better still, according to the industry in which they work. Having thoroughly organized, they should make a united demand for more wages, shorter hours, and better conditions. Railroad porters, firemen, track walkers, longshoremen, masons, molders, plasterers, farm hands, cotton pickers, elevator operators, packing-house workers—all kinds of workers should organize.

Secondly, colored farmers' protective associations should organize. You are getting too low prices for your cotton, corn, potatoes, meat, and peanuts. Speculators are giving you what they please. Sometimes you ship your goods North, East, and West without getting any returns, or just what the whims of the speculator may direct. You are paying too high prices for fertilizers and machinery and too-high interest for money. Organize with a view to paying less for such goods as you must purchase and also in order to get better prices for your products. Organize in very Southern State.

Third, cooperative business must be adopted by negroes, whether in the country or in the city. Big negro business is not desired, from the point of view of having a big negro own a fine drug store, clothing store, or grocery store. He will charge you the highest prices and pay his employees the lowest wages, just

like anybody else. Already, negroes pay negro undertakers the highest prices for funerals, and they are charged the highest premiums by negro insurance companies. What we must do is to have cooperative businesses (not fake cooperative businesses), where the people are the beneficiaries of all returns.

Fourth, and last, negroes must get into the Socialist Party. Politics should reflect the economic condition of a people. Socialism is the political party of the working people. Now 99 per cent of the negroes are working people, so they should join the working people's party. The Republican Party is the party of monopoly, big business, and wealth. It represents plutocracy. Negro plutocrats should belong to the Republican Party, but negro working people should join and support the workingmen's party. That is the Socialist Party in all countries. It draws no race, creed, color, or nationality lines. All are freely welcome into its ranks.

It is also in this issue that there are two other editorials in advocacy of soviet rule, one being entitled "We want more Bolshevik patriotism!" In part it reads:

We want a patriotism represented by a flag so red that it symbolizes truly its oneness of blood running through each one's veins. We want more patriotism that surges with turbulent unrest while men—black on white—are lynched in this land. * * * We want no black and white patriotism, which demands separate camps, separate ships, and separate oceans to travel on. What we really need is a patriotism of liberty, justice, and joy. That is Bolshevik patriotism, and we want more of that brand in the United States.

Of significance is the editorial, "The civil liberties bureau," highly commending this body and its work, with especial reference to its former director, Roger N. Baldwin. It shall be noted that on the back cover of this issue there is a commendation from Roger N. Baldwin, then in jail, of the Messenger and its accomplishment.

The July issue is particularly radical. It begins with a cartoon of the American flag forming the smoke and flame of a bonfire rising from the earth, with the body of a lynched negro suspended in the rising flame as it hangs from a telegraph pole. The caption is "A Glorious Desecration. Oh! say, can you see by the dawn's early light." This is immediately followed by verses, "The Mob Victim," reciting as from a negro victim the horrors of his lynching. I quote lines from these verses:

* * * And it was on a Sabbath day
While men and women went to pray,
I passed the crowd in humble mode
In going to my meek abode,
From out the crowd arose a cry,
And epithets began to fly;
And thus like hounds they took my track—
My only crime—my face was black.
And so this Christian mob did turn
From prayer to rob, to rack and burn.
A victim helpless I fell
To tortures truly kin to hell;
They bound me fast and strung me high,
Then cut me down lest I should die
Before their savage zeal was spent
In torturing to their heart's content.
They tore my flesh and broke my bones,
And laughed in triumph at my groans;
They chopped my fingers, clipped my ears,
And passed them round for souvenirs,
And then round my quivering frame
They piled the wood, the oil and flame;
And thus their Sabbath sacrifice
Was wafted upward to the skies.
A little boy stepped out the crowd,
His face was pale, his voice was loud:
"My ma could not get to the fun,
And so I came, her youngest son,
To get the news of what went on,"
He stirred the ashes, found a bone—
(A bit of flesh was hanging on)

He bore it off, a cherished prize,
A remnant of the sacrifice. * * *

O Heathen minds on heathen strand,
What think you of a Christian land,
Where men and boys and women turn
From prayer, to lynch, to rob, and burn,
And oft their drowy minds refresh
Thru sport in burning human flesh?
Yet none dare tell who led the band;
And this was in a Christian land.

From the leading editorial, "The Hun in America," I quote the following:

In civilized America (?) a boy just blossoming into manhood in the shadow of the courthouse in Waco, Tex., was burned up to the amusement and delight of 15,000 white American citizens. Children were permitted to sell the bones as souvenirs. It was a holiday. In Georgia the abdomen of a woman, upon the eve of bearing a child, was ripped open, the form emptied upon the ground, while American Huns buried their heels in its brains. Think of it! The Huns of Germany pale into utter insignificance beside the nameless and indescribable fiendishness of American Huns.

This Nation employed men and munitions to put down the Hun in Germany. Now, what about the Huns of Georgia?

The negroes were conscripted to "make the world safe for democracy," and yet America is not "safe for the negro." * * *

To the negro, the Huns in America have made the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States mere "scraps of paper." The agencies of law and order and justice are to the negro agencies of lawlessness, disorder, and injustice. The flag for which he has fought mocks and deserts him, while his life and property are taken away. The press and church are stirred more by Bolshevism in Russia than by anarchism and murder in Tennessee. And when the treaty of peace is signed the Huns of Germany will be taken to the bosom of the Huns of America, while the negro who fought against the Huns of Germany is lynched. This is how America, the "land of the free and the home of the brave" (?) pays the loyalty of the negro!

But even America will live to rue the day that she winked and connived at, condoned and countenanced these damnable deeds of devilry against people because of color.

A new negro is rising who will not compromise, surrender, or retreat a single step—a negro with an iron will and an inflexible determination to put down the Hun in America. Law or no law, blood or no blood, lynch law must go.

"The Negroes should join the I. W. W." is another editorial, bearing at its head a symbol "For the promotion of labor unionism among the Negroes," a white and black hand clasped in the circle. The editorial reads:

The I. W. W. is the only labor organization in the United States which draws no race or color line. It deals chiefly, too, with unskilled labor and most Negroes are unskilled laborers. They stand on the principle of industrial unionism, which would necessarily include, in its organization, any Negroes in an industry. For instance, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, has in its organization, the conductors, firemen, engineers, and switchmen. Negroes are not permitted to join, notwithstanding the fact that there are 140,000 Negroes engaged in the transportation work. The I. W. W. would include those 140,000 Negroes, who have the power, by stopping their work, to tie up the railroads as completely as the Big Four Brotherhoods could. If the Negroes stopped loading the cars, repairing the tracks and producing the materials which are necessary for transportation, the engineers would have nothing to carry, but the Big Four Brotherhoods are so highly American that they are shot through with race prejudice which blinds them to their enlightened self-interest.

There is another reason why Negroes should join the I. W. W. The Negro must engage in direct action. He is forced to do this by the Government. When the whites speak of direct action, they are told to use their political power. But with the Negro it is different. He has no political power. Three-fourths of the Negroes in the United States are disfranchised. Over 2,000,000 Negro men pay taxes but can not vote. Therefore, the only recourse the

Negro has is industrial action, and since he must combine with those forces which draw no line against him, it is simply logical for him to throw his lot with the Industrial Workers of the World. Nor do the Negroes need to bother about the abuse heaped on the I. W. W. Most of it is lies, told by their opponents, just as the opponents of the Negroes lie about them. Again it need to be noted that most of the forces opposed to the I. W. W. are also opposed to the Negroes. John Sharp Williams, Vardaman, Hoke Smith, Thomas Dixon, D. W. Griffith—who produced the Birth of a Nation—and practically all the anti-Negro group, are opposed to the I. W. W. Now, as a general proposition and principle, if we found John Sharp Williams, Vardaman, Hoke Smith, Thomas Dixon, and D. W. Griffith opposed to anything, we should be inclined to accept it on its face without an examination. And Negroes can not afford to allow those Southern bourbons and race-prejudiced crackers, together with their hand-picked Negro leaders, to choose for them the organizations in which they shall go. The editors of the Messenger have made a thorough study of the economic and social problems in the United States. We know the history of labor organizations. We know their record on race question. We have compared them carefully. We know that the American Federation of Labor is a machine for the propagation of race prejudice. We, therefore, urge the Negroes to join their international brothers, The Industrial Workers of the World, the I. W. W.

In another editorial, "The Negro should be interested in Mexico," the Negro attitude of championship of Mexico is again emphasized, with denunciation of the banking interests of America, references to Gale's seditious magazine, and the usual contrasting of Mexican freedom with especial reference to the Negro, and American oppression.

A long editorial, "Negro workers: The A. F. of L. or I. W. W.," is a plea for organizing of the Negroes in the latter association, "the only labor union that has never, in theory or practice, barred the workers of any race or nation from membership." And, continuing, the editorial states:

When the I. W. W. through this form of industrial unionism has become powerful enough, it will institute an industrial commonwealth; it will end slavery and oppression forever, and in its place will be a world of workers, by the workers, and for the workers; a world where there will be no poverty and want among those who feed and clothe and house the world; a world where the words "master" and "slave" shall be forgotten; a world where peace and happiness shall reign and where the children of men shall live as brothers in a world-wide industrial democracy.

After this the signed article by W. A. Domingo, editor of the Negro World, on "Socialism the Negro's hope," is innocuous.

In this issue also is an article by William N. Colson, formerly an officer in the Three hundred and sixty-seventh Infantry, on "Propaganda and the American Negro soldier," in which the treatment of the Negro soldier in France is cited as a reflection upon his treatment at home and in the Army. At the time of its publication this objectionable article was called to the attention of the military authorities.

The August issue of the Messenger begins with an I. W. W. cartoon of the white and black laborer capital ridden, with the capitalists' warning to "Keep 'em apart," "Don't shake hands with that nigger," "Don't go near that poor white trash," and the general caption, "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."

There are editorials advocating a general strike, industrial unionism for the Negro, and One Big Union, and there follows this an editorial, "How to stop lynchings." I quote as follows:

The Messenger proposes an immediate program for Negroes. This program includes two methods. First, physical force; and, secondly, economic force.

PHYSICAL FORCE.

Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence recognizes the law of self-defense. Our information also records that the right of self-defense is recognized in the laws of all countries. Not only is the right of self-defense recognized with respect to the person about to be injured, but it is recognized that the person about to be injured may summon others to assist him in repelling an attack. We are consequently urging Negroes and other oppressed groups confronted with lynching or mob violence to act upon the recognized and accepted law of self-defense. Always regard your own life as more important than the life of the person about to take yours, and if a choice has to be made between the sacrifice of your life and the loss of the lyncher's life, choose to preserve your own and to destroy that of the lynching mob. * * *

The Messenger wants to explain the reason why Negroes can stop lynching in the South with shot and shell and fire. All mobs act on the principle of pessimism. One hundred to fifteen thousand men usually take part in lynching one Negro, with the Negro handcuffed and arrested, unable to defend himself. The very numbers who engage in it are evidence of the cowardice of the mob. But when the mob knows that somebody is going to have to give his life, each man thinks that he may have to give his life. No one desires to make this sacrifice, and although it is perfectly certain that 20,000,000 of people can beat down 8,000,000, if the sacrifice to accomplish this is so great it will deter the 20,000,000 from its aim; and so with the mob. A mob of a thousand men knows it can beat down 50 Negroes, but when those 50 Negroes rain fire and shot and shell over the thousand, the whole group of cowards will be put to flight. * * *

The appeal to the conscience of the South has been long and futile. Its soul has been petrified and permeated with wickedness, injustice, and lawlessness. The black man has no rights which will be respected unless the black man enforces that respect. It is his business to decide that just as he went 8,000 miles away to fight for alleged democracy in Europe and for others, that he can lay down his life, honorably and peacefully, for himself in the United States. In doing this, we do not assume the rôle of anarchy, nor any shadow of lawlessness. We are acting strictly within the pale of the law and in a manner recognized as law-abiding by every civilized nation. We are trying to enforce the laws which American Huns are trampling in the dust, connived in and winked at by nearly all of the American officials, from the President of the United States down.

ECONOMIC FORCE.

To organize your work a little more effectively, get in touch with all of the Negroes who were in the draft. Form little voluntary companies, which may quickly be assembled. Find Negro officers who will look after their direction. Be perfectly calm, poised, cool, and self-contained. Do not get excited but face your work with cold resolution, determined to uphold the law and to protect the lives of your fellows at any cost. When this is done, nobody will have to sacrifice his life or that of anybody else, because nobody is going to be found who will try to overcome that force.

Industrially, let the farmers organize farmers' protective unions. Let the lumber workers, molders, masons, plasterers, and other Negro workers on railroads and in mines organize into unions quietly and unostentatiously. Be prepared to walk out in concert, every man and woman who does any form of work. Let it be known that we are down to plain business, free from any foolishness or play.

Let every Negro in the South begin to work on this program by agitating for it in the lodges, churches, schools, parlor and home conversation and while at work in factory or field. Write also to us about any detail in entering upon this work. If this program is pressed, a year from now we can call out of the fields, the factories, and the mines between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 Negroes, who will initiate the true work of making America a real "land of the free and home of the brave."

In an editorial, "Our reason for being," dealing again with the advantages to the negro of joining the I. W. W., there occurs the following:

There is a new leadership for Negro workers. It is a leadership of uncompromising manhood. It is not asking for a half loaf, but for the whole loaf. It is insistent upon the Negro workers exacting justice, both from the white labor unions and from the capitalists or employers.

The Negroes who will benefit from this decision are indebted, first, to themselves and their organized power, which made them dangerous. Second, to the radical agitation carried on by the Messenger; and, third, to the fine spirit of welcome shown by the Industrial Workers of the World, whose rapid growth and increasing power the American Federation of Labor fears. These old-line Negro political fossils know nothing of the labor movement, do not believe in labor unions at all, and have never taken any active steps to encourage such organizations. We make this statement calmly, coolly, and with a reasonable reserve. The very thing which they are fighting is one of the chief factors in securing for Negroes their rights. That is Bolshevism. The capitalists of this country are so afraid that Negroes will become Bolsheviks that they are willing to offer them almost anything to hold them away from the radical movement. Nobody buys pebbles which may be picked up on the beach, but diamonds sell high. The old-line Negro leaders have no power to bargain because it is known that they are Republicans politically and job-hunting, me-too-boss hat in hand Negroes industrially. Booker T. Washington and all of them have simply advocated that Negroes get more work. The editors of the Messenger are not interested in Negroes getting more work. Negroes have too much work already. What we want Negroes to get is less work and more wages, with more leisure for study and recreation.

"An analysis of Negro patriotism," by William N. Colson, throws light upon the much-vaunted "new patriotism" of the Negro. Bearing in mind that this writer was an officer in the United States Army, the evidence that this article bears of the quality of his "patriotism," and, if he writes with any authority, for that of his race within and without the Army, is well worthy of attention. Referring to the Negro's response to the war stimulus, he writes:

Contrary to the general infamous practice in this country, it was not necessary to coerce them (the Negroes) into buying bonds or stamps. They thought that some great good would come out of the war for them. The country promised it and their old-crowd leaders reiterated it. Befuddled by the hysteria of the times, overwhelmed by the crush of mass opinion, and sharing in the exaggerated but superficial approbation of the public, the Negro race turned itself into a vast singing army, singing at work, singing at the cantonments, singing on the march, and even under the blasphemy of the guns.

The article proceeds:

When the international bankers led this country into war, the negro exhibited the most striking reactions of his teachings and traditions. The teaching of patriotism the world over has usually been a mass of silly and mendacious fact. * * * All patriotism is spontaneous in proportion to the thoughtlessness of the people. In 1917, white and colored leaders harangued the colored population, while they in their reaction and spontaneity made quick response to aid in the perpetuation of their own undoing. Conscription drove the situation home. * * *

Here we are principally concerned with the disillusioned, the new negro and his new patriotism. The negro soon found that the treachery of the white American was infinitely more damaging to him than that of the Hun. He was refused a square deal in the Army and Navy, and discrimination became more gruelling in the South. There was more exploitation of labor, more personal insult, more segregation, more degradation of women, more racial limitation and restriction than ever before. Now, this state of affairs multiplies racial antagonism. * * * Any lack of patriotism on the part of the negro was and is the natural and logical consequence of unjust practices perpetrated against him.

It is noteworthy that his new patriotism was born during the time of the negroes' active participation in all forms of war work, military and otherwise. Nor does it exist solely in the hearts of officers and true leaders, for it is a sentiment which has gained its widest currency among the rank and file of the black soldiery and working class. Before the embarkation overseas of the Ninety-second Division it was frequently a matter of difficulty to instill the qualities of dash and vim into the enlisted personnel. The men asked without hesitation the reason for their fighting in the war. "Safe for democracy"

became to them a mere mockery. They had no faith in their white officers and not much in the colored in that emergency. When discriminations were practiced at the cantonments like the customary equipping of white organizations before colored units and the assignments of the whites to the best camp locations, the most unlettered and provincial negro soldiers often spent hours in discussing the justice of American military authority. In the Ninety-second Division, the enlisted men as a whole were more outspoken and overt in their remarks and resentments than their colored officers. A few of them manifested their qualified loyalty by expressing sentiments of conscientious objection, nor was their conscientious objection always based on religious scruples. It was often a challenge to a mischievous patriotism. When black officers taught black men bayonet practice they usually substituted the picture of the rabid white southerner for that of the Hun. This method oftentimes inspired the soldier with the necessary dash and form.

What was the soul of the Negro in war time? In the mood of seriousness it was the most usual thing for the Negroes to turn in their discussions to the fitness of their participation in the business of war. And in trench or camp, factory or school, the undeniable fact is that Negroes felt that they were fighting for false ideals.

While in France the Negro soldiers got their bearings. They discovered that the only white men that treated them as men were native Europeans, and especially the French with their wider social experience and finer social sense. The Frenchman was unable to comprehend American color prejudice. The Englishman was much more democratic than the American. Then the soldiers began to get letters from home. They brought the news that conditions in the States were no better than before; they were worse. For instance, a successful business man from the South wrote that he felt relieved that his son was fighting on French soil for France, because France was at least democratic. A Negro clergyman whose church members subscribed \$10,000 worth of Liberty bonds wrote that he had no patriotism whatever. He had promoted the subscription in a spirit of hypocritical public service. A leading Negro banker, who had bought many thousands of dollars worth of bonds, stated in confidence that he joined in the public movement merely for the sake of retaining the good will of his white business friends. But there was not one of these persons who would not have been glad to have given his all if he had felt that the war was fought for freedom and opportunity at home. Some Negro officers, just as many white officers did, largely volunteered and trained for commissions, not because of any real patriotism but because they wished to escape the draft and because they sought the distinction and remuneration which went with the officership. In all fairness, however, it may be said that many of the colored men trained for commissions out of a sense of race pride and prospect. Many of the black soldiers were divested of the little patriotism they possessed on their return from France. Their hearts sank as they hove in sight of these shores. The only reason for their joy in seeing America was the fact that it meant speedy discharge from a brutal military system and a meeting with home folks and friends. The way soldiers were discharged from the Army and Navy without prospective employment is one of the national disgraces. The colored officer, maltreated and thrust aside, has cursed the flag and the country for which it stands a thousand times. Thousands of these soldiers now possess weapons to demonstrate if need be their legal right to self-defense against Southern encroachments and lynch law.

Intelligent Negroes have all reached the point where their loyalty to the country is conditional. The patriotism of the mass of Negroes may now be called doubtful. The new Negro has put the question: "What will the shot of my bolt mean?"

It was on last November 10 that a black platoon lay near the crest of a hill overlooking the placid Moselle. With their faces toward the battlements of mighty Metz, the soldiers awaited the order to attack. There was less slinging and more thought. In one tense and bloody moment the voice of a real doughboy, a new patriot, was heard amid the uncanny hiss of hot steel. It was the fervent wish that across the lines were the Huns of America, the convict leasers, the slave drivers, their domineering white American officers, the lynchers, their oppressors, instead of the Boches. The sentiment was that with the Huns of America over there the incitement necessary to the proper dash and courage would be forthcoming. They would then be fighting to make America safe for all classes. Shortly after the armistice members of this same platoon were anticipating the return home. Most of them were from the South.

An ingenious fellow caused an endless round of merriment when he cleverly placed each Southern State on an imaginary map of military operations. Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Alabama were put in No Man's Land. The border States like Virginia and Kentucky were the third-line trenches, etc. The soldiers all seated beneath an old apple tree, scarred by four years of German shrapnel, finally concluded that their next war for "democracy" would be in the land of The Star-Spangled Banner.

In a so-called poem, Conscientious Objectors, by one Bertuccio Dantino, the jargon of the ultraradical foreign-born agitator is given in these lines toward the close:

Oh, ye fools and hypocrites,
Ye sow now and to-morrow
Ye shall reap;
And the crop shall be bitter tears,
Agony and despair,
For those ye torture to-day
Shall lead the hosts of Freedom
In a vast revolution that
Shall free the earth of prisons and
Make the world a place fit for
Democracy to live in. Oh,
Ye exploiters and usurers,
Ye bond slaves of Capital,
Thy hour has almost come;
Then shalt thou lift thy voices
And great shall be thy rejoicing.

By which it may also be seen that a discriminating taste in verse structure and grammar was not one of the cultural effects of Harvard University upon the minds of the editors of the Messenger.

In some respects the September issue of the Messenger is more insolently offensive than any other of its issues. It is likewise more characteristically true to Negro type in its several instances of emotional abandon. The leading editorial over the initials of W. A. Domingo, "If we must die," takes as its text that sonnet by Claude McKay, already referred to in this report, as well as the words of the President, "force, unstinted force."

If death is to be their portion—
says this editorial—

New Negroes are determined to make their dying a costly investment for all concerned. If they must die, they are determined that they shall not travel through the valley of the shadow of death alone, but that some of their oppressors shall be their companions.

This new spirit is but a reflex of the Great War, and it is largely due to the insistent and vigorous agitation carried on by the younger men of the race. The demand is uncompromisingly made for either liberty or death, and since death is likely to be a two-edged sword it will be to the advantage of those in a position to do so to give the race its long-dented liberty.

Justification for this course—

Continues the article—

Is not lacking, for it is the white man's own Bible that says: "Those who live by the sword shall perish by the sword," and, since white men believe in force, Negroes, who have mimicked them for nearly three centuries, must copy them in this respect. Since fire must be fought with hell fire, and diamond alone can cut diamond, Negroes realize that force alone is an effective medium to counteract force. * * * Negroes are being driven by their white fellow citizens to investigate the curative values inherent in mass action, revolvers, and other lethal devices when applied to social diseases.

The new Negro has arrived with stiffened backbone, dauntless manhood, defiant eye, steady hand, and a will of iron. His creed is admirably summed up in the poem of Claude McKay.

And there follow verses of the sonnet, "If we must die."

There is a bitter editorial in this issue attacking "the spineless, sycophantic, servile, slavish" conservative Negroes, another call

for Negroes to get into the Socialist Party and two cartoons, "Following the advice of the old crowd Negro," which depicts as a result the killing of Negroes by United States soldiers and sailors and "The new crowd Negro making America safe for himself," which depicts a Negro in an armed motor car slaying and driving before him at his revolver's point a crowd of white men.

An article by Lieuts. W. N. Colson and A. B. Nutt, on "The Failure of the Ninety-second Division," concludes with these words:

The Ninety-second Division therefore returns home to find the United States more undemocratic than ever. Lynchings, riots, segregations, disfranchisements, discriminations are more rampant than before the war. The colored men gave their lives, their health, their homes—their best selves to the privileged classes of America, England, France, Belgium, Japan, and Italy in this war. They are enjoying none of the profits. They get stigma, superadded to their killed and wounded, to their trench feet and fever, to their lice and gas gangrene. They fought for the alleged freedom of the seas. Freedom on land is denied them. They fought for alleged democracy. They reap murder and rapine. The call is clear. The economic system holds the Negro down. It fosters race prejudice and repression. The cause must be removed. Remove it by the force of arms exerted in self-defense! Remove it by the force of economic strength and organization! Until then the Negro race in the United States as a part of the labor class is doomed to failure. It will surely follow the funeral path of the Ninety-second Division.

Another article by W. A. Domingo, "Did Bolshevism stop race riots in Russia?" concludes with the following encomium of Bolshevism:

The lesson to be gained from these numerous examples is that racial oppression in its various forms of disfranchisement, lynching, and mob murder prevails in non-Bolshevik Russia, but has been abolished in the territory dominated by Lenin and his followers. The Allies who are to-day fighting Soviet Russia in the name of freedom have colonies which they exploit, and sections of their own countries in which they at times permit the unrestrained passions of white majorities to run riot upon Negro minorities. In contrast to this racial failure on the part of the self-righteous Allies and non-Bolshevik governments to protect small racial groups it is noticeable that all minorities are successfully protected in Soviet Russia.

The question naturally arises: Will Bolshevism accomplish the full freedom of Africa, colonies in which Negroes are the majority, and promote human tolerance and happiness in the United States by the eradication of the causes of such disgraceful occurrences as the Washington and Chicago race riots? The answer is deducible from the analogy of Soviet Russia, a country in which dozens of racial and lingual types have settled their many differences and found a common meeting ground, a country which no longer oppresses colonies, a country from which the lynch rope is banished and in which racial tolerance and peace now exist.

In connection with the above the closing paragraphs of a succeeding article are pertinent.

It is now recognized that the black man is fast coming into a knowledge of the true means of his emancipation—he is grasping the force and value of socialism. Let me state it a little more elaborately: He begins to discover the value of the ownership of the sources of wealth and the tools of production by the worker himself; he begins to see that when the natural resources and the public utilities are democratically owned (owned by all the people) and are democratically managed (managed by all the people) it is then only he will be his own master, and the mastership of the Union League pirates will have come to an end.

The fits, therefore, over the black man's embracing socialism are in consequence of his discovery of the key to the situation. The fits are due to two reasons: First, It is recognized that the black man is a power of great potentiality upon whom consciousness of his own strength is about to dawn—a veritable giant awaking out of sleep.

Second, Socialism lifts him above the footstool of supplication and puts him upon the lofty pedestal of independent activity—where he can do things. It puts him where vital and intimate touch with those who are engaged in correcting the fundamental wrongs, not through empty sentimentality that might be cast to the winds when its force has been expended, but as an element of human need indispensable to the realization of the industrial democracy—the incoming of the cooperative commonwealth.

And as a noteworthy example of the Negro's pride in fighting back, I quote from an article on the Washington riots, "When the Negroes shot a lynching bee into perdition," by one W. E. Hawkins:

In all the bloody trail of riots in the "Land of the free and the home of the knave," there never was another wherein the Negro took so much pride and jubilation. When the long pent-up floods of race hate broke their bounds, transforming men into demons, and bands of armed mobs hunted each other like the wild clansmen in the South during reconstruction, groups of Negroes roamed the streets shouting jubilant war songs, as if it were a carnival and gala day. And to them it was a carnival indeed, in which the sleeping demon of race consciousness, aroused to fury by the constant pricking of his pride, sensed the flavor of the glory of hate and dropped the sting of death into the white man's cup of arrogance.

It was a demonstration of the new appraisalment the Negro has of human values. Life to him is valued only in so far as he can use that life to secure and maintain that which makes life dear, and the lives of those who jeopardize his sacred heritages lose their value in proportion as they antagonize those heritages. Therefore, when policemen failed to protect the Negroes, the latter shot them down.

As an indication of their state of mind, they openly declare the war here in Washington the greatest event since the Civil War. The Negro has demonstrated right in the sight of the White House and Congress which refuse to protect him or reward his loyalty that he is afraid neither to kill nor to die for so sacred a thing as liberty and home.

Here in the Nation's capital he has thrown down the gauntlet to his country. The gaping wounds of would-be lynchers in the city morgue and hospitals speak an eloquent warning that the time of timidity is gone; the day of cringing is over; the hour of compromise is passed; and the high noon of action has come. He says to the lynchers that henceforth it will be an eye for an eye, tooth for tooth, death for death, and damnation for damnation.

For every Negro who lost his life in the race war, two white men have gone to that eternal sleep where the wicked cease from troubling and where they will think of lynching no more.

The Messenger for October is significant for one thing above all others. In it for the first time a Negro publication comes out openly for sex equality. It is the habit of most of the Negro publications to deny that they advocate social equality. The Messenger claims it and furthermore, with it, sex equality.

In an editorial, "A reply to Congressman James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina," which is marked throughout by a spirit of insolent bravado, there occurs this assertion—

As for social equality, there are about 5,000,000 mulattoes in the United States. This is the product of semisocial equality. It shows that social equality galore exists after dark, and we warn you that we expect to have social equality in the day as well as after dark.

Representative Byrnes is also warned that the race riots in—

Chicago and Washington are indeed but little skirmishes and fights between irritated boys compared with what may come in your own State any day unless the rights and privileges, the lives and property of negroes are protected by constituted authority. There is a sort of gentlemen's agreement among nine out of every ten negroes in the United States, which in strength of determination, undaunted courage, unrelenting advocacy, unswerving purpose, and inflexible resolution to stamp out the vandalism of the South, compares most favorably with your Irish brothers in their invincible and unfaltering intention to throw

off the yoke of British tyranny and oppression even though the little island is drenched in blood and tears.

And again:

You next take to task the editors of the Messenger, A. Phillip Randolph and Chandler Owen, for being Bolsheviks. While you are generally adept at distortion of facts and misrepresentation of circumstances, you have not very greatly misrepresented us. We would be glad to see a Bolshevik Government substituted in the South in place of your bourbon, reactionary, vote-stolen, misrepresentative Democratic régime. In Russia the franchise, the right to vote, is based upon work, upon the performance of useful service. Negroes perform most of the service in the South. According to Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard, three-fifths of the wealth of the South is produced by negroes. Practically all negroes in the South work. Under the soviet system their right to vote would be based upon their service, and not upon race or color. Again, they would be rewarded according to what they produced, and not be robbed in peonage—a system with which you are well acquainted. So here goes: If approval of the right to vote, based upon service instead of race or color, is Bolshevism, count us as Bolsheviks. If our approval of the abolition of pogroms by the Bolsheviks is Bolshevism, stamp us again with that epithet. If the demand for political and social equality is Bolshevism, label us once more with that little barrack behind which your mental impotency hides when it can not answer argument.

Our rare gift of prophecy, which appeared in an article entitled "Negro police captains," in the July issue of the Messenger, was only rare to an incompetent student of political science like you. Were you versed as a Congressman ought to be, in sociology and economics, you would know just as well as we do that all of the cities where large groups of negroes dwell are magazines of race-prejudice dynamite, ready to explode at any moment upon lighting the fuse. To be very frank your own State is an arsenal at this very moment, where something may happen any day to prove that the negroes of your State are not so satisfied and contented as you think. You had better look around you—you and all your Southern colleagues. You had better cut out your Jim Crow car pretty quick. You had better extend the vote to negro citizens at once. You had better relinquish your time-worn reaction and make way for democracy unstreaked by race or color lines.

And again:

Do you think all of the negroes are disfranchised? Disfranchisement of the negroes, sir, is exclusively Southern. As for social equality, there are about 5,000,000 mulattoes in the United States. This is the product of semisocial equality. It shows that social equality galore exists after dark, and we warn you that we expect to have social equality in the day as well as after dark.

Lastly, you say, "Neither political equality nor social equality is essential to the happiness of the negro." On the contrary, we hold that both are not only essential, but inevitable. We have made considerable headway along both lines, and the period of acceleration is not far away. And even you, Mr. Byrnes, may yet sit with us in Congress or in Pullman and dining cars in South Carolina.

The old order is passing. It is passing in race relations. It is passing in class relations. The old relations are yielding to the magic touch of the new democracy. They struggle to hold their own but are doomed to disappointment, as under the corroding tooth of time they wear away and cease to be. The new order of society is upon us. It is sweeping away the system which maintains you, Mr. Byrnes, and all your ilk. With the passing of the system the representatives of the system will follow in a slow, sad cadence to the cosmic trend of democracy. For us there is hope; for you despair.

We have all to gain; you all to lose. As we watch your frantic alarm and your myopic desperation, we remember that the nearness of a ruling class to the end of its reign can be judged by the rashness of statement and the severity of measures to which it resorts.

The sword of Damocles dangles over your so-called white man's domination! Rumblings of revolution are heard in the distance! Nemesis is at hand!

In an article by that same Lieut. W. N. Colson previously quoted in this report, on "The social experience of the Negro soldier

abroad," the matter of social equality, with all that is implied by that term, is again advanced.

Indeed, the social experience of the American Negro abroad will continue to produce, from the present time on, the most favorable and proper reaction. Remembering the pleasantness of French life, he will not rest until he has caused to be ushered into the United States a state of complete and uncompromising economic, political, and social equality. This program will call for the benefit of every enjoyment, privilege, and immunity which the white race does or will possess in America.

Just what is implied by the above statement, if any doubt may exist, a preceding paragraph of this article will make unquestionable (Exhibit XI):

Briefly stated, the principal points of social contact which the Negro soldiers had, were the towns, the cafes, and restaurants, the leave areas and the great cities. In each one of those groups of places, they enjoyed with the French, the common everyday experiences of life. It is needless to say that the French took the Negro soldiers on terms of absolute social equality. Just as they took Englishmen, or Belgians on terms of absolute social equality. Of all the American soldiers, the good natured Negro, who learned the French language and manners so easily, was without a doubt the best liked American. Hundreds of unsolicited testimonials, verbal and written, attest to this undeniable fact. Many are the reminiscences with which black men refer to their fair treatment in all parts of France. Once the fine nature and high character of the Negro Americans became manifest, the French people opened their homes welcomingly to them. They wine and dined them at every opportunity. They made invidious comparisons between the whites and the blacks, but always in favor of the blacks. When the riots between French and American soldiers and sailors occurred at Brest, the French made it emphatically clear that American Negroes, "camarades," could walk the streets without molestation. To show how well the French people received American Negroes, various estimates place the number of marriages of American Negroes and French girls between one and two thousand. Though most of these marriages were among the bourgeoisie and proletariat, a surprisingly fair percentage was found among women of culture and refinement. It was quite the custom for Negro officers to spend their leaves with French families to whom they had become endeared. Barring misunderstandings, due to differences in language, American Negroes in France enjoyed the highest degree of social equality compatible with current conditions.

While enjoying unrestricted social equality among the French population Negroes saw among other things: Negro deputies in the French Chamber; French Negro officers commanding French soldiers, white and colored; no color or caste discrimination whatsoever; in short, a country characterized by the fullest, social, religious, and political equality for every class and race and nationality.

There is in this issue a poem "Her 13 black soldiers," by Archibald H. Grimke, which we learn was declined by the Atlantic Monthly as well as by the Crisis, but which the Messenger has no hesitancy in publishing. The mourning border in which the title of the poem is "boxed," and the sentiment expressed in the verses make this poem indicative of the wide-spread, if not universal, feeling among the negroes that the negro soldiers punished at Houston, Tex., were foully murdered by the Army authorities. I quote from the poem certain lines that carry a malign influence:

And what did she do, she who put that uniform on them,
And bade them to do and die if needs be for her?
Did she raise an arm to protect them?
Did she raise her voice to frighten away the reptilian thing?
Did she lift a finger or shy a word of rebuke at it?
Did she do anything in defense of her black soldiers?
She did nothing. She sat complacent, indifferent in her seat of power.

She had eyes, but she refused to see what Houston was doing to her black soldiers;

She had ears, but she stuffed them with cotton,

That she might not hear the murmured rage of her black soldiers.

They suffered alone, they were defenseless against insult and violence,

For she would not see them nor hear them nor protect them.

Then in desperation they smote the reptilian thing,

They smote it as they had smitten before her enemies,

For was it not her enemy, the reptilian thing, as well as their own?

They in an hour of madness smote it in battle furiously,

And it shrank back from their blows hysterical,

Terror and fear of death seized it, and it cried unto her for help.

And she, who would not hear her black soldiers in their dire need,

She, who put her uniform on them, heard their enemy.

She flew at its call and hanged her brave black soldiers.

She hanged them for doing for themselves what she ought to have done for them,

She hanged them for resenting insult to her uniform,

She hanged them for defending from violence her brave black soldiers.

Loyal to the last were they and obedient.

No amount of mere quotation could serve as a full estimate of the evil scope attained by the Messenger. Only a reading of the magazine itself in its several issues would suffice to do this.

[The New Negro, New York; editors, Hubert H. Harrison and August Valentine Bernier.]

This is "a monthly magazine of a different sort," as it proclaims itself, and the sort is, indeed, very different in physical make-up and mental achievement alike from the Messenger. It is, however, another radical publication. Its sentiment may be measured by the following assertion from its September, 1919, issue:

And what are the negroes to do? Are they expected to reecho with enthusiasm the patriotic protestations of the boot-licking leaders whose pockets and positions testify to the power of the white man's gold? Let there be no mistake. Whatever the negroes may be expected by law to do and say, the resentment in their hearts will not down. Unbeknown to the white people of this land, a temper is being developed among the negroes with which the American people will have to reckon.

At the present moment it takes this form: If white men are to kill unoffending negroes, negroes must kill white men in defense of their lives and property. This is the lesson of the East St. Louis massacre.

And as indicative, I quote in full a poem, "The Village Lynch-Smith":

Under a spreading chestnut tree
A red-eyed cracker stands
(A champion of democracy)
A rope is in his hands
And a veteran warrior is he
Of Southern Ku Klux Klans.

His head is hammer-shaped and long
And brainless as a pan,
His brow is wet with moonshine sweat;
He loves to "rush the can"
And boast that common decency
He owes no colored man.

Week in, week out, from morn till night
You can hear him madly blow
Against social equality;
Yet he will slyly go
And hound some helpless colored girl
When the evening sun is low.

He goes on Sunday to the church
And makes a lot of noise
Proclaiming Christianity—
Yea, you can hear his voice
Singing in the village choir,
And it makes his wife rejoice.

It sounds to her like her father's voice
Coaxing a pair o' dice;
She needs must think of him once more,
How in the jail he lies,
With her powder puff she wipes
The eyeballs from her eyes.

Raping, hanging, and burning
Onward through life he goes;
Each morning sees some crime begun,
Each evening sees its close;
Hatred attempted, hatred done
Has earned a night's repose.

Thanks, thanks to thee, my cracker friend,
For the lesson thou hast taught,
And it is this: Your Southern pride
Means absolutely naught—
Unless it means illiteracy
And the evils you have wrought.

[The Crisis, New York; editor, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.]

There has been nothing of a radical nature in the Crisis since July. Although it has frequently been objectionable, the Crisis is regarded by the Messenger as reactionary toward conservatism. As an instance of which the Crisis has previously said, however, I quote from its May, 1919, issue:

For bleeding France * * * we fought gladly and to the last drop of our blood; for America and her highest ideals we fought in far-off hope; for the dominant Southern oligarchy entrenched in Washington we fought in bitter resignation. For the America that represents and gloats in lynching, disfranchisement, caste, brutality, and devilish insult—for this in its hateful upturning and mixing of things we were forced by vindictive fate to fight also * * * we return—we return from fighting. We return fighting.

Of the better-behaved New York Negro newspapers, published weekly, there does not remain much of importance to say. The New York Amsterdam News is about the best of them, yet even this paper is not always above reproach in the matter of its remarks or in the particular viewpoint it sometimes elects to take with regard to the Negro situation in general. However, this is only to say that the editors of the New Amsterdam News are human.

The Negro Age is a peg below the Amsterdam News in the quality of its editorial management. It is, moreover, less restrained. In its issue for the 13th of September, 1919, it speaks of the white man as "the most damnable hypocrite, scoundrel, and savage that the world has ever seen." With this estimate of the white man to gauge its sentiment by, it is not surprising that from time to time The New York Age oversteps its general policy of discretion.

The New York News and The New Jersey Informer News, twin publications, are yet another peg below the New York Amsterdam News, and, while at times they are objectionable, do not often overstep the limit of tolerance. They are rather naive than malicious in their offending. The more able Negro press itself regards these several newspapers as of negligible consequence. Yet they are not exactly that, reflecting, as they do, the "new patriotism" of the Negro, although more mildly.

Of Negro publications outside of New York, there are before me several copies of the Chicago Whip, Chicago, Ill.; editor, William J. Linton.

The issue for July 3, 1919, bears an editorial, "The glory of death," in which the death of Booker Washington is welcomed as having saved the Negro race from at least "five years under ether." The death of Tillman is also "the most glorious event in Negro history," and the invocation is made to death—whether with intent or not to suggest an abetting of the end desired is not clear—"in your next journey do not forget to take with you the Hon. Cole Blease of South Carolina, Hoke Smith and Hardwick of Georgia, Vardaman of Mississippi, Heflin of Alabama, and Bilbo of Mississippi."

An editorial in the September 27 issue is devoted to the getting rid of the "old crowd" Negro reactionaries—

the fossilized types who believe that the Negro must stay in the Negro's place. Who believe that the Negro race is inherently inferior. Who believe that education turns Negroes into fools. Who believe that the white men's conclusion is the verdict reached by the highest tribunal under the sun. Who believe in the old order of things. * * * These old fossils and fogies must be churned out of existence.

[The Broad Ax, Chicago, Ill.; editor, Julius F. Taylor.]

I can not say that the one issue of this weekly before me is of any significance.

[The Favorite Magazine, Chicago, Ill.; editor, Fenton Johnson.]

The leading editorial in the December 14, 1918, issue of this little magazine, "The Negro demands his liberty," contains these paragraphs:

The Negro is independent. The whole world is his for the asking. He is no longer a slave; he is a free man; and it is folly for him to take a back seat and let his oppressors continue to make the world a Hades for the darker races.

We have crushed the Kaiser. Now we must crush Gompers with his blood-stained hands, Vardaman with the burden of all the lynchings in the South, and Williams, the villain of our noble black womanhood. We must arise everywhere and let the world know that the black man demands his own.

We must make our homes secure against the depredations of the southern savage; we must protect our young girls and our wives and mothers from the white hounds in the South; we must purify the air in Dixie so that real Americans can breathe it and breathe it unmolested.

[The Half-Century Magazine, Chicago, Ill.; editor, Katherine B. Williams-Irwin.]

This magazine is a monthly of some pretensions. The September, 1919, issue in an editorial on the Chicago race riot contained these two paragraphs:

We deplore bloodshed, but the terrible lesson to white people must be written in blood. Who has any respect for a weakling? Any man will have more respect for another man when he knows that he can not knock him down and drag him through the streets whenever he gets ready.

What has occurred in Chicago may occur in a greater or lesser degree in other places. The same agony and hell must go abroad before some white people learn that the Negro has retreated his last time, and that we will clike up the street with our dead before we will stand for the brutalisms which we have been too long subjected to.

Judging from this particular issue, the Half-Century Magazine is not to be considered in any sense a radical publication.

[The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.; editor, J. H. Murphy.]

The August 8 issue of this newspaper had, as a leading editorial, the following:

NORTH AND SOUTH.

The Knoxville, Tenn., Sentinel, white, boasts of the fact that in all its race affairs of a hundred years, wars, reconstruction, lynchings, etc., the South has never had the spectacle of the recent Washington and Chicago riots—a hundred thousand blacks pitted against several hundred thousand whites, both sides slashing and slaying.

Even if the Atlanta riot does not come up to these latter-day "affairs," the difference between riots North and South appears to be that the Southern colored folk have not learned how to fight back as well as they have in Washington and Chicago. There would be a riot after every Southern lynching if Southern colored folk knew how to meet violence with violence.

[The Gazette, Cleveland, Ohio; editor, Harry C. Smith.]

There is in the issue of this newspaper before me—that for August 23, 1919—a vicious article by the Rev. William A. Bird, on the insidious propaganda waged against the Negro.

Says the clergyman:

Colored men, even the worst of them, are not as basely immoral as the average white southerners, who spare neither their white nor colored women. He is a beast of the lowest prey and will use every means to destroy virtue wherever he meets it. Because of his base immorality he is a savage brute that believes that every other being is like him * * *. Never again will the world believe the South. The insidious propaganda now being carried on in America is the continuation of the one begun by white officers and privates of the South in France against colored soldiers. France learned that those white brutes were liars, and drove them out, while colored soldiers were welcomed. There must be no quarter given to the monumental liars of creation. Colored men, since they know their schemes, should be careful and whenever in their innocence a Southern white brute attacks him, or attempts to arrest him on trumped-up crimes, kill him on the spot. Then kill till some one kills him.

This will, I think, suffice to give an approximate idea of the activities of the radical Negro press. To judge alone by means of quotations, even a liberal measure of quotation, may seem unfair; yet in this particular instance the method does not work with injustice. Indeed, by no means all of the objectionable matter in any one issue of the more fully considered publications has been quoted. For certain of these publications there is not a good word to be said—all their effort and product is bad, and intentionally bad. How widespread is the feeling that actuates them is to be seen by the citations made from the out-of-town publications touched upon in which the same sentiments are reproduced. If this report serves to give a substantial appreciation of the dangerous spirit of defiance and vengeance at work among the Negro leaders, and, to an ever-increasing extent, among their followers, it shall have accomplished its purpose.

Respectfully submitted.