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GLOBAL RESOURCES NETWORK

THE ALARM.

"Men Die, But Principles Live."

VOL. I. No. 17.

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

A MODERN FABLE.

THE OGRE OF AUTHORITY—HIS RELENTLESS GRASP UPON OUR LIVES AND FORTUNE.

A VIVID DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION THROUGH WHICH THE PROLETARIAT ARE NOW PASSING.

There was once a great ogre, who owned an immense tract of land—included all the land known at the time was controlled by him. It was divided into parts, in each of which the people kept to themselves, had their own manners and customs, and their own rulers, though the same great ogre governed them all.

The ogre was a mysterious being, who was never seen by his people; he was known by various fine sounding titles in the different tracts of land, but he had one true name for all that, and sooner or later the people discovered it. The rulers all represented him and ornamented themselves with his clothes and his jewelry and seals. These were known by different titles: in the different divisions of land; some took great pride in being addressed as great potentates, others were as boastful of being only "servants of the people" they governed; but in each the symbol of the great ogre which they carried was enough to command the utmost reverence, awe and obedience.

The ogre had a thousand dwelling places, but no one ever saw his form or knew just which one of them he was in. He seem to be in all of them and might be in none. His palace, sword, cloak, decorations, and his officers represented him and carried with them all the power he could have exerted; by some mysterious, invisible process, they seemed to be the ogre itself whenever seen or felt.

These dwelling places were built in the forms of castles, palaces, court houses, prisons, torture halls and churches. Each of these were filled with men called princes, judges, nobles, inquisitors, priests, and presidents, all of them seemingly endowed and covered with the presence of the mighty ogre, who was himself invisible.

But the common people were not happy. They had to toil early and late with all their strength and being; all they produced went to the many dwelling places of the great ogre; if the amount was not sufficient they were starved and driven about from place to place. Those who worked the hardest were given barely enough to eat and to cover them; some were not allowed to touch a spot of ground or a single tool, and yet if they did not produce the right amount of wealth they were punished with starvation and banishment. Little children and women often worked until they dropped dead and were merely removed, while others stepped into their places. The insignificant occupants of the lands were simply victims of the ogre and were very little considered.

But the strangest part of it all was, that the poor people of each division were very distrustful and antagonistic to the poor people of all the other divisions. They were very proud, even in their rags and hunger, of being born in the particular piece of ground on which they lived, and hated everybody who was born some where else. It was considered a piece of great treachery to speak well of the people, or their manners, or belief, who belonged in an adjoining division, and to adopt an opinion from them was rank heresy and very wicked indeed. The rulers and their followers did everything in their power to foster this feeling, and when ever the people showed the slightest inclination to be friendly and learn more of their neighbors, some new scheme was gotten up to divert their attention and remind them of the subservency due their own land and its rulers. It was strange what small things would accomplish this. If a few gradually colored pieces of cloth were hung about, and some colored lights carried through the by-ways, with a few of the magnates to ride along and smile and bow to the people, they would come out of their

work pens and hovels and shout themselves hoarse over their own good home and rulers, and go back hating their neighbors, of whom they knew very little, worse than ever. The masters, however, were not so patriotic, but adopted fashions, art and literature and methods of oppressing their subjects from one another.

They were a remarkably contented set of beings, too; they seldom complained of their hard lot, and did pretty much as their masters told them. This was due greatly to the industrious care of the great magnates, who seemed more fully clothed with the power of the ogre than any other, called priests. These told the people that the more patient and obedient they were, the more they suffered and toiled here, the brighter and happier would be their home in a land out of sight just then, where the ogre, in a new form, would shine upon their view with a blessed light forever. This quieted the people for many centuries and saved much trouble on the part of executioners and jail keepers.

Another good plan, whenever the people grew restless or began to ask questions, was to get up a claim that one portion of the land had insulted some other division of it, and their sacred duty to wipe out the insult in blood, or to make them believe they would be much happier if the boundary lines between them were moved a little one way or the other; and by many ingenious ways would inflame the passions of the unhappy people and set them to fighting and killing each other, while the masters rested quietly in rich palaces, secure for another period in their privileges.

But presently, now and then, a man or woman here and there would steal about, whispering to the people that they ought not to give all they created by their hard toil to the ogre and his representatives; that the people in the other divisions of land were their brothers and their troubles the same as their own.

Few listened with intelligence and hope, some called them crazy; and some ran and told their masters; and as often as one of these was caught, he was put to the torture and killed. The people were told they were wicked beings, come to lure them to ruin, and everything was done to madden them that was possible. Especially could they be roused against those who hinted a disbelief in that bright land that was always out of sight, or a suggestion that the ogre was not needed at all, for it was considered one of the brightest virtues to have unlimited faith in these things.

But torture did not decrease the number of those who went among the people, telling them they had a right to till the ground for themselves and that they owed nothing to the ogre or his magnates, and that they had no reason to hate their fellow men who lived across a river or a pond of water. While the people were obediently shouting over the good ways and glorious grandeur of their own bit of ground, these earnest men and women pointed to the hungry, homeless, sick, crowded, miserable creatures, right under their faces, and asked them if suffering was endured better in one spot than another? They showed them that wherever the ogre ruled the people suffered the same though his representatives might take different names; they urged them not to fight and hate each other, but to unite and make common cause against the rulers who oppressed them. And these earnest men and women were always imprisoned or killed and the people made to work harder and shout louder than ever.

But presently the common people began to run across and visit each other, and found they had wants, feelings and thoughts in common, and that their hard lots were the same. More than one began to murmur they would fight each other no longer, but let their masters do their own fighting. As there was no desire on the part of the masters to fight each other when it could not be done by proxy, they secretly began to tremble and confer with one another

WHY A HIGH TARIFF?

IS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT "FOR THE PEOPLE AND BY THE PEOPLE?"

"REPRESENTATIVE" GOVERNMENT AN OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE, FOR THE CLASSES, BY THE POLITICIANS.

How far can we say it is true that our government is "of the people, for the people, and by the people"? Every man is bound to ask himself this question a hundred times a year when the government seems to be opposed to him, to his designs, and even to what seems to him to be his rights, and especially must he ask himself this question in the face of these great political contests, and these congressional debates, such as that at present pending upon the Mill's bill.

The census of 1880 said that the "people" were 50,155,000 individuals living within the limits of these United States, and that the government is of them each one must feel sharply enough as he moves about and as his movements engender thought. But when we come to the rest of the aphorism, what are we to say?

Is the government really for the people? Is the high tariff for the people, and is the revision carried on with their interests in view, or is it entirely with an eye to those classes whose votes tell because cast solidly?

First of all we are struck very forcibly with the fact that of these 50,155,000 inhabitants there are employed in the manufacturing industries capable of protection 2,739,000, or, allowing that they are all males and that the proportion is five to a family, we have 13,695,000 individuals for whom the government taxes 36,860,000. Is this for the people?

When we come still further to examine in detail the protected trades we find that 10,612 are engaged in bookbinding, 58,478 in printing and publishing, and because the printers' assembly of the Knights of Labor is a good voting assembly, which controls very largely these 69,090, therefore every student in the country must pay 25 per cent. in addition to the price of every book of foreign make he is compelled to read; so the government is for these 69,090 bookmakers rather than of the 56,937 students in the colleges and of the hundreds of thousands of students outside the walls of their alma mater. More are benefited by the tariff on iron and steel and machinery than on anything else, but even here 307,485 tax over 49,000,000. Is this, then, a government for the people?

But let us see how these grand leaders of the country look upon this matter in their published utterances; is it that the people will be benefited or injured by their acts, or is it not rather that they fear the injury of the Paterson silk men, the Ohio wool farmers, the Syracuse salt boilers, the Pennsylvania iron founders, and every other man whose vote is apt to fall heavily in the coming election?

Why is it that the republicans are for the tariff and the democrats against it? Is it a matter of principle or not rather a bid for the votes?

Take at random any of the numerous speeches on the tariff reform legislation and you will find all the high tariff speeches and most of the tariff reform speeches wearisome cases of special pleading for special industries, and if in the same connection you consider the political importance through clubs or leaders of the trades you will find that those strong politically, as the printers, brass manufacturers, wool growers, carpet weavers, are those receiving the great attention, while the interests of the students, agriculturists, and all other large and hence disunited classes, are hardly considered and least of all are upheld the interests of that great class for whom is the government—"the people."

Always the government is directly administered by the office holders and it remains for us to ascertain whether these are the duly accredited agents of the people.

In the presidential election of 1884 there were 10,056,000 votes cast for the different candidates, and assuredly it seems to me that the successful one cannot be said to be the agent of the 40,000,000 of the people who abstained from voting, or, better, were precluded from voting; possibly three out of every four of these were incapable from youth or infirmity from using the franchise, but we have remaining 10,000,000—as many as voted—still unable to exercise it, and shall we say that where one-half the adults are unable to indicate their preference for chief magistrate that the government is by the people?

Again, I say that the government is not by the people for the reason that the action and organization of the political parties does not permit an honest expression of the wills of the 10,000,000 who did vote.

It has been said, and said truly, that in the city of New York the combined Tammany and County democracy machines have never been beaten at an election, and that a nomination by these organizations is the equivalent of an election. John Kelly when complained to on account of a large demanded assessment said, "Why, damn it man, I am giving you an election not a nomination." Is this an example of government by the people?

Our election laws are so framed that to put in nomination and run a candidate for the office of mayor of New York city demands an elaborate election machinery costing not less than \$25,000, and that without a possible chance of success with the United Democracy opposing.

The Commonwealth Club of New York has attempted to lessen this evil in that particular state, but that great governor, elected of the people, for the people, and by the people, Hill, has vetoed the bill after its passage through the legislature, thus proving his high aims at political reform.

The grand sweeps of office holders from one party to another, one man's supporters to another, at a change of administration, prove over and over again how little the government is administered by the people. Watch the conventions and the canvasses before the election, and you will see how the Robertsons, Higginsons, and all the list of office holders have qualified themselves to govern of, for and by the people.

Such, then, are the fallacies of our "representative" government, less in evil undoubtedly than the monarchies from which we have one and all fled; but while the system stands which puts a power over the business of the country, a money-making power, into the hands of its legislators we must still expect this oppression of the people, for the classes, by the politicians.

Can we change this by voting? No, my friends, not while the system stands, not while the money-making politician lives, for our vote is the sanction of the successful rascal, and we are his pals with no right to call him by his true name.

Outside the party, outside of politics, we may scourge him till he flinch; we may throw light upon his deeds till he hides away; we may cry for a reform which is an extinction of his system till our cry, mounting louder and louder, calls away every honest man from the political ranks, and the rogues stand unmasked and unable to persist in their roguery.

F. A. C. PERRINE.

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A GOOD TEXT.

"The bread of the needy is their life; he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood! He that taketh away his neighbor's living slayeth him; and he that defraudeth the laborer of his hire is a blood shedder"—Bible.

PATRIOTIC POWDERLY.

THE HIGH MONKEY-MONK AND THE LITTLE TYCOON SOUND THE TOM-TOM FOR WAGE SLAVES.

THOUGH THE LION ROARETH AND THE WHANGDOODLE MOURNETH, THE "STATESMAN" CELEBRATES.

Again we have passed the great day of American splurge and buncombe. In thousands of hamlets white slaves have had a holiday—at their own expense; powder was burned and firecrackers exploded in empty barrels to testify our devotion to the land to which the statue of "Liberty" turns her back. Small boys with paper torpedoes and "prominent knights" with windy orations gave themselves over to extol the system beneath which they too often groan the other 364 days in the year. Stalwart mechanics and grimy miners washed their dirt-stained hands and faces and rejoiced that they could stand with their bosses and hurrah. Assemblies which have been organized to secure "the abolishment of the wage system" met in patriotic fervor to celebrate the prosperity their sweat has brought to others. Women, worn and pale, came out in their cheap holiday attire from the mills where their wasted flesh has been woven into raiment for the privileged, and smiled approval.

Why should they not? They have enlisted in labor's grand army to battle against giant wrongs. They have felt the power of organized fellowship and listened to exalted words of promise. And now, at the request of the High Monkey-monk, come forth to rejoice over the triumph of their enemies. They listen to statulent orations. They are unfortunate enough in one place to hear the Little Tycoon; in others, such erudite philosophers as Beaumont, Trevellick, Daddy Griffith, and other pets. But from none of these leather-lunged will they gather an idea that economic emancipation comes not by political jugglery. These educators (at so much a day) being themselves in the dark, cannot radiate much light.

The new school of educators, the fledgling orators whose applications are on file in Philadelphia, the high-hat brigade of amateur workmen who expect to solidify labor interests at a reasonable per diem charge, have vented their flatulence upon hayseed audiences. Heroes of a day, they have celebrated the glories of baked beans and windy patriotism, extolled the virtues of the modern Job Trotter, and retired to await their commissions. The Little Tycoon has sounded the virtues of lemonade; Trevellick has repeated his old platitudes; Beaumont has electrified an audience with the old tale that he was once a shoemaker; Mrs. Barry has added her feminine scream that she is "a Powderly man first and always," and the American eagle raises its tail feathers and shrieks exultantly. Great is buncombe and great is the six and three-quarter head which conceived the idea of turning out labor's army upon Independence day to make a spectacle of itself for gods and men. Such "statesmanship" cannot be obtained without the investment of a high price.

Yet, candidly, is it not a sight for men and gods to see wage-slaves, who are trusting in fancied hopes of emancipation, called out by adroit thimble-riggers to celebrate the system which holds them in bondage? Imagine a Moses calling the Hebrews together in Egypt to celebrate Egypt's prosperity with their task-masters! When will we have done with the farce of being betrayed in bulk? Of fostering an alleged education that teaches nothing? Of rushing men into assemblies to fill the places of men whose curiosity has been satisfied and high hopes blasted? Has the High Monkey-monk a definite aim, a studied policy, a clear vision of the needs of the hour? To live off labor for fifteen years and wave a flag with the atrial effect is not enough to arouse enthusiasm even on the day of fools—July 4.

HEBERT.

[CONTINUED ON THIRD PAGE.]

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FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

Equality of Opportunities for All—Hence, extinction of privileges and favoritism, protection and oppression, casted rights and vested wrongs.
Free Land, Mutual Credit, and Equitable Commerce—Hence, abolition of rent, interest and profit.
Sovereignty of the Individual—Hence, liberty, the cessation of authority, or industrial emancipation and social co-operation.

MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE

PURSON CELL, 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1897. The Alarm has, as you know, ever rung out strong and clear the dangers that threaten the people. To other hands it is now committed that task which was mine to the work and duty as editor of this paper. Though fallen, wounded, perhaps unto death, in the battle for liberty, the standard—the press—my hands bore aloft in the midst of the struggle is caught up by other hands, and will be again and again, if needed, in the crusade for the triumph over the enemies of peace, brotherhood, and happiness. Our comrades, Byer D. Lum, is my editorial successor. To most, or many of you, he is well known. His steadfastness, courage, and ability in the great work of labor's economic emancipation is recognized by all. Therefore, ever to him in his work your hearty support—be it worthy and able. Farewell. A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1898.

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field, but finding for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation soliciting support for the publication find will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Send all donations to the Treasurer of The Alarm Club, A. Tows, 350 Grove street, Jersey City, N. J.

TO EXCHANGES.

Editors desiring to exchange with THE ALARM must send their papers to my New York address. Letters sent to Chicago may reach me; papers will not, and their non-receipt will be taken as evidence that they are not sent.

INDEPENDENCE DAY.

What memories of youth cluster around the "glorious fourth," what long preparation to "raise the wind," clandestine visits to neighboring barns in search of old iron to sell to the blacksmith, the slowly accumulating stock of pennies and the wild delight with which they were expended for powder. Ah! but they were happy days. But boys of a larger growth view matters from the standpoint of a larger experience. To the boy the fourth of July was indeed a day of independence and it probably is yet, but when he has become matured, when the cares of a family have rounded his shoulders and the bitter experience of losing and seeking work has become frequent he sometimes pauses to think.

What are the conditions of independence?

To this question no one has returned an answer with more accuracy than the anarchists. Drury's five fundamental points in economics may be taken as covering the entire question. They are land, labor, capital, exchange and insurance. Land first, for it is the source of all wealth. Labor necessarily follows, for by it only is wealth produced. From this union results capital, or wealth saved applied to reproductive use. But the moment capital or reproductive wealth comes in there necessarily results exchange. Economic independence imperatively demands freedom to the use of the land, to the exercise of labor, to accumulation of capital and to the medium of exchange. All that remains over and above this in social administration is within the province of insurance; in other words, Drury's grand generaliza-

tion outlines the fundamental points of a cooperative society.

Today, when we celebrate a bastard independence and toast our harlot goddess, Liberty, none of these conditions are obtained. Two obstacles, and but two, stand in the way of economic independence—the monopoly of land and of credit; the source of wealth and the means of utilizing it. To remove the first is not the sole need, though it has awakened the greater attention. Even if access to the land were free, while exchange remains subject to monopoly, while we are bound to exchange products in a legally privileged currency, labor is hampered and capital becomes an arm of exploitation. Freedom to land and freedom to credit give freedom to labor and to capital and leaves insurance a social necessity; it removes rent and interest, and, with their extinction, profits, which is but a logical sequence, falls.

But as long as these two cornerstones of labor are permitted to prey upon labor, labor may pray in vain. The rejoicing of amateur economists upon "independence day," the treachery of leading Knights of Labor who, in their sycophantic adulation of powers that be, belie their principles; the studied attempt to slaughter a movement which appeals to the awakening sense of the people, the effort to make economic principles fit a 6x9 political platform—all are unworthy of honest men. Let us have done with \$5,000 "statesmen" who in their loud mouthed orations for their enemies' benefit, simply voice their own incompetency. Our independence day has yet to come, and until the dawn of the coming day breaks we refuse obedience to the gaudy rag-a-prostitute mob have set us as a new Gessler's hat, and leave it to mountebanks and Powderlys to wave for theatrical effect. The red flag of the international is the sole emblem of independence but, like Emmet's monument, only a free people can raise it.

SIR TERENCE DE SCRANTON.

That eminent chevalier of industry, Sir Terence de Scranton, beneath whose white banner I count myself a recruit, has made a marked success, provided the end achieved is the end designed. As in this free and easy age, and in the glare of the publicity Sir Terence has given to his plans and ordered every one may be expected to have an opinion, I desire to express mine and lay my tribute of praise at his august feet.

With due loyalty recognizing results attained as the work of his eminent strategic genius I have several things to commend.

His strategy has been incontestably shown in forcing a fight between the noble order and the presumed ignoble unions. Time was when the two worked together in harmony, the unions furnishing the brawn arm and the Knights the directing intelligence. When in the union the shop questions, as now, received sole attention, and in the assembly attempts were made to rise above the shop and consider the higher questions of correct economical principles. In other words, sinking the temporary questions of the moment for the grander purpose of instilling the fundamental principles of a higher civilization based upon solidarity.

But Sir Terence de Scranton had from the first evinced his strategic genius by breaking down as far as possible the veils of secrecy by letting the enemy know that he had a small host behind him ready to assault anything from a windmill to Jay Gould.

Further evidence of that "high order of statesmanship" which he gravely assured the General Assembly at Minneapolis could not be obtained for less than \$5,000 a year is shown in building up trade unionism within the order, and thus directly precipitating the conflict with unions without and leaving educational influences to come in after shop questions were settled. As a result of this strategic move education has found no place. What between wrangles over wages and hours of labor, and conflicts between unions of the same trades, an acrimonious, angry feeling has been cultivated which no one but those in the councils of the eminent strategic mind which produced it can recognize as fraternal.

Time fails to note all the strokes of "strategic genius" and "high statesmanship" which we are supposed to applaud. The vulgar herd, whose qualities of statesmanship do not rise to the \$5,000 level, might think that giving general orders to the enemy before reading them to his own forces was a blunder. They, in their ignorance, might even imagine that revealing the secret work to a cabal of reactionary priests, of ordering strikes off just as they were won, of sacrificing the order in large cities to secure its growth in hayseed districts, of selecting favorites chiefly remarkable for their incompetency or duplicity, of possessing Job Trotter's remarkable fountain eyes which called out the admiration of Sam Weller, was not "high statesmanship." But all those possessing a \$5,000 quality of statesmanship, such as the capitalist editors and boss politicians, recognize our masterworkman's peculiar fitness and hail acclaim to the greatest living chevalier of industry—Sir Terence de Scranton.

THE USE OF FORCE.

A friend mildly protests against what he terms the frequent appeals to the use of force made in these columns and asks what we expect to accomplish by the use of force? I frankly confess that force, however used, can teach no economic truth. That, as far as individual preference goes, it would be worse than folly to seek to precipitate a social revolution with all of its accompanying horrors and deaths.

The first duty of the hour is to endeavor to lay down correct principles, to strengthen the propaganda of education, to instill into peoples' minds the fundamental economic principles upon which alone a higher and more equitable social condition can be based. But although the first duty, it does not stand alone. Another duty almost as imperative demands our consideration.

In common with a great many of my comrades and others I believe the force of events is rapidly rushing us "Niagara-ward," that no amount of philosophizing nor quaver preaching can avert the ever-nearing catastrophe. If we are, as Spies said, but the birds of the coming storm, in that we but indicate and cannot prevent its advent, it is none the less our duty to cry out and spare not to awaken the thoughtless from their lethargy.

Still underneath all this fear of appealing to passion lest ignorance grasp the reins and "the red terror" runs rampant, there is both distrust of human nature and history. Violence of a frenzied people is ever of short duration; the "white terror" of capitalism is perpetual. Is it worse that a few thousand should die in a day than to slowly die under conditions where life is wretchedness? Is the misery caused by revolt more

unenduring than the misery caused by perpetual oppression? I do not try to avert it, for I consider such a task fruitless. Against the horrors of the present I can conjure up no more terrifying prospect.

But granting that it is an appeal to passion, to ignorance, and that revolt means the giving over social life to their temporary supremacy. Well! Every new birth has followed the same course, and I do not believe the present will be any exception, philosophical quakers to the contrary notwithstanding.

Man is ever greater than men, and every crisis brings with it competent leaders. Out of the seething crucible of social conflict it is never ignorance and passion which rises to the top. They may characterize this or that event, but the immortality of social existence asserts itself, and over the ruins of the overthrown worm-eaten structure there invariably rises a higher and nobler one. The anarchist does not appeal to force for aggression, but insists upon the necessity of being ready to use it in defence. And for this he awaits the occasion!

INTERESTING.

The following is taken from a Houtzdale, Pa., paper:

The old question as we meet: "Where are you stopping, John?" "I am at what used to be known as the West-Moshannon mines." "Has it changed hands lately?" "No, only changed its name." "What is it called now?" "The Bread and Molasses mine." "Why do you call it by that name?" "Because we only get work enough in one month to buy a sack of flour, and the next month we get work enough to pay the rent and buy one gallon of molasses. The greatest trouble is, we can never get the one to eat with the other, but must take them separately or stick the storekeeper."

The mines through this section of the country that pretend to be working at all, are not making half time, and we can see no signs of improvement in the coal mining business. It is reported that Charles Berwind, of the firm of Berwind, White and Co., said he did not know anything about any orders being issued by their firm requesting the men under their employ to return to the pluck-me stores.

Midnight moving is becoming fashionable in portions of Woodward township; cause supposed to be too much bread and molasses. Couldn't pay for it all.

BETWEEN a tariff for protection and incidental revenue and a tariff for revenue and incidental protection working men are to have their souls harrowed for four months and timid house-wives alarmed for the safety of their larder. Over a bill which only reduces war taxes seven per cent and places certain raw materials of industry upon the free list the cry is raised that British free trade is about to endanger our national prosperity. Rats! Between the republican liar and the democratic juggler labor will again be crucified.

THE Topeka Post calls out "labor fight to protect your wages." After thus solving the labor problem as one of per centage in wages the erudite editor tiny begins another article by stating that "it is not every man that can take the position of a labor leader."—Verily!

OWING to the Fourth of July the paper is made up one day earlier than usual. At the time of writing neither "The Primer of Anarchy" nor the expected Chicago letter had been received.

THE Duke of Marlborough, notorious for his vile profligacy, has married an American lady, or as his English friends express it, "married a pot of money, lucky dog." Family heredity seems borne out in his case. 200 years ago John Churchill, the first Duke of Marlborough, rose to power through his sister's shame and since what decent people regard as shameful has been the foundation of the family's only greatness.

A BRIEF of a papal propaganda has been prepared for communication to the American bishops, announcing that it is graciously permitted to Roman Catholics to remain Knights of Labor. Some people will still think, however, that any one who has got a permit from a priest first, is not fit to be a knight. But I presume Terry will count his beads with renewed complacency.

AN exchange alludes to the Chicago provisionals. "It should be in the singular, not plural. There is but one left—Kicking Joe."

JULY 4 is a great day in America. July 14, 1880, will be a greater one in France.

REJOICING IN CHUMPLAND.

There is a great rejoicing in the palace of Chumpland. To-day, the lord-high chamberlain, comes before his royal master, King Zany, and announces that he has received formal notification from the hostile King Bugaboo of the latter's hostile intention to blockade the ports of Chumpland. "Ha! ha! ha!" laughs King Zany; "thus will he save us the trouble and expense of passing that protective tariff you proposed." "A True, sire," responds the lord chamberlain; "a blockade will have precisely the same effect. Bugaboo deserves our thanks."—Toronto Grip.

CHIEF ARTHUR AND HARRISON.

P. M. Arthur, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, says that he is very much pleased with the Chicago nominations, and that Gen. Harrison's record is a clean one. "Do you think working men will vote for him because he once voted against restricting Chinese immigration?" was asked. "I do not," Mr. Arthur answered, "for I do not see why they should. Even taking for granted that he made a mistake in voting the way he did, it was years ago and should not be brought up now. Yet I suppose the other side will make all the capital they can out of it, but Gen. Harrison has proven himself a friend of labor since then."

Now every working man knows, or ought to know, that it is only necessary to refer to the course Mr. Harrison took pending the railroad strike of 1877, to show how clean, indeed, the general's record is. On that occasion he employed the governor of Indiana to order out the troops and shoot down the strikers. Mark the clean record, ye fools of the Brotherhood. Gov. Williams refused to follow the kind advice of the "clean" Ben, claiming that the men were peaceable, and that there was absolutely no necessity to take such action.

But Ben was not to be calmed. His ire was roused. He mustered up a company of his own, drilled the men, so as to have them ready. At the same time he made a speech, saying: "Were I the governor I would force those men back to work or shoot them down on the spot." And: "A dollar a day and two meals (of course the expense for the two meals included in the dollar) are enough for any working man."

But, of course, it is not to be wondered that the originator of the phrase: "The interests of the men who earn \$3 a day are different from the interests of the men who can only earn \$1 a day," is in the same boat with the originator of the phrase quoted above.

However, Mr. Arthur is an honorable man, and the labor leader who is able to live in sumptuous style at the Pacific Hotel in Chicago, while superintending a strike, and who also has been able to accumulate, as labor leader, in a short time a fortune as big as that of an "educated" capitalist, stands above suspicion and criticism. But we pity the fools of the Brotherhood!—H. C.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE NECESSITY OF UNITED ACTION FOR THE WORK OF ACTIVE PROPAGANDA.

AN EARNEST APPEAL FROM A FOREIGN-BORN WORKMAN TO HIS AMERICAN-BORN ASSOCIATES.

A workman who is not prejudiced by superstitious beliefs, by articles in a thoroughly corrupt press, by national hatreds fostered by rules or politicians, has only to use his common sense to be able to detect serious faults in our economic-political institutions, to be forced to the conclusion that only the most radical measures can bring about a permanent change for the better in our present wretched conditions. As a worker who has frequently acted as a committee man to various unions, who constantly has opportunities to exchange opinions with all the various factions of the labor movement, I have been convinced that in spite of all seeming differences the great bulk are moving toward one point, and this point is emancipation from industrial slavery. This movement is so great, so extended, so enormously powerful, that it remains but a question of time when it will reap its harvest, consisting of a real and not an imaginary political and economic liberty, of real brotherhood of men, rather than of phrases.

Therefore, let our discussion be conducted in the friendliest manner with reference both to principles and tactics. Do not let us forget for a moment to make it the basis of our relations with each faction of the labor movement that each is actuated by the best of motives. Let us not be blind to the fact that while none of us are willing to give up our opinions before being convinced of our error, neither will our friends. We sign our names with the prefix "fraternally" let us see that it is rightly used. We must keep pace with the times. The present is becoming terribly earnest. The shadows of slavery, poverty and depravity are cast over the whole civilized world. Under such circumstances to merely fight one another would be suicidal when we are all confronted by a common foe.

Cast a glance at the crimes of senatorial traitors, on the sentences of prostitute judges, on the murders committed by the Pinkertons, on the fast-spreading conspiracy of employers, on their increasing trusts, on the thousand open and secret intrigues and combines to reduce the people to absolute economic bondage, and then stand up and defend factional hatred in the labor movement.

We must use every effort to spread the light systematically. It is of no use for a few Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, etc., to attempt to combine alone to do so. In this country the movement must be and only can be successfully started by the Americans themselves. Each nationality has its own characteristics and idiosyncrasies; it is the most difficult of tasks to learn how to agitate successfully in foreign circles. The Frenchmen will use other arguments than the Englishman, the Spaniard other than the Russian, and notwithstanding they preach the same doctrine they scarcely would be able to make much headway on other peoples with their characteristic methods of argument. Such faults have been committed to a grave extent in this country. Germans, unable to speak the language of the country of their

adoption well enough to make themselves understood, have tried to convince Americans, and only too often have left an impression upon the hearer that they were fools or fanatics and the questions they discussed unworthy of consideration. And yet, glance over the whole civilized world and you will count an innumerable throng of enthusiastic anarchists and socialists. Shall we, like uncivilized races, be deaf to every argument because it apparently comes from abroad? Certainly not. But it is now time that the Americans take up the work of agitation, and for this reason I appeal to every advanced worker in this country to try to induce their union to join in a federated body, which should be formed but for one purpose—propaganda, or the distribution of social revolutionary literature. Let the industrial fight be carried on by the larger bodies, as the Knights of Labor, trade councils, central labor unions, etc. But we should no longer neglect to prepare the people for the coming catastrophe. Who will stand up for this proposition? Fraternally, J. F.

LABOR INCONSISTENCIES.

ALBERT R. PARSONS' VIEW OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY.

In the fall of 1886, after the United Labor Party of Chicago had placed a county ticket in the field, ostensibly in the interest of the prisoners, Mr. Parsons addressed to me the following letter which, with the note accompanying it, I think I am now justified in giving to the public, in view of the fact that folly, no less history, repeats itself.

Friend Lum: I think you had better file this letter away until after the election, for I don't think it would be wise to show it to any one now (or to let the public get hold of it) as it might discredit the sagacity and ability of the working men's convention, and cause many to discredit their whole work (which they should not do). Especially will it afford satisfaction to those who will buy me capitalist working men who, in the pay of their masters, are using every endeavor to prevent independent action on the part of organized labor.

INCONSISTENCIES.

Cook Co. Bastille, Cell No. 29, Sept. 28, 1886.—The convention of the United Labor Party stultified itself by endorsing men who were already nominated because they had already been nominated by democrats and republicans. By this act they stultify themselves, and endorse the policy of those working men who object to aid and oppose independent political action, and who favor the endorsement of "good men" in the capitalist parties.

Again, they stultify themselves when they endorse democratic and republican lawyers for judgeships and then refused to nominate Capt. W. P. Black because he was a lawyer, although he was known to be an uncompromising foe to monopoly in every form and devoted to the rights of the wage-slaves. I do not say that they ought to have nominated Capt. Black, but I say the act was inconsistent and considering his public record was unworthy of labor men.

Besides, the law (the capitalist law) does not require that a man must be a lawyer before he can be eligible as a judge. Why nominate any lawyer at all if they will play politics? The act of the convention in this respect has notified all lawyers that it is to their interest to remain in the two old capitalist parties. That in no other way can they (the lawyers) obtain support, preferment or honors from the working men. This is unwise, to say the least, as the lawyers are

the most dangerous enemies the wage-workers have, and the act of the United Labor Party amounts to telling all lawyers that only by staying with, and being loyal to, the capitalist parties will they receive reward from the working men.

The judicial candidates of this party are humane and fair minded men (when considered as capitalists), with the exception of two, viz., H. . . and A. . . These two men are the sworn and publicly avowed enemies of the poor, of the wage-slave. They, not less than three months ago in the meeting of the Union League Club (of millions) publicly favored the disfranchisement of the very men who have endorsed their candidacy for a judgeship!

Surely the United Labor Party must be blind.

This action is all the more humiliating in view of the fact that there a few able, conscientious, humane, upright lawyers who stand with the people and fight monopoly and who do not train with either of the capitalist parties.—As ever yours, A. R. PARSONS.

PERTINENT QUESTIONS.

A LEAFLET ISSUED BY THE MELBOURNE (AUSTRALIA) ANARCHISTS.

1. If mankind are naturally just in their dealings with each other, do they require anyone to govern them into right doing?
2. If men are naturally depraved and intent upon mutual aggression, can they be entrusted to govern each other with satisfactory results?
3. Does not every individual's existence on the planet imply his right to life and liberty as the necessary conditions for the continuance of that existence?

4. If there are no natural rights, but only "the right of might," then are not the burglars, incendiaries, housebreakers, rapists, and murderers doing right in thus employing their might?
5. If man has no natural rights, can statute law bestow upon him those rights which do not exist?

6. If man has natural rights to life and liberty, can statute law rightfully deprive him of them, and is he justified in respecting the law which attempts to deprive him of them?
7. If man has a right to own land which he is not using, has not one man a right to own it all and drive everyone else off the planet?

8. If no man has a right to own more land than he is using, has he any right to charge others for access to land which they are using?
9. If every individual has a right to live in the world, has he not necessarily a right to the means of living?

10. If everyone has a right to the means of existence, is anyone justified in charging another for practicing that right? and is not the proprietor a usurper?
11. If everyone has a right to labor for his own support, is it not robbery to deprive him of any part of what he has produced?

12. If might makes it right to deprive the laborer of his product, is he not justified in regaining it by any means in his power?
13. If robbery is wrong, what justification is there in men robbing others by means of rent, interest, profits and taxes?

14. As each must satisfy his own natural wants (or else rob his fellows), is it not necessary that he be free to do as he pleases in all things? and is not all crime the invasion of that freedom?
15. If no one has a right to do as he pleases, has anyone a right to please himself by limiting the liberty of others and thus prevent them from doing as they please?

16. Is it not criminal to oppose the anarchists in their demand that every individual have equal opportunity, the full fruits of his labor, and the fullest freedom in thought, speech, and action?

THE WILD ASS AND THE LION.

What agreement is there between the hyena and a dog? And what peace between the rich and the poor? As the wild ass is the lion's prey in the wilderness, so the rich eat up the poor.

A MODERN FABLE.

[CONCLUDED FROM FIRST PAGE.]
What should be done to quell the people once more.

They set their priests to work; they dangled brilliant lights and bright-hued rags before the faces of the people and set many brazen horns to blowing with marvelous effect; they aroused every emotion in the bosoms of their victims in favor of their bit of country as opposed to every other. They made it appear that some of the noblest men and women who had been talking to them were horrible creatures, who would bring chaos and death all about them; indeed they placed a spell upon them so that when they looked they thought they saw eight hideous beings. And so they led them up before the people to put them to death; but, as they stood there a light fell across their faces and the spell was broken. All men saw their great love for the suffering people, their sublime devotion, and calm bravery, and they were most beautiful to look upon. Then, when the death pall dropped, a great, mysterious silence fell upon all the people.

A strange stillness, a heavy shadow rested over the land. A thought floating unspoken from brain to brain, growing, one scare knew how to substance, that the ogre had no real existence, but was only a hideous shadow that would vanish beneath the light of glances from free, courageous eyes, inspired many hearts. But, as in a spell, they held their breaths while the darkness lowered, shot with gleams of hope and freedom to see what should come to pass next. The rulers tried to break the ominous stillness with pomp and self-praise, and acted as grandly as though nothing were the matter; but their laughter and speeches sounded ghastly in the shadowy silence. Slowly, in the dim light, the old boundaries seemed to be fading—fading, and a shuffling red line was creeping its way between the common people in all the divisions and their many rulers and masters. And low, threatening voices murmured the name and the approaching dissolution of the ogre—the great ogre of the world—AUTHORITY.

LIZZIE M. SWANK.

HOW LONG?

PERTINENT QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHTFUL MINDS TO CONSIDER.

How long before the people will see that they are imposed upon by politicians, priests, and prelates? How long before they will see that politicians are hoodwinking them for only selfish purposes? How long before they will see that politicians regard the people only as beasts of burden to carry them onward in the regal procession amid idleness, wealth and splendor? How long before the people will see that priests know no more about god, heaven and hell than the new born babe, and that they only assume a knowledge of unknown things in order the better to assist the rulers to keep the people in ignorance and slavery while they live affluently in royal palaces? When will the people see that with sinister scheming the politicians foist upon the public a candidate and his opponent, for one or the other of which they must vote or stay away from the polls?

When will people see that potentates are nominated not for fitness of character or ability, but because they have a barrel or are good tools for their knavery and scheming backers?

When will people see that rulers govern for their own interests, not giving the welfare of the public a single thought, conniving only to feather their own nests and hold their brethren in bondage worse than slavery?

Will the toiling millions ever learn all these things? Will the sweating workers ever learn that they are slaves? Will they ever learn that all the wealth of the earth is produced by them?

Will the farmers and artisans ever learn that there is no wealth in city or country which they do not produce? Will they ever learn that if the lazy, idle, the scheming accumulates this wealth that they are not entitled to it?

Will the tired and worn out millions ever learn that there is no millionaire who has fairly earned his wealth, but only obtained it by being shrewd enough to gain it from his brothers' degradation?

Will the farmer and the artisan ever learn that they pay all the expenses of the luxurious and all the taxes of the government?

Will they ever learn that sycophantic

worship of those they place in power will never free their necks from the yoke, but only to render their bondage the more grievous?

Will the tired, worn and weary ever learn these poignant facts? If so, "How long, O Lord, how long," before that happy day?—M. T. MARTIN.

WAR RECOLLECTIONS.

TO WHICH THE READER WILL APPEND THE MORAL.

Amid the smell of burning powder, incident to the day when slaves imagine they are celebrating their independence, comes back to my mind some reminiscences of a time when powder was burned not in a spirit of hilarity.

In the fall of 1862, I, with nearly two hundred others, was taken prisoner in Virginia. Upon our march through the Shenandoah valley, two of us received special paroles from Stonewall Jackson, which gave us liberty to fall out of the column to buy food or a night's lodging, but not to turn northward.

Upon arriving at Staunton, where we were to take the cars for Richmond, we sallied forth to find a restaurant. We found one presided over by two colored men, slaves. They ran the business, kept the books, etc., for their master. Recognizing us by our uniforms as federal prisoners, we were given a private room and food served without charge. The main room was filled with Confederate officers. The men who waited upon us said that a few of his friends were to meet up stairs that night and desired us to attend and explain the proclamation of emancipation, which was to go into effect on Jan. 1 following.

In the evening we were escorted up the back stairs into a bedroom, where we found congregated in the dark about thirty colored men. In that company, with Confederate officers and soldiers eating and drinking below, we endeavored to explain to their eager attention the significance of the proclamation.

I learned from conversation with them that they had a wide-spread organization in that and adjoining counties, and had meditated an uprising upon their masters, which they now concluded to abandon. A servile insurrection is no rose-water affair, and if it had taken place as contemplated, the news of burning homesteads, of massacred men, women and children would not have ended the genuine abolitionist. On the contrary, he would have hailed it with delight as a stalwart and well-merited blow struck by the oppressed against their oppressors. True, it would have been suppressed, but not its lesson! That would have remained a living, palpable fact, a fact proclaiming that, as ye sow, so also shall ye reap. Even the quaker abolitionist, who proposed to abolish giant wrong by injecting education, and who would rather others should suffer injustice than spill their tyrant's blood, might have learned a lesson. Not by philosophical essays, not by offering compromise measures, was the giant evil of chattle slavery eradicated. Whether it would have been better is not to the point—it could not be. The tale needs no moral for present application.

ITALIAN LAND QUESTION.

MODERN ROME REPEATING THE BLUNDER OF ANCIENT ROME.

In Italy, as elsewhere, the small estates are disappearing little by little, absorbed by the capitalists. From January 1, 1873, to June 30, 1897, 55,000 properties have been expropriated for non-payment of taxes. We do not speak of the fate of the unfortunate proprietors chased from their miserable chambers and sent to the hospital, to prison, and to the brothel; but what has become of the 55,000 properties? Thirty-nine thousand have lapsed into the hands of the government, who makes no use of them, neither renting nor selling them, and all these little domains increase the useless domain of the state. But it always remains necessary to pay taxes, and on this account they add to the burden of the people the sum of nearly \$56,000 per annum.

The remaining 16,000 properties the state has finally sold to wealthy men to aggrandize their estates; but the state knows its obligations well toward these grand seigniors, and to them it has invariably sold these lots at a lower price than their valuation; that is to say, made the nation pay the difference. Ignorant in all things, the state knows not even how to steal adroitly. The seizure of a lot costs it more than the lot is worth.—Fascio-Operaio.

THE SITUATION TODAY.

REVIEW OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STATE WHICH ECONOMIC CRISES ARE THROWING US.

REVOLUTION IS A SOCIAL NECESSITY AND CAN NO MORE BE HINDERED THAN IT CAN BE ORGANIZED.

Translated from the French by W. C. Owen.

Decidedly, we are marching with giant strides toward the revolution, toward a common motion which, breaking out in a single country, is going to propagate itself, as in 1848, in all the neighboring countries, and which, shaking society to its very center, will finally renew the sources of its life.

For confirmation of our idea we are not even under the necessity of invoking the testimony of a celebrated German historian,* or of a well known Italian philosopher both of whom, after having sounded the depths of modern history, came to the conclusion that toward the end of this century a great revolution was inevitable. We have but to observe the picture which I have been unrolling itself beneath our eyes during the last twenty years; we have but to cast a glance at what is going on around us.

We will state then, that two predominant facts stand out from the somber ground work of the canvas: the awakening of the people side by side with the moral, intellectual and economic febleness of the ruling classes, and the impotent, agonizing efforts of the well-to-do classes to hinder that awakening.

Yes, the awakening of the people.

In the stifling factory, as in the gloomy kitchen, beneath the garret roof, as in the streaming gallery of the mine, a whole new world is in process of formation today. In those somber masses, which the bourgeoisie despises and fears alike, but from whose midst has ever come the breath of inspiration to all great reformers, the most arduous problems of social economy and political organization are brought up one after the other, are discussed, and receive their new solutions, solutions dictated by the sentiment of justice. They cut to the very quick of the plagues of society, as it is today. New aspirations are born; new conceptions outline themselves.

In vain do the ruling classes stifle these aspirations. In vain do they imprison men and suppress their writings. The new idea penetrates men's minds; it seizes upon their hearts as of old the dream of a rich and free land in the East seized on the hearts of the serfs, as they ran to join the ranks of the crusade. The idea may slumber for a moment; it is hindered from coming to the surface it will mine beneath the soil; but it will be only to reappear shortly more vigorous than ever. Do but look at the awakening of socialism in France, that second awakening within the short space of fifteen years. The wave that subsided for a moment does but rise

again to a greater height. And so soon as a first attempt to put the new idea into practice shall have been made the idea will rise before the eyes of all in its simplicity, with all its charms. A single successful attempt, and the consciousness of their strength will gift the people with heroic impulse.

That moment cannot be far distant. Everythings brings it nearer, from the misery which combels the unfortunate to reflect, to the enforced stoppage of work which snatches the thinker from the narrow enclosure of the work shop to throw him on the street, where he learns to recognize at once the vices and impotence of the ruling classes.

Meanwhile, what are they doing, these ruling classes? While the natural sciences are receiving an impetus which reminds us of the last century at the approach of the great revolution; while bold inventors are daily opening out new horizons for the strife of man with the hostile powers of nature; the social science of the bourgeoisie remains dumb; it refreshes its old theories.

But perhaps they are making progress in practical life, these ruling classes? Far from it. They obstinately fly into a rage over the shaking of the tatters of their flags, over the defense of egoistic individualism, of the competition of man with man and nation with nation, of the state as a centralizer.

They pass from protection to free trade and from free trade to protection, from reaction to liberalism and from liberalism to reaction, from atheism to mummery, from mummery to atheism. Ever full of fear, ever looking toward the past, ever more and more incapable, of realizing what alone can be lasting.

All that they have done has given the direct lie to all their promises.

They had promised, these ruling classes, to guarantee us freedom of labor, and they have made us slaves of the factory, of the master, of the overseer. They have charged themselves with the organization of industry, with the guaranteeing to us of comfort, and they have given us never ending crises and misery; promised instruction, and reduced us to the state of being unable to instruct ourselves; promised political liberty—and dragged us from inaction to inaction; promised peace—and brought us war, wars without end.

They have broken all their promises. But the people are weary; they ask themselves to what they have come, after letting themselves be made game of and governed all this length of time by the bourgeoisie.

The answer is to be found in the present economic situation of Europe. The "crises" formerly regarded as a merely temporary calamity, has become chronic. Cotton crises, metal working watch-making crises, all the crises today break loose in a body, and install themselves as permanent facts.

The number of artisans out of work at this moment in Eu-

rope is reckoned by millions; and by tens of thousands those who tramp it from town to town begging, or who riot, demanding with threats, work or bread! Just as the peasants of 1787 tramped the roads by thousands unable to find in all the rich but aristocracy monopolized soil of France a spot to cultivate or a pick wherewith to move the sod—so today the workmen stand with empty hands in want of raw material the implements of toil, necessary as they are to production, monopolized as they have been by a handful of idlers.

Great industries struck dead on the spot, great cities, like Sheffield, turned into deserts. Misery in England, especially in England, for it is there that the "economists" have most completely carried out their principles; misery in Elsass; famine in Spain, in Italy. Everywhere a dead lock; and with the dead-lock embarrassment or rather misery; children livid, the good wife aging five years with every winter; diseases mowing down with mighty sweep the workers, ranks look you, this is what their rule has brought to us.

And they come and talk to us of over-production! Over production? When the miner who piles up mountains of coal has not got the wherewithal to pay for a fire in the depths of winter? When the weaver who weaves stuffs by the mile, has to refuse his ragged little ones a shirt? When the mason who builds palaces, lodges in a hovel, and the work woman who dresses dolls so that they are works of art, has but a tattered shawl to shield her from every inclemency of weather?

Is this what they call the organization of industry? Rather should we call it the secret alliance of capitalists to subdue the working men by famine.

Capital, the product of the toil of the whole human race, that has accumulated in the hands of a few, flies—they tell us—when security is wanting, from agriculture and industry.

But where then does it go to build its nest, when it leaves its strong box? Parbleu! It has more lucrative investments! It will go to furnish the harems of the sultan; it will go to support wars, to uphold the Russian against the Turk, and at the same time, the Turk against the Russian.

Or again, it will go one fine day to start a joint-stock company, not produce anything, but simply to make in a couple of years a scandalous failure, so soon as the bigwigs who started it shall have got out carrying with them the millions which represent the "profits of the idea."

Or else, this capital will go to build useless railroads, over St Gothard, in Japan, in the Sahara if necessary—it matters not where so long as the Rothschilds who started it, the chief engineer, and the engineer can all get their millions out of it.

speculate on politics, on the rise occasioned by a talk of reform, or by the note of some diplomatist; and often—we see it every day—it will be the very agents of the government itself who will have a hand in these speculations.

Stock-jobbing which slaughters industry, that is what they call the intelligent conduct of affairs! It is for this that we ought—they say—to support them!

In short, economical chaos reigns supreme. Nevertheless, this chaos cannot continue long. The people are weary of undergoing these crises, provoked, as they are by the greed of the ruling classes: it would fain live by work, and not have to put up with years of misery, seasoned with humiliating charity, wearing itself out for two or three years with toil, which is now more, now less to be depended on, but which is always miserably paid.

The toiler understands the incapacity of the ruling classes; it is their incapacity to comprehend his new aspirations; their incapacity for the conduct of industry; their incapacity to organize production and exchange.

The people will soon pronounce the downfall of the bourgeoisie. It will take the management of its own affairs into its own hands, the instant the propitious moment presents itself.

That moment cannot tarry long, the very ills that are preying on industry forbid it, and its coming will be hastened by the decomposition of states, a decomposition which is today progressing with giant strides.

PIERRE KROPOTKIN.

ADOLPH FISCHER.

LETTER FROM FISCHER WHILE AWAITING ACTION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

Cook Co. Jail, Chicago, Ill; Sept. 5, 1887—Dear Comrade Lum: Your friendly lines were gladly received yesterday. I should have made it my duty to let you hear from me before this, but I was really at a loss what to write about. The monotony of jail life has not been interrupted as yet by any events worth mentioning. With the precision with which an old-country village herdsman drives his herd out and into town, they let us out of our cells, and then lock us up again. This comparison is not very esthetical, but nevertheless, it stands the test. Thus hours become days, days become weeks, and before we are aware of it the hangman may come around and invite us to follow him to the corner—in the name of "law and order."

There are some sanguine people who believe still that justice, respecting our final acquittal, will be the outcome of our case. But I don't believe it. If a so-called court of justice could convict and sentence seven men to death on no other evidence than the fact that they held certain principles, that they were anarchists, then there must be some purpose to such preconcerted "verdict," and it is likely to be executed too.

I am in good health and the same old philosopher yet whom you saw and spoken to through the iron gates of my cell so many times when you were here. I take it as it comes. The spirit of the social revolution lives in me as before and gives me courage and endurance. I am studying history at present, but this prevents me not from also paying close attention to the social embryo of today.

How do you enjoy your old New-England home, Dyer? I suppose there ain't much of a revolutionary movement in those Yankee regions. How does the Henry George vs. state-socialists wrangle in New York strike you? You may hear of similar struggles in the ranks of the laborers from Chicago in a short time. Will the states socialists never learn from their past experiences concerning political action. It seems not, and they will probably continue to saw the air with paper. Engel was seriously ill for a few days, but now he is rapidly improving. The other boys are all well. I remain (as long as anything remains of me) with fraternal greetings, your comrade ADOLPH FISCHER.

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In his preface Mr. Parsons says: "On Oct. 27, 1887, this book has been written and compiled in response to the demand for information upon the subject of anarchism. The circumstances under which the work has been performed, in my dungeon, beneath the shadow of the gallows, should, if caught in a sentence, be furnished information or assisted in reaching a clearer understanding of the great question of Liberty, by a perusal of these pages. I shall deem that a sufficient reward for my humble effort to supply it."

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ROBBERY OF THE PEOPLE BEING BASED ON FORCE CANNOT BE REMEDIED BY FORCE.

THE URGENT NECESSITY FOR A MORE THOROUGH ECONOMIC EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

If the robbery of the people by the capitalist class, which goes on from day to day, were plain, open, every-day robbery; a robbery that every person, no matter how stupid or ignorant, could see, and feel, and know, I might, perhaps, in time led to see that what was needed to prevent this robbery was brute force; though comparing the numbers of the robbing and the robbed, the present fail to see why a resort to such force would be at all necessary. But when we come to consider, as any of us who have attempted socialist propaganda have had only too much cause to consider, that the robbery of which we have to complain to-day is so hidden, so involved in the network of social conditions, that it requires all our effort to prove to the mind of the ordinary person, whether that person belongs to the rank of the laborers or to that of the capitalists, that there is robbery at all, how absurd, how harmful, to the cause we have at heart, becomes the use of physical force by a very small minority against that whose existence is to most people unknown. What is and must be the result of violence under such conditions? Why, the very opposite of that which we set out to attain, the placing before the public eye of ourselves instead of the capitalists as aggressors and criminals.

"How simple" in its operation, how magnificent in its results, how much more in keeping with the spirit of the times, and the cause which we wish to advance, is passive resistance to the oppressor in comparison with a violent onslaught on him. In the one case we cause the capitalist to stand forth unmasked before the world as the enemy of mankind, as one whose power to exploit is entirely dependent on, the brute force supplied by the government, which is again dependant upon the ignorance of the vast mass of the people who support it; in other words we prove, what is the aim of the anarchists to prove, that the laws are made in favor of the employers; and in the other case, as we said before, we place ourselves before the world in the light of criminals.

Take the blowing up of Trinity church, for instance, because the corporation owns, it is said, the most tenement houses in the city, and an organization on the part of the tenants of that corporation to refuse to pay rent for those holdings, whose value has been returned to the incorporation over and over again, and note the difference which those different modes of warfare would doubtless produce upon the mind of the public. In the first instance you would put the Trinity church corporation in the position of martyrs; you would have a terrible hue and cry raised against the anarchists, which, I have very little doubt, would be eagerly joined in by the very tenants whose good you are attempting to secure; you would have the daily and hourly torture of the victims of "Tenement-House Rot" entirely forgotten in the desire for vengeance on the friends whose very existence is dangerous to society. In the other case you would have this most humane corporation, founded upon the principles of the christ, called upon to show cause to the world why it should collect rents for buildings, whose inhabitants inhale death at every breath. You would compel the most devout incorporators, followers of the meek and humble Jesus, to call upon the strong arm of the law to cast families, wholesale, into the street, thus fully proving to the world how sublime is their conception of the "fatherhood of god."

You say the capitalists are thieves and murderers; then let us, for the sake of all that is good, take the means which will prove to the world that they are not we, are robbers and man-slayers. We must never fail to remember that it is upon an improvement in the moral tone of the people that true social progress depends, that, therefore, our means as our ends must be pure. I hope that no one will so misunderstand me as to think that I have any moral condemnation for the acts of violence of unenlightened individuals called forth by special oppressions. On the contrary, I think every such act of rebellion is a sign of life. As Wendell Phillips said of the Russian "outrages," they should cause us to clap our hands in rejoicing, that even the greatest despotism cannot entirely crush the spirit of man. But we suppose ourselves to be enlightened, we are not driven by oppression nor passion; we are voluntarily choosing a method of warfare with evil; now shall we choose that which is destined to give evil a new lease of life? To many of my friends, who are doubtless anxious to prove their sincerity by giving up their lives for the cause, and are fearful that passive resistance offers no opportunity for self-sacrifice, I would recommend the refusal of Parker Pillsbury's "Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles," which will show them how much men may do, and dare, and suffer, too, for the right, without even striking a blow.

GERTRUDE B. KELLY.

EUROPEAN POWERS AND FRANCE.

COMING FOREIGN EVENTS CASTING THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE.

To isolate France is today the great task of the League of Peace. Her isolation will soon be an accomplished fact, and the great confederation drawn near. It may burst forth during the present year, or it may be deferred till 1889. Before the close of the coming struggle it may be that more than one despotism will disappear. The despots of Germany, of Austria, of Italy, and most of the minor states depend on the fidelity of their armed legions. Though their mercenaries number millions, they nevertheless tremble on their blood-stained thrones. They may isolate France, but the spectre of revolution will still be there. They may close their frontiers, but the spirit of the revolution will rise from the mountain tops, it will roll through the distant valleys, and will penetrate the remotest villages. "Ideas will penetrate where armies can't."

We are told that France is the embodiment of the revolution, and is, therefore, a danger to surrounding nations; that the Exhibition of 1889, to celebrate the centenary of the revolution is an omen of which no monarchist, no government, or one with dynastic sympathies, can approve; that as 1789 was followed by 1792-3, so may the Exhibition of 1889 be followed by other events of anything but a peaceful character; that no monarchist government can wish for its subjects to visit France during the period of such Exhibition, where their minds might be contaminated by revolutionary ideas, or their sympathies roused by the traditions of 1792-3. The despots know, too, that great as were the revolutionary achievements of those years, the aims of the coming revolution will be greater still. Hence their determination to boycott France and ruin her by isolation.

WENDELL PHILLIPS' WARNING.

THE OLD ABOLITIONIST RAISES THE CRY OF THE NEW ABOLITION FROM BONDAGE.

THE DANGER ARISING FROM INCORPORATED WEALTH AS LABOR BECOMES MORE DEFENCELESS.

I believe, as Horace Mann said, that although we have doubled and trebled and quadrupled the products of labor and capital by the ingenuity of the American mind, we have not made one single step toward a fairer division of the joint products of labor and capital. And it is in that fairer division that lies the christian and the civilized element of society. I don't believe that the system by which a man in seventy years can roll up one hundred millions of dollars is a system of justice. I will take Alexander Stewart. Where are the 20,000 men that contributed their toll and their ingenuity and their industry to pour into that coffe the immense wealth which he gathered in a single hand? Analyze them. Where were they at seventy years old? You would say more than could be justly said of them, if you said that they saw where their meal was to come from twenty-four hours afterward. Now the system by which one man gathered into his hand the product of 20,000 lives never came from above. It came from below, and the sooner it goes home the better.

I went down once to address 5,000 men in my own state. They were assembled before me in a vast hall, and were working men. A committee of five had invited me. When I entered the door they said to me, "Are you willing to go in alone?" "Well," I said, "certainly. But why should I go in alone?" "Well," they said, "the superintendents of the mills are in the crowd, and if we dared actually in the face of the people to say we wanted you, we should not remain in the mills a week." Well, I went in alone, and as I walked the twenty steps from the door to the platform I had time to think. "This is not exactly the class of men that went up Bunker Hill. This is not the kind of men that in the revolutionary period dared everything." I didn't despise them. I didn't even in thought reflect upon them.

But I recognized and pitied the inevitable vassalage in which those men stood and trembled at the utterance of an opinion. And well they might, well they might; for these five men within a twelve-month were marked—three of them as the black sheep that were never to be forgiven, merely because they had claimed an adjustment of wages on a new level, and they went up and down the valleys of Massachusetts, and at every mill door they opened, the moment they signed their names the response was, "We don't want you." The names had been sent around marked. They visited every cotton mill in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and the answer was, "We don't want you," and they had traveled two hundred miles to earn a day's wages. Now, laborers' system? That says to labor you shall take what I offer you without a word of remonstrance, without any conference as to its justice; you shall take it, or you shall move your family 200 miles before you earn a dollar, and read a system of slavery as anything that was ever endured in your state or any of the Southern states, for the man is utterly unable to resist his circumstances. You saw it in the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and nothing but favorable circumstances and the large crop prevented the revolt of labor from crossing the Ohio and spreading itself into the Northwest; and today, in the freest country of the world, resting upon the publican institutions, boasting of universal suffrage and the liberty of the individual, the larger part of the laborers of that great commonwealth are driven to labor by the bayonet. Isn't that evidence enough of the dead rot that has already begun to be seen in the timbers of the ship of state?

IS LIBERTY NOW DEAD?

THE GREATEST Foe TO AMERICAN LIBERTY IS OUR UNSCRUPULOUS DAILY PRESS.

THE SIGNS OF THE COMING STORM AND GROPINGS IN THE DARK FOR A REMEDY.

The outrages that are being repented in Chicago against the plainest principles of constitutional liberty in the person of Lucy E. Parsons, suggest the above query. Herbert Spencer, when questioned concerning the Americans, was asked what struck him most forcibly in America, replied: "The indifference of the American people to their liberty." It is striking, especially in a city where the labor has been performed for freedom; where such sacrifices of life have been so heroically made as in Chicago, that such outrages are permitted by the people. But the greatest foe to liberty today is the press of the country, which, by misrepresentations the most stupendous, fail to give the truth to the people, but instead lead them to believe the grossest of falsehoods about the persons and acts of those laboring to bring about a better condition and more freedom and equality among the people.

I have some hopes in the union labor party if the great mass of the people are only wise enough to unite under its banner to overthrow the monopolistic powers that now curse this nation. If they do not thus unite and throw off their shackles that bind them in a slavery that is merciless, the prognostication of the Detroit Commercial Advertiser will prove true. It says: "Slowly but surely a sentiment of affairs seems approaching that will force the masses into abject submission or determined revolt against the oppression of scheming capitalists. It is a frightful state of affairs to contemplate, but it is fully to be expected, if events of almost daily occurrence do not point directly to coming peasant slavery, or an era of popular revolution in the United States."

The working classes are being driven, like a great herd of cattle, up a slowly ascending canon. When they reach the impassable cliffs they will turn and the history of all race and class oppressions will be repeated. Henry Ward Beecher, among his later more advanced talks on the condition of affairs, made this prophecy: "The time will come when the working man will rise up and say, they have no appeal to courts, no appeal to legislatures, that they are bought and sold by covetous capital. And when that time comes, unless it brings reformation, it will bring revolution. These are truthful sayings, but is there not yet hope that the people will rise, and with the power of the ballot, which they are not as yet deprived of, be able to wrest from the despoilers the legal means they now possess to rob, and through their necessities, further enslave the masses. Let us try it thoroughly first, then if it proves to be an impossibility, I say welcome any means that will bring relief to those that are suffering the pangs of hunger and want, and in a land where more is produced than would feed, clothe and house in comfort every man, woman and child in the country if each had what of right belonged to him.

"If the people understood their rights, were educated in the principles of justice, they would soon right all these wrongs, and until they are so educated, if our present system is to be overthrown, they in their ignorance would inaugurate another not a whit better."

JULIET H. SEVERANCE, M. D.

Milwaukee, July 1.

A GREAT TRUTH.

A man can have no more despicable enemies than those who, pretending to be his "warm friends and admirers," make their praise the vehicle of insidious attempts to ignore or belittle him in others' eyes.—Boston Liberty.

THE HIGHER LAW.

It is the sacred duty of a judge to refuse to enforce any statute or custom or so-called law that he knows to be contrary to natural law.—J. Q. Stewart.

HUNGER'S WORK.

Hunger digs a pit in the heart of man and fills it with hatred.—Victor Hugo.

THE ALARM.

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MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE

PARSON CELL 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25,

1887. The Alarm has, as you know, ever rung out strong and clear the danger that threatened the people. To other hands is now committed that task which mine in the work and duty as editor of this paper. Though fallen, wounded perhaps unto death, in the battle for liberty, the standard—the press—which my hands bore aloft in the midst of the struggle is again up by other hands and will be again and in triumph over the enemies of peace, brotherhood, and justice. Our comrades, Dyer D. Lum, is my editorial avenger. To most, of you, he is well known. His stand, his courage, and ability in the great work of labor's economic emancipation is recognized by all. Therefore, give to him in his work your hearty support—he is worthy and able. Farewell. A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1888.

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field battling for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation, soliciting support for the publication fund will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Send all donations to the treasurer of The Alarm Club, A. T. Jones, 350 Grove Street, Jersey City, N. J.

TO EXCHANGES.

Editors desiring to exchange with THE ALARM must send their papers to my New York address. Letters sent to Chicago may reach me; papers will not, and their non-receipt will be taken as evidence that they are not sent.

THE LITTLE JOKER.

For centuries men and women continued to believe in the most senseless superstitions. Fact has ever been outweighed by fancy; witchcraft compelled belief from the strongest minds. Fancy was of divine origin; fact of the earth, earthly. Therefore we need not be surprised at survivals of the old feeling in newer fields. We smile at religious superstitions because the world has passed that stage. True, secular unions meet and diligently proceed to thresh last century straw, and imagine the dust they raise to be reform. Ingersoll repeats Voltaire's sarcasm, but now the world laughs. One hundred years has swept away many cobwebs and among them, to a degree, faith. True, people still believe that they believe, but the old hulk is worn eaten and rotten.

We have long since passed out of the religious age. We are rapidly nearing the close of the political age. Economics today asserts supremacy. So true is this that the church seeks to align itself with the bourgeoisie. No longer capable of leading, it follows commercial lords. The amulets and swords of the past are subservient to the purse. The successful burglar, who by exploiting labor becomes wealthy, seeks social standing. He becomes a deacon, or runs for office. The modern church offers him the garb of social respectability. To mingle in society, to secure trade, to please his women-folks, he obeys Mrs. Grundy and is a church member; but his belief is hollow, his worship perfunctory. His thought are in the counting room. Christ is dead, and only a white-waistcoated, big paunched, benevolent looking old gnat now fills the sacred niche where once

stood the carpenter's son. The little joker once so prominent in religious thimble-rig is only the ghost of an illusion.

In political thimble-rig the superstition yet prevails. Our political priest set up the pins as adroitly as ever did the priests of Delphos or Rome. Caucuses are called, and we believe we have elected delegates. Conventions convene, slates are made, boodle pledged, bargains made and lo! our choice lies between two men. We are led to forced and irrelevant issues, but in which the coming economic age casts its shadows before.

But if we want neither? Well, the united labor party offers us one Crowley; the union labor party, Streeter; the industrial party, Redstone; last, not least, the equal rights party, Belva Lockwood. But they should unite! Impossible. From the very conditions of things a third party, through its leaders, seeks boodle. "Money makes the mare go," and no game of political thimble-rig can be played without cash. Wherever labor polls a strong vote, division and disintegration at once sets in. Whether excited by old party politicians, or by the ambition of new party leaders, the result is the same. To divide is to conquer, and old party thimble-riggers are adroit players and always know where to find the little joker.

The true social reformer recognizes that religion, politics, and economics are three distinct provinces. Their respective lines never intersect. As well try to settle a political question by prayer-meeting as undertake to find relief for economic ills by a vain search for the political little joker. Every year the old superstition is losing its hold; every year new heretics repudiate the plan of party salvation.

Time will yet force unity of organization for economic ends, and then political little jokers will be remanded to the limbo where crosses and amulets now lie dust enshrined. To heaven with the priest, and to hell with the politicians; we want the earth.

THE BURLINGTON STRIKERS.

"Here's richness," as Dickens famous pedagogue, Squeers, said. The aristocrats of labor, the engineers, are said to be dynamiting. "Who'd a thunk it?" It seems but yesterday when Chief Arthur looked down with aristocratic pride upon the Knights of Labor, and indignantly repudiated "entangling alliances."

In the South-West strike he is reported to have said that there was no identity of interests between the three dollars-a-day men, and one dollar-and-a-half-a-day men. Why should there be? They were receiving the best wages, and their knowledge of the labor-movement rose no higher than that end. The Brotherhood had soft places. For ten years they had carefully watched every railroad difficulty in which the Knights were involved and systematically rushed in to scab it. Between the habitual antagonism of the Brotherhood, and the constitutional cowardice of Powderly the South-West strike was lost just at the point when, but for interference, it would have been won.

But now, when three dollars-a-day men cannot even materialize one dollar-and-a-half, when they want stares the aristocrats in the face, when they find that their law and order policy has operated to crush them, when the old siren song of an over-fed and over-paid chief loses its dulcet tones, when empty stomachs point the moral that full purses could not discern—the charm is broken and they realize that the octopus they are fighting

is grounded in the state and buttressed by law.

The plebeians laugh at the indignant protests of the aristocrats; of course, the charge is false. Men who so complacently regarded the struggles of ill-paid labor, who so indignantly repudiated the sympathy of laborers, who made such loud professions of their aristocratic position in the labor unions—could never condescend to strike back at the legalized corporation which has impoverished them. If they were miners, for instance, we might believe it, but gentlemen engineers—impossible! And yet there is a deal of human nature in man; and nothing does so much to establish fraternal feeling as the inevitable fraternity of want. However, we humbler plebeians, who make no profession of being labor's aristocrats, will watch the results with not over saddened faces.

TRADE UNIONS AND KNIGHTS.

The war between the Knights of Labor and the Federation of Trades seems to be growing in intensity; for can we wonder at it. The crass stupidity of that self-styled "statesman," who deems his disintegrating policy to be worth \$5,000 a year, is rapidly drawing the order to its last ditch. It is true that new assemblies are being constantly organized, but to what end? With the fundamental polity of Knighthood systematically ignored, economic instruction tabooed, and with signs and symbols a dead letter to the thousands who are rushed in—they, like thousands of others, will grow sick at heart and fall away.

Never was a grander opportunity presented to build up an organization in which different trades might meet upon a common level and learn their identity of interests. But imbecility or treachery has changed the order till it now presents but a slight resemblance to the high ideal of its founders. Self-designing men, inflated with the pride of place and hungry for its emoluments, care far more for quantity than quality in membership, and to accomplish an increase in per capita receipts are willing to sacrifice permanency to the immediate present.

The trade union is a feature of modern industrial life which can not be ignored nor sneered down. As an organization of toilers it has its place and its mission in the discussion of shop questions. But when what should have been a school for the study of labor economics is made into a trade union, instruction finds no place, all the narrow provincialism of shop interests comes to the front and jealousies are naturally fostered. Instead of schools for fraternal study we have opposition unions masquerading as Knights of Labor. The polity of the movement has degenerated into a policy to secure 10 per cent advance in wages. The ideal of emancipation has been lost in the dust raised over temporary questions. In the meantime the trades continue to increase their union membership, content with their old narrow lines, and the knights continue to wrangle and fight over issues which have no place with them.

Let us have done with this nonsense. Those of us who have even partially drank from the fountain know that there is a higher and a broader unity than trade unionism supplies, and a nobler and grander aim than the nincompoops now controlling the order can conceive. The present reaction is only temporary; organization will again assert itself, but it must be upon lines where the questions of shop interests and economic instruction are not brought into constant con-

flict, where they work together as the arm follows the guidance of the will and executes its decrees. Better 50,000 men, with a common purpose, schooled in economic tendencies and pledged to labor's emancipation, than 500,000 raw recruits enlisted in batches and suffered to remain in ignorance of all but the mere monkey-work they weekly assist in.

THE I. W. P. A.

A friend writes concerning the method of organizing a group of the International and requesting cards of membership. As the same inquiry is often made and comrades often hesitate to effect concerted action from want of knowledge, or from a belief that some chartered right must first be secured, let me state plainly all that is required. Wherever you are, in city or village, even if you number but half a dozen, call a meeting at your home, organize as a group and set apart one night a week, or Sunday afternoon, for meetings for interchange of views, for discussions, for select readings, for instruction, and in this way secure the nucleus for a constantly growing and healthful agitation. The idea of the International was to unite the workers of all lands and to instruct as well as to solidify. Not only are the toilers fast learning the lesson that the cry of patriotism which has so long led them to hate their brethren across an imaginary boundary line is a delusion of the past, but they are also realizing that ignorance cannot achieve emancipation.

Our work during the present transitional period is largely an educational one, and wherever "two or three are found gathered together" with earnest minds, there the spirit of the social revolution will be in the midst of them. Come together at stated intervals, select some revolutionary literature for reading and discussion; try to animate the lukewarm and secure their interest; make yourselves apostles of the new abolition with or without formalities, and if an English-speaking group, correspond with this office. The religious papers give an international bible lesson for general study each Sunday. Organize your groups and social clubs and THE ALARM will give you Sunday or other day lessons for study. All can work to this end and do much to revive hope, encourage weakness and strengthen devotion.

From certain expressions in Mr. John F. Kelly's communication in this number I am led to infer that it is intended as a criticism of some expressions of mine, but if so, the reference is so vague and uncertain that I hardly know where the revolution only a few "hot-heads" like Marat talked force. The people were ignorant and brutal, yet ignorance and brutality dominated. Which was best and which will be best? I consider as idle questions; my opinion decides nothing in fact. Yet through that inevitable upheaval, which no preaching could have restrained, feudalism was destroyed, and though it gave France a Napoleon, no man who loves liberty would prefer to have the old regime exist instead of the empire. Events are the true schoolmasters. That which made a Cromwell and a Napoleon possible was of inestimable benefit to humanity. To attempt to organize a revolt is folly, to foresee an eruption in the body politic following forcible repression of ad-

ministratory symptoms is far different. Against Mr. Kelly's views I have nothing to urge, as I do not consider our seeming disagreement a wide one.

Dr. McGLYNN on Sunday night advocated adapting the Irish "Plan of Campaign" to New York city. This is beginning to get interesting. Come, Dr., let us know when you propose to bell the cat, or are your remarks only to be taken in a Pickwickian sense?

BAKER McDonald, of the Paterson Labor Standard, is editing an organ of the bakers in English. His experience in the trade is fully equal to that of Baker Block who edits their German organ.

The New York Herald has taken up the question of "The Plague Spot of Mulberry street" where the poor Italians are crowded by thousands breeding pestilence and death and calls for remedial legislation. The Italians are imported by avaricious padrones who takes advantage of their poverty to realize fortunes. The only remedial legislation which will reach the case is abolition of the monopoly over land and credit. Strike down these privileged exactions and the "plague spot" will disappear. The Italian is willing and anxious to labor but is denied the opportunity. Like the sansculottes of Paris in 1793 he is ignorant, but like them they learn quickly how to build barricades.

A CORRESPONDENT in Free Speech, Beaumont, Texas, goes for Ralph Beaumont without gloves. It seems the inflated chairman of the legislative committee whom the Knights of Labor employ for lobbying purposes at Washington, has undertaken the task of re-electing a Texas congressman. What the consideration, of course, is not known, but the facts are so plainly against Beaumont's choice that it would seem, to use a Western expression, that Beaumont has again bitten off more than he can chew.

Just as the country are getting tired of the dispute over the query whether Governor Alger bought up the coon statesmen at Chicago and thus killed the Sherman boom, comes the news that Sherman himself is trying to saddle the expense of his poor boom upon the politicians of his state. Coming into public life a poor man and now worth over a million it would seem that he might be able to pay the funeral expenses of his rudely strangled boomlet.

A CANADIAN dispatch says that Bishop Lafache, of the catholic diocese of Three Rivers, has signed a decree ordering the expulsion of Jesuits from that diocese. The motive alleged was that they had unduly influenced catholics to change their wills on their deathbeds in favor of the Jesuits. They might have done anything else, but when it came to interfering with the bishop's exclusive prerogative the audacious Jesuits had to go.

El. Productor announces a festival in Madrid, Spain, on the 29th. inst. in which the various working men's organizations will take part. Arcadia, published in the same city (Barcelona, Spain), in its last number has reached the twelfth chapter of Drury's "Polity" which it is publishing under the title of "The Labor Question Scientifically and Philosophically considered." Thus the work goes on.

The Rev. Dr. Halsey last Sunday bewailed the fact that religion did not keep pace with material prosperity, and said "to serve god is better than to have a well-filled larder." And yet he wonders why working men do not attend church! Serving god fills the Doctor's larder pretty well, but the people, not god, pay the bills.

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THE USE OF FORCE.

THE CRY FOR FORCE TO RIGHT WRONGS VAGUE AND UNSATISFACTORY.

To the Editor of the Alarm:—I never supposed myself to be a quaker, and my temperament is such that, instead of turning the other cheek, I am not inclined to await the blow on the first; but, if opposition to the childish prattle about force indulged in by so many revolutionists, and to which THE ALARM has given some countenance is to be considered quakerism, I hope to be counted amongst the quakers henceforth.

Certainly am not amongst those who condemn the use of violence in self-defense nor have I the intention of blaming those who "with strong hand reclaim their own"; but I do most strenuously protest against the dedication of dynamite, upon this calling upon all the faithful to bow down and worship it, as the only living god who will lead them out of the slavery of Egypt into the enjoyments of the promised land.

One of the greatest faults I have to find with this force babbler is its vagueness. There is nothing to be indicated when, where, how, or even against whom, it is to be used. The idea seems to be that if there be only enough force matters will be all right. The effect of a bomb may be but slight, but certainly a few tons of dynamite exploded in a heap would make the revolution! Gunpowder clears the air. To give an illustration of what I complain of, let us take the so-called No-Rent movement in this city. Now, assuming the movement to be an earnest one, there is nothing in the language of the force people to show that they would discriminate between force used by the non-renters to resist eviction, and force used in a preliminary attack on the landlords; and yet, to any one whose mind is not entirely distorted, there is an immense difference from the stand point of principle and from that of policy.

Of one thing we may be assured, force can permanently settle no question. If it could we and our ideal would have no existence. Factory and Chicago, English and Austrian dungeons, Siberia, Cayenne and Australia represent the verdict of force, and from that we can appeal to the quickened intellects and consciences of the peoples. If this latter judgment be against us, the more dynamite exploded the more certain our destruction—if for us, who can stand against us.

Force is at most incident to the revolution. Why make it the sine qua non? The cry of "To Arms!" is very dramatic, no doubt, and brings back memories of former struggles for liberty; but what does it mean now? If it is to the people at large you appeal, then, in the name of common sense, first teach them what they are to arm for. Show them how to distinguish their oppressors from their friends. As things are it is probable that if the people took arms the anarchists would be the first to suffer from it. If the priests and politicians can lead them blindfold now, what is to prevent the same thing being done even though every man possessed a repeating rifle. It is idle to talk of good men rising to the top in troubled times and trusting to their advent. Granted even that good men should arise, they could do nothing practically. The social revolution can only be made by the people, and as long as the people are not possessed of revolutionary ideas—it will not be made.

Turning to history, however, we find, as the good men that arise, Caesar, Cromwell and Napoleon.

THOUGHTS SUGGESTED UPON THE ANNIVERSARY OF JULY 14.

Time goes on apace. It is ninety-nine years since the unorganized, almost unarmed "mob" overthrew the grim walls and turrets of the Bastille. The 14th of July! That day was indeed the stable landmark of the new era. For centuries the same dull misery had been the lot of the wretched peasant. Too stupid to see its cause, he could only suffer in silence, or indicate his distress by a feeble murmur, or, as Carlyle says, a "half-stifled whimper." At last a ray of light struck fairly on the torpid brain of poor Jacques. The Bastille stands! gloomy, grim—even its outward aspect suggesting the horrors within. It is the emblem, the type of a thousand smaller bastilles; but this is the greatest, if not the worst, of all. The crowds gather before it. Moved by a sudden impulse they begin the assault, and lo! "the field was in a moment won!" Down came the huge towers; De Launay and his Swiss perished. The Bastille falls and for all time to come I have often thought that they did not complete their work and make reaction impossible. But they gained one step and we must stand on that and gain more.

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PAINE ON RELIGION.

I believe that religious duties consists in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy.—Age of Reason.

Neither is it a valid excuse to say that you only indulged in language of prophecy, for if so, you but prophesied, not preach the social revolution. The tone is the same in regard to both. But suppose it to be so, why let such a prophecy occupy such prominent place! Suppose the trades unions are going to come into armed conflict with the monopolists—a likely enough event in the continuous series of strikes now going on—what have we to do with it? In my view we have nothing to do with it beyond showing that such a conflict is inherent in the present state of society and can only be permanently avoided by a remodeling of the latter in accordance with our ideas. In my view, trades unions peaceably or forcibly can never effect a stable reconstruction of society, while from your language one might infer that the difference between us and the unionists was a question of force.

That man is greater than men there is no firmer believer than I; but to shirk any portion of my responsibility on that account would be cowardice. Besides, if our trust in man is so great that we undertake to plunge society into chaos, trusting to reconstruct it, why can we not trust him with all and retire to rest?

You would make it appear that the objection raised was to the prevention of death from overwork, overcrowding and poor food by the temporary use of violence, and you beg the real issue, for the complaint is that you fail to show how you are going to obviate the former evils through violence. Show me this, and if I do not join ardently with you, at least you will hear no more complaints from me.

JOHN F. KELLY.

REVOLUTION ENDS WAR.

Assuredly—you would not have socialism, you will have war. You could have wars to last you thirty years or more, if the revolution were not on its way to put an end to this preposterous and contemptible situation. But let us, too, clearly recognize the position. Arbitration, the "balance of power," reduction of standing armies, disarmament—all these are fine ideas, but practical bearing they have none. The revolution alone, when it has restored the machinery and raw materials of production and all the wealth of society to the hands of the producers, and recognizes production in a manner that will provide for the needs of those, on whom all production depends, can put an end to these conflicts for markets.

—Pierre Kropotkin.

DOWNFALL OF THE BASTILLE.

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OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

THE LOCKED-OUT BREWERS STILL MAKING A HOPELESS FIGHT.

Chicago, July 11.—The Trades Assembly of this city has taken up the fight in aid of the locked-out brewers, and at the last meeting it was resolved that all labor organizations here request their members to abstain from drinking beer for thirty days. If this should not prove effective the time is to be extended another month; and a good deal was said about the advisability of supporting the prohibitionists in the political field should the voluntary abstinence of working men fail to bring about the desired result. So far there is no means of ascertaining what action the local unions and assemblies will take in regard to this matter. Should the recommendations of the Trades Assembly be endorsed by even a majority of the locals, and should there be a favorable response from the K. of L. districts and from the Central Labor Union, it is pretty certain that a large number of individuals, who now have little faith in the practicality of such a scheme, will fall into line on account of the principle involved; and the near future may witness a movement novel, and even startling, in its character.

It is felt that the greatest antagonism to such a movement may come from the Central Labor Union. This organization, composed as it is exclusively of German working men's societies, may favorably receive the recommendation of the Trades Assembly, but when its locals are called upon to endorse it there is likely to be considerable opposition. The average German working man has accustomed himself to believe that he could not perform his daily labor without a liberal allowance of beer. This may be pure imagination on his part, but custom and habit have made the use of the stimulant almost indispensable, and may prove even stronger, in this instance, than his desire to punish the manufacturing brewers. Certainly unless the Central Labor Union, with its locals, does take up the fight in the way suggested there is little hope in such a movement being successful. As the Brewers' Union is an adjunct of the C. L. U., perhaps that body may feel itself obliged to take action.

LAW AND ORDER.

A COMMENT UPON ITS RECENT EXEMPLIFICATION IN CHICAGO.

Whenever an enterprising journalist of Chicago is short of news he instructs one of his staff of ambitious reporters to go out and find an anarchist bomb. Another such deadly missile has been discovered concealed perilously near the foundations of the Chicago Historical society building. Bomb, bomb, bum! Philadelphia Record.

And we see it stated in one of our exchanges that the police of Chicago have again arrested Mrs. Lucy Parsons, widow of the executed anarchist, for trying to sell her late husband's book. What! Are they afraid of a woman's tongue and a dead man's book. What a mean, cruel thing terror is! And that reminds us. In the reign of Charles II., when a persecution of Catholics was being waged under forms of law, one of the prisoners, Lord Stafford, being on trial for alleged treason, some terrorized spectator announced to Lord Chief Justice Scroggs that a noted Roman Catholic, Lord Stafford's daughter, was taking notes. The law did not authorize the taking of notes at that time, it seems. The historian continues: "Scroggs, coarsely, but with some humor, replied: 'A woman's notes will not signify much, truly no more than her tongue!' " And he refused to interfere. That was over 200 years ago. Have we been retrograding? Can it be that in this year 1888, a woman's tongue and a dead man's notes can terrorize a great city and drive its people, its courts and its police to illegal and most unwise acts? Our friend Cubery is "lambasting" our police commissioners, and no doubt making it warm for them, but he cannot accuse the police of San Francisco of being frightened out of their senses by a handful of anarchists. —Hayes Valley Advertiser.

It is possible that such a union might present opportunities for propaganda in a new field, but highly improbable that such opportunities and such resultant agitation would be equal to the consequent harm to the cause of liberty. If the working men support the prohibitionists in the coming election from belief in its principles, then, in order to be consistent, they will have to do so ever afterward. If, however, they propose to vote the prohibition ticket merely to spite the brewer bosses, or to assist the locked-out brewers, they show themselves to be mere pawns and very far from sagacious. In either case they would defeat the very object sought to be attained, viz., the re-instatement of the locked-out men.

It is difficult to see how the success of the prohibition party could bring joy to the toilers. It would not raise wages, for labor's remuneration is regulated by the immutable "iron law." It would not shorten the hours of toil, for these depend upon the number of laborers seeking employment and the magnanimity of employers. It would not give employment to the million idle men in the country, for they are tramping because the blessings of civilization and the raw material are monopolized.

The prohibition party is no progressive, it is retrogressive. Founded upon bigotry, and illogical and unscientific attempts to reform the world, it seeks to carry out its principles by sumptuary laws and restrictive legislation. It seeks to revive methods by the aid of which the superstitious Salem magistrates doomed their victims to the gallows. It seeks a closer union of church and state, and would strengthen both these foes to liberty. It proposes to directly legislate an evil out of existence, gain more.

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PAINE ON RELIGION.

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SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

The object of this essay is to assert one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual in the way of compulsion or control, whether the means used be physical force in the form of legal penalties, or the moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection; that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community against his will is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it is the opinions of others to do so would be wise or even right. These are good reasons for remonstrating with him, or reasoning with him, or persuading him, or entreating him, but not for compelling him, or visiting him with any evil in case he do otherwise. To justify that, the conduct from which it is desired to deter him must be calculated to produce evil to some one else. Only the part of the conduct of anyone for which he is amenable to society is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself his independence is of right absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign. —Mill On Liberty.

THE first number of The Record, the official journal of the Trade and Labor Assembly of Chicago, has made its appearance. It is a small, four-page weekly paper, and is to be devoted to matters pertaining to trades unionism. Its salutatory declares that:

It will be a means of educating each member, for, while it will not be the advocate of any special school of political economy, and will eschew no specialism, except organism, its columns will contain the most valuable statistics on labor, and a weekly condensed record of the movement in this city and elsewhere.

The paper is to be supported by voluntary contributions and assessments of members of the different local unions connected with the Trades Assembly, and is controlled entirely by the latter organization.

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THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

AN EXAMINATION OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND ITS ULTIMATE ENDS.

THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER IN DYER D. LUM'S WORK, "SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY."

The struggle between the representatives of labor and capital is world-wide. All along the lines the din of strife is heard. In France, Decazeville and St. Quentin echo with the tread of strikers and troops. In Spain the workmen of Madrid flaunt their rags and demand employment, while their comrades of the rural districts, goaded to desperation, set fire to barns. Even Portugal awakens from its lethargy to witness the strange spectacle of imposing manifestations at various points against taxation, and at Oporto the workmen raised the ominous cry of "Long live the Republic!" In Italy the peasants of the mountain districts are taking the administration of justice into their own hands and rendering the lives of the gentry insecure. In Russia new conspiracies are unearthed and new victims resignedly meet their fate. In Turkey, apparently buried in Asiatic lethargy, the street sweepers of Constantinople astound the sleepy authorities by striking for their pay. In Germany the gory spectre of revolution is ever present before the statesman's mind. In England, the land of routine and commonplace, the great strikes in the north and the recent Socialistic mob in London makes even the optimist to pause.

In America strikes and disorders form the current news of the day; from the Atlantic to the Pacific the air seems charged with an exhilarating ingredient which inspires men's thoughts with new purposes. Day by day the lines are being drawn closer and closer. Capital, alarmed, seeks to deny to labor the right of organization. Labor, feeling the strength of partial organization, takes on a new and independent tone. As passions are excited and temper aroused, wisdom is too often unheard while ignorance cryeth aloud. Compare the public feeling of today with that of ten years ago, before the Pittsburg riot startled the country from its dream of grandeur and peace; we seem to have passed into a new age. These signs are but sporadic manifestations of the growing discontent. As in all pre-revolutionary days they are indications of a coming struggle, and yet men talk of an equitable adjustment of the strained relations between capital and labor through the use of force. Any system requiring force to sustain itself, is already judged in advance.

In the opening years of the French Revolution all statesmen were seeking an equitable adjustment between authority and liberty, striving to attain a happy twilight medium between light and darkness which would yet give satisfaction to each. None sought a

republic, yet almost before the ink on the adjusting protocol was dry the republic was proclaimed. The logic of events always leads men; the process is never the reverse. In 1775 the Colonists sought an equitable adjustment of their differences with the crown. The boycott on tea was deemed an extreme step. Then came the Boston massacre, and as the smoke rolled away over the land independence was born. Again, in 1861, thoughtful men were seeking a new compromise between antagonistic principles in order to preserve the union. A shot was fired at the flag on Fort Sumter and the North became solid.

We are passing through similar scenes. The demands of the future are arrayed against the entrenched customs of the past. We are growing into a state where the arrogance of those who stand by the past and would repel progress, or the ignorance of those, who, while unconsciously representing the future, are yet human in their passions, may precipitate a conflict which will stain the pages of the history of this century with the blood of slaughtered victims. As has been well said, compromises are incipient suicides. It behoves us to understand the fundamental principles involved in the conflict, for the contending forces in the seething crucible of social life are beyond men's control. What will be the outcome it were rash to say, but in what direction all the tendencies of progress lead is not a matter of prophecy.

Let us make the subject a personal one. You work for wages. Are they increasing? Is your position a guaranteed one, or is it dependent upon uncertain conditions and a fluctuating market? Are you today satisfied, or are you striving for something better? In short, it is a personal question. A very few years ago such questions would have been idle; today they find receptive ears. Is there not in this fact a pregnant meaning? Do you not realize that times have changed since the civil war, if your memory goes back beyond that event? You are a mechanic; have you the opportunities now that there were then for the man of small means to start for himself? Is not the small manufacturer, the small trader, being driven to the wall? Can the capital of a few hundred dollars compete with that of millions? Is not your daily routine becoming a fixed one? You feel the lines drawing yearly closer which hold you in the rut of wage labor; you realize more and more the lack of opportunity to escape by raising yourself among your fellows; you look ahead to old age and you can see no relief unless it be a seat beside the hearth of a son or daughter, there to eat the crumb of dependence while they are following the same weary round where your strength was worn out. On every hand you find gigantic changes going on in production, as in the startling fact that in the past fifteen years

the whole power of mechanism has doubled, having risen from 2,300,000 horse power in 1870 to 4,500,000 in 1885.

As an American, you, of course, read the papers. You read of strikes and lockouts, of suffering communities struggling for better remuneration. In your walks you meet with idle men who would work as gladly as yourself if the law of demand would permit, and you read with a pang the statement of the National Labor Commissioner that over one million men are in enforced idleness. You are familiar with the tenement house quarters of our cities, perhaps necessarily so. You know its influence on health, on the morals of your children, on the happiness of the family circle. As an American, I ask you, is this continued discontent the necessary outcome of our republican institutions? Is there virtue in the constitution to heal the existing antagonism between the representatives of capital and labor? Is there power in political legislation to remove the economic cause which compels you to bring up your children in a human beehive? Will the ballot restore the faded cheek of your wife or preserve the bloom of health on the faces of children doomed to factory toil? In other words how can political remedies secure economic results?

Let us weigh existing remedies before considering new ones. Was your father a wage worker before you in this land of the free? Is your condition better than his was? If so, has it been acquired by reason of your political freedom? You may attend church. Whatever religion may have done for your moral nature, has it done aught for your economic condition, other than too often inculcating contentment and submission? Whatever may be the love and veneration you entertain for the church of your fathers for spiritual consolation, you know better than to look there for this relief. Is it not equally true that political freedom has done absolutely nothing to better your economic condition? You feel that neither the realm of religion nor politics intersect that of economy under our present industrial system.

You have mental freedom, but long years of conflict and bloodshed were necessary to establish it. You fully recognize the right of every one to the free use of his reason, that there can be no greater blasphemy than the denial of freedom of thought, that what was once deemed the sacred prerogative of god is now the right of self. In the realm of mental relations you deny coercive authority and proclaim liberty. You also inherit political freedom. Our fathers achieved it with their swords. It is a legacy of which we are proud, nor would I undervalue it; nor, on the other hand, should we overvalue it.

Mental freedom! political freedom! These are acquired. We need not contend for these. They are ours. But economic freedom! Ah! here we obtain a

glimpse of the lines of progress. Since the sixteenth century humanity has been tending to wider personal freedom. It is the trend of progress, and there has been a consequent restriction of authority of man over man. Since then political questions have largely replaced religious ones in the governments of the world until the present century. To the men of the seventeenth century religious freedom seemed all that could be desired, and that the line of progress must be toward its greater extension, by extorting new safeguards, establishing new guarantees. So thought men; not so humanity. Tolerance once secured, the logic of events would prevent reactive measures from being successful. A principle once victorious, the standard is ever pushed on to new fields of conflict.

The eighteenth century presented political questions for consideration free, largely, from the religious phase in which they had been clothed; questions not to be settled by religious methods. Men read Junius, Rousseau, Paine, Political freedom was the spirit of the age, and the great thinkers of the time were those who best caught its meaning and translated it into intelligent speech, rendering explicit that which had been unconsciously implicit in the human mind. Washington and Kosciusko in two continents gave its voice. In France the beating hearts of men long used to repression felt a new thrill. When the head of Louis XVI. rolled from the guillotine, the descending blade severed the fiction of divine right to govern. Could not force arrest the cause of progress? Could man used to oppression dare to resist authority sanctified by "divine right?" In vain! In vain! The advancing tide could not be checked. The dykes were broken! The flood came in and the empty fiction was swept away. The people triumphed over authority because they gave voice to the spirit of the age. The fitting occasion was offered and success attended the effort. The Bastille, that sombre incarnation of authoritative Force, the visible symbol of the divine right of man to govern man, was destroyed.

July 14, 1789! It was the opening of a new era in the martyrdom of man. "It is a revolt!" exclaimed the astonished monarch. "Sire," answered Lemoignon, "it is a revolution!"

Another century is nearing its close. Has it also a new spirit leading on to broader freedom? Has it a new ideal, another standard than that of the past, seeking expression in action? Does it also contend with authority and force? If so the public questions which have characterized our century must attest it. Are they religious? Assuredly not. Are they political? Such we have thought them to be, but each year proves that they are more and far broader. The spirit of an age is ever the assertion of a great principle not yet attained. The living issue, the

legitimate successor of its predecessors, is industrial freedom. All the great questions of this century since England began factory legislation in 1802 have been economic. Corn laws! Freedom of commerce! Tariffs! Colonization! Strikes! Coöperation! All have the same inspiration in various degrees of intelligible articulation. The chartists of England felt its breath when they stained the field of Peterloo with their blood. In 1830 it was faintly heard in the streets of Paris; in 1848 it moved the pulses of thousands and found audible voice. In 1871 its cry rang out and its flag was unfurled to shake the thrones of Europe. Drowned in blood it still serves to awaken a thrill in the breasts of millions—an ominous prophecy of the future.

State patriotism is as obsolete as church creeds to move men to action. Nations still go to war, but it is now for a market. England and Russia contend for midland Asia. France, Italy, Germany, Spain, all are seeking new colonial dependencies for economical reasons. It is a question of exports and imports. The productions of labor must find an outlet to new markets; foreign granaries must be secured to satisfy the craving stomachs of workmen at home. Home producers cannot always buy that into which they have hammered or woven their lives. A foreign market must be sought and won by the sacrifice of other lives. The 110,585 boys and girls under thirteen years of age in England's textile factories may be ragged and pinched, but British fabrics must be imported to keep them in bread.

(CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.)

A KING IN A DRESS-COAT.

A president who can boast of originating from a vote of the nation at large, is apt to think that he in his single person, represents far more the nation than does an assembly composed of contending parties each member of which is only chosen by a fraction of the people. If such a president has in addition large privileges in virtue of his office, he easily degenerates into what, among German republicans is called "ein Koenig im Frack"—a king in a dress coat.—Karl Blind.

CENTRALIZATION.

To achieve unity in a nation, centralization in religious, judicial, military, agricultural, trade, commercial and financial matters, is requisite—in one word in all institutions and offices. Centralization must ascend from the lowest to the highest, from the outside to the center. All functions must be independent, and each must govern itself.—Proudhon.

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THE ALARM.

"Men Die, But Principles Live."

VOL. I. No. 19.

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

THE CRITIC CRITICISED.

ANALYSIS OF A RECENT FULMINATION FROM THE PEN OF GEN. FRANCIS A. WALKER.

ARE STRIKERS ALL IGNORANT FOREIGNERS, OR IS IT POSSIBLE IGNORANCE IS MERELY PROFESSIONAL?

That Francis A. Walker is a great man no one would dare to dispute. He was a general; he directed the taking of the United States census, and he is president of a college and of the American Economic association. When such a man comes forward and praises labor organizations, ought we not to fall on our knees and thank god that he has at length sent us a worthy leader? Beware of Greek gifts! When an economist—one of capital's literary armyspeaks well of the labor organizations it is time for the latter to be on their guard, for treachery is intended. It is so in this case.

In his presidential address delivered last year, but only recently published, Walker says the labor organizations have by their success forced the economists to modify their teachings. "It is no longer orthodox doctrine," he says, "that laborers cannot improve their condition by combination, or that such combinations are injurious to the general interests of the community. On the contrary, it is granted that by combination laborers may divert a portion of profits to wages. All this is granted because it cannot be helped, the unions having evidently come to stay. But to Walker it serves only as the basis for attack on anything beyond mere unionism. Boycotting, and even the poor old K. of L., presided over by the moderate Mr. Powderly, are not to be thought of. They are dangerous, are based on the wicked "foreign element," and the sound sense of the American people must discover means of uprooting them. "We" must defend ourselves.

Some specimens of the distinguished gentleman's logic are too delicious to be passed over quietly. After admitting in the first part of his address that combinations of laborers have altered the distribution of the products between capital and labor, when he comes to the denunciation of the existing combinations of the second and third degree he tries to take it back and talks in this wise: "There has never been an advance of wages or an improvement in the conditions of labor for which a sound and sufficient reason of a purely economic character did not at the time and in the place exist." The reader not acquainted with the slang of the economists may need to be told what this means. It means only that laborers cannot in the long run secure more wages than their employers can afford to pay. In other words, a labor combination is a machine for extracting wages, and just as the most improved mining machinery will not extract an ounce of gold from a mine which contains none, so the combination cannot secure higher wages if the means to pay them do not exist. What a great head it takes to be a general-professor-census-taker! It makes me shudder to think of the dwarfing influence of socialism on such individuals.

Perhaps the best example of Walker's method of argument can be got by bringing together the following paragraphs which are separated in the address: "The primary cause, however, is to be found, as I am disposed to believe, in the great advances which of late have been made in the condition of the laboring class. It is, of course, the way of the labor orators and the labor press to speak of the recent strikes as the revolt of downtrodden and suffering masses; as due to hardships and indignities which manhood could no longer bear. As a matter of indisputable fact these strikes have not proceeded from the least, but from the most fortunate, portion of the working population. It has not been common, but skilled labor that has been concerned. It has not

been hopeless misery, but growing ambition which has prompted nearly all the demands which it has been sought to enforce by the last resort. Not the bare necessities or deceptions of life, but comfort and enjoyment of opportunities for social improvement have been involved. The strikers of the past two years have, as a rule, been those who were already receiving wages far above the average of the population. "No one can have carefully observed the development of the past year or two years without becoming aware that a part so large that it may fairly be called the whole of those violent and reckless attacks upon production and transportation which have shocked the industrial system, and have come near to producing a general crisis of trade, have proceeded from the foreign elements of our population."

If the professor is right in both of his contentions then it follows that the ignorant foreigners who indulge in violent and prolonged strikes, because they are unacquainted with the virtues of "our institutions," are the most skilled and best paid of our wage earners. Did the professor expect to prove this, or did he make each statement independently in support of his argument at the moment? Certainly, if he is right, it is about time that the education-born working men cast their education and institutions overboard.

Everything has a moral, as the Duchess said to Alice, in Lewis Carroll's charming story, and the moral of Walker's address is that the working classes will get nothing either theoretically or practically from the bourgeoisie save what they win.

JOHN F. KELLY.

THINGS I DO NOT KNOW.

WITH SOME SUGGESTIVE INQUIRIES AS TO WHAT WE SHOULD KNOW.

How to distinguish republicans from democrats in America? I mean, of course, after the election and when they are in office. On and before election day it is easy enough to recognize them by their respective badges, banners and wholesale promises to "the people" and the "poor working men."

How any man or assembly of men, who have not lost the last vestige of truth and self-respect can dare style themselves Jefferson democrats or a Jefferson club, while they, in fact, know little, if anything, about Jeffersonian democracy, which is the only true democracy, and care nothing for Jefferson's principles, but merely try to keep Mrs. Cleveland's husband in office for another four years?

How any sane person, with a knowledge of American history and an aptitude for reading the signs of the times can place the slightest reliance upon the ballot-right wrongs daily perpetrated against the people by the mammoth monopolies and heartless corporations, abetted by so-called "representatives" of the people?

How working men can be so blind to their own interests as to allow the imprisoning and murdering of their trust friends by their bitterest enemies, as in Chicago, and permit themselves to be clubbed, without provocation by the "guardians" of public safety?

How a red rag or handkerchief, heretofore acknowledged as the emblem of anarchy, can become the sign of demagogism—beg pardon, democracy, I mean?

How much longer will it take the people to comprehend their wrongs and their power, to recognize their friends and to act in unison against their enemies?

RUDOLF WEYLER.

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AN ACTIVE RESISTANCE.

THE QUESTION OF COMBATTING UNJUST CONDITIONS NOT ONE OF LIKE OR DISLIKE.

A FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE MANNER AND METHOD OF OPPOSING INJUSTICE AND OPPRESSION.

Being a "Berlin revolutionist," as my friend, George Schilling, terms all those who recognize that the social problem can only be solved ultimately by physical force, and who also desire to prepare the workers in time, I may be permitted to say a word or two in defense of my convictions.

I know perfectly well that nobody can have more sympathy with the downtrodden and oppressed than either Miss Gertrude or John F. Kelly, but I am also of opinion that their aversion to the use of force is little more than squeamish sentimentality.

To begin with, the use of physical force is not a question of like or dislike, of sentiment, or even of preference, but simply a question of historical necessity. I may sing out, "To arms, to arms!" until I am black in the face, and if circumstances and the condition of society do not justify my appeal I am perfectly certain the masses will not respond and I shall be the only sufferer. Man is not his own creation, but a product of inheritance and surroundings. Before it is possible to alter man it is necessary to alter the economic basis of society.

Now let us look the question straight in the face. Society at present consists of two classes—a possessing, idling class, and a non-possessing but all-producing class. Both classes have their hangars-on, but these are of little account. The possessing class (the capitalists) are in possession not only of all the means of subsistence, but they also control the army, the navy, the state, the education—moral as well as physical—of the people, and I do not believe anybody can believe or even suppose that the capitalists will give up anything without utilizing every possible means in their power to crush any attempt of the workers to better their conditions. Or does, perhaps, Miss Gertrude believe that it is possible to moralize Jay Gould out of his ill-gotten wealth or to induce Vanderbilt through sweet words to give up his \$10,000-a-year cook, or to influence Russell Sage, by a graphic description of the terrors of hell, to disgorge his stolen wealth? Have they obtained their wealth through fraud and force, and only the righteous wrath of the people, backed up by physical force, can restore to its owners the stolen wealth. The capitalist class know very well that the day of settlement is not far off; they know that the workers are daily becoming more and more discontented, but that they are preparing themselves very cruelly for the coming struggle. Is not Phil Sheridan, through his late appointment, practically dictator of the United States? Was it not he who wrote the celebrated article about the use of dynamite for which Parsons had to suffer the death penalty? Was it not Phil Sheridan who advised the indiscriminate use of explosives against workmen struggling for their liberty?

Do we not hear everyday of new inventions which are instantly utilized by the army, the navy, and the militia? What about the new Gatling gun?—this really terrible weapon. Are not the police and the Pinkerton ruffians constantly being drilled how to act in riot times and are they not also made familiar with the use of bombs? And have we forgotten the use the capitalists make of the barrel? Do not they transplant their venal corruption even into the ranks of the workers? And then let us look at the second class:

Poor, ignorant, overworked, enervated, terribly exploited, they are always at the mercy of the first-comer. Does Miss Kelly really believe that it is possible, under the present system to inculcate the mass with scientific prin-

ciples? Just imagine a man working all day long, or say working even eight hours a day, coming home and trying to read Proudhon or the great Karl Marx. Aye, even suppose for one moment the man had not lost all taste for serious reading, would it be possible for him to grasp the ideas of intricate scientific problems? Only a few days ago a man in Chicago tried to commit suicide because he desired to study after a good day's work and found he could not do it. The man was differently constituted to the great majority of mankind. He had a taste, a longing for good, sound reading, but he found it impossible to satisfy his longing, and this drove him to despair. Life no longer had any value for him: But how many of such minds do we find among the working classes? Some have the will but not the facility of perception, others again have the ability but not the energy, and the great mass has neither of the two. They neither do care, nor are they able to care. But a few among the working men, a very small minority, are able to profit by the possibility of reading scientific books and of profiting from their contents. It is these few which we have to find, and let us educate them by all means. Each one of these found educated, convinced of the truth of socialism, and right here I may say I know Miss Kelly has done genuine good work in this direction.

It may seem hard to judge the working classes as I have done. But it is of absolute necessity to recognize facts, to deal with realities, and it is useless to climb up the ladder of imagination till everything seems vague and mingled. If it is possible under the present system, that is before the social revolution, to educate the people at large, what then can we do with them? In my opinion we can do nothing else than stir up discontent—tell the people that they are robbed, instill into their minds a terrible hatred against all institutions now existing, appeal to their passions, and give them clearly to understand only through using force they can eventually free themselves. We cannot wait till every worker is a scientifically trained and convinced socialist. Day by day the people are becoming more and more enervated, more and more cowardly, and if we are willing to achieve something we have to act promptly.

Aye, look around! Are not the people becoming more and more used to use of force? Is not a strike, a boycott, a tie-up, a resource to some kind of force? Between a strike and a barricade there is but a difference of degree, in principle they are the same. Passive resistance! Ah, it sounds like a fairy tale from a better world! But how little fruit it will produce in a world where the strong exploit the weak, the cunning take a mean advantage of the goodhearted, where man fights desperately against man and the devil takes the hindmost. Nations today are governed by blood and iron, through lies and hypocrisy, and the individual is prompted to act by the most brutal and unrelieved self-interest. It's criminal to cry peace when no peace is possible. As long as we only resist passively no one will trouble us. Does any one think that Jay Gould cares one straw whether he is cursed—of course, only in words—by nearly every working man in existence? The workers may curse, but Jay is in possession and possession is nine-tenths of the law. In war times rulers appeal to the deity to help their good cause but they take good care to back up their appeal by a good show of bayonets. And so it is with us. Our good cause will never be victorious if we do not back it up by a good show of physical force. Aye, I assert that we, the "Berlin revolutionists" are more peaceable and less desirous in effect to see blood than even the great Bostonians.

HENRY F. CHARLES.
[CONCLUDED IN NO. 20.]

REMEMBER IT.
"Let the voice of the people be heard! Oh—"

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

THE WISE VIRGINS IN THE PARABLE HAD THEIR LAMPS READY WHEN WANTED.

THE LESSON OF FAR WIDER APPLICATION THAN PULPIT THUMPERS AND ADVOCATES ARE APT TO IMAGINE.

When I was young and attended Sunday school I remember reading—in my enforced bible studies—the parable of the ten virgins. The reader who once enjoyed the same "blessed privilege" of sitting on a hard bench and committing bible verses to memory on Sunday (which were generally forgotten Monday), may preserve a dim recollection of that thrilling tale of the virgins. Five were reputed "wise virgins," because they had their lamps trimmed and burning when the expected bridegroom appeared. But the other five were "foolish virgins," and filled not their lamps, so when the bridegroom, in full bridal toggery, with the dominie, appeared upon the scene, they were denied the privilege of seeing the show and criticizing the bride's appearance.

The article in No. 18 of THE ALARM, by Gertrude B. Kelly, recalls the parable to my mind as being of far wider application than is generally given to it. We also look for a coming bridegroom, one who by the union of life and liberty will render the pursuit of happiness attainable. But force is violence, and hence the negation of liberty, which means peace! Ah! if we in our wisdom could guide events, if we could but inculcate ignorance with a medium of our intelligence—but we cannot.

It is not a question of best methods to guide events, but the wisest plan to be prepared for them. Instead of guiding events, events guide us and shape our course. Lewis said: "The great thinker is the secretary of his age," in that he but renders explicit that which was but implicit in the minds of the people. The collapse of our present social system is acknowledged as a probability by all thoughtful minds. Will it come peacefully? Who believes it? Would we be "wiser" if we sought to prevent all action till ignorance had received the desired inoculation? At times events move rapidly. John Brown was hanged in December, 1859. In less than seventeen months armed troops were in the field singing, "His soul is marching on." Bellamy gives other instances.

In 1759, when Quebec fell, the night of England in America seemed irresistible and the vassalage of the colonies assured. Nevertheless, twenty-nine years later, the first president of the American republic was inaugurated. In 1849, after Novara, Italian prospects appeared as hopeless as at any time since the middle ages; yet only thirteen years after Victor Emanuel was crowned king of united Italy. In 1864 the fulfillment of the thousand-year dream of German unity was apparently as far off as ever. Seven years later it had been realized, and William had assumed at Versailles the crown of Barbarossa. In 1833 the original anti-slavery society was formed in Boston by a few so-called visionaries; thirty-seven years later, in 1870, the society disbanded, its programme fully carried out.

So it will be again. The cry, "the bridegroom cometh!" will be heard. While we do what we can to prepare for the "morrow of the revolution," it is no less wise to have our "lamps" trimmed, filled and ready to light when unforeseen events have precipitated the inevitable. It is a question of fact, not of philosophy, and though brutality should again for a season prevail and reprisals made, as the French peasants did upon their seigniors, our faith in the social providence which shapes our ends will not be weakened.

That our "lamps," to still maintain the virginal or viraginal metaphor, will not build up, will not inculcate ignorance, will not grind out economic

[CONTINUED ON THIRD PAGE.]

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FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.
Equality of Opportunities for All—Hence, extinction of privilege and restriction, protection and oppression, chartered rights and vested wrongs.
Free Labor—Mutual Credit, and Equitable Commerce—Hence, abolition of rent, interest and profit.
Sovereignty of the Individual—Hence, liberty, the cessation of authority, or industrial emancipation and social co-operation.

MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE.

PRISON CELL 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1887.
The Alarm has, as you know, ever rang out strong and clear the dangers that threatened the people. To other hands is now committed that task which was mine in the work and duty as editor of this paper. Though fallen, wounded perhaps unto death, in the name of liberty, I send to you the paper which my hands bore aloft in the midst of the struggle is caught up by other hands and will be again and again, and I send it to you with the hope that it may be a help to you. To the great work of labor's economic emancipation is recognized by all. Therefore, give to him in his work your hearty support—he is worthy and able. Farewell.
A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1888.

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field battling for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation soliciting support for the publication fund will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Send all donations to the treasurer of The Alarm Club, A. Towes, 350 Grove street, Jersey City, N. J.

THE PRIMER OF ANARCHY.

So great has been the demand for the continuance of "The Primer of Anarchy" commenced in No. 11 that I have yielded to numerous requests to resume its publication. The value of the articles and the large number of new subscribers have induced me to republish the former chapters. In future they will appear regularly with every issue. They supply a long felt want and are earnestly commended to all inquirers.

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.

The Western Christian Advocate of July 4, gives its readers a pious "meditation on liberty" in which there is such a strange blending of authority and liberty that in any other than a religious paper would be amusing. It starts out with the statement that "liberty has another side called responsibility," from which it draws the deduction that the church is necessary to inculcate responsibility and self-control. That while it is the duty of the state to guarantee as much freedom as is consistent with its existence, or in other words as much freedom as is in accord with its constant invasion of it, still the church must be relied upon to make men worthy of liberty.

After pointing out that liquor selling is a business beyond the pale of liberty, the able editor adds: "So, too, trade combinations threaten our peace as well as our pockets; freedom may have to suffer that we may have peace."

What is peace? The peace this disciple of the church would have is that based upon two gigantic monopolies of the means of existence—land and exchange. By trade combinations, either of unions or "trusts" so far as man's inalienable right to access to the sources of production-land, is curtailed, just so far is his life as well as his liberty threatened. And the writer

holds that man's right to life and liberty there invaded is more moment than the pockets of any doctor of divinity whose profits are invested in real estate, and whose peace consists in legalized privilege to extract toll from labor in the form of rent for land and to which his god has given him no title-deed.

So, again, his peace and pockets are both threatened by any proposition to abolish the governmental monopoly over the medium of exchange in the form of interest. Let this apostle of christian equality but rise above the gospel of the commonplace, and he will see that in freedom to land and exchange lies the whole law and the prophets. That in such liberty responsibility, not privilege, would be called out into healthful activity and in the consequent social co-operation which must needs result, increased sociality would mean a higher morality and no "right" conceived without its correlative duty; that freedom from legal privilege to exploit carries with it increased responsibility in guarding the sacred bond.

But the church is based on other foundations. Its god no longer lives in cloudland; in this materialistic age he stands like Nebuchadnezzar's image with feet of clay rooted in the soil, and head of gold rooted from the sinews and muscles of the disenfranchised. For this reason the christian, from the journeyman chump, who piously thanks god for possessing the christ and a crust, to the portly D. D. who invests his collections in bonds and securities and prays through his nose with increasing complacency, clamor for "peace."

No, no, Rev. Dr., working men will continue to look upon the church as a chump-trap baited with insurance policies against imaginary dangers as long as it stands as the exponent of existing wrongs, and with nasal twang seeks to divert our eyes from land and exchange to the beatitude of sitting astride a damp cloud and playing "Old Hundred" on a jews-harp. Give us access to what you claim your god gave us and in the increased responsibility which only liberty can bestow we will have more leisure to consider the acceptance of a complimentary ticket to your christ's weekly soiree.

LOOKING FORWARD.

Bellamy, in his "Looking Backward," attempts to portray society from the standpoint of the year 2,000. In many respects it is indeed looking backward—to the days of the Incas, or of the Spartans. All monopolies are absorbed by one monopoly—the people—and every one's place defined by regiminal rules as, for instance, every one is required to pass three years of his life at unskilled labor. By this antique Peruvian regimentation, so to speak, the supply of laborers is kept up and the difficulty of securing ditch diggers obviated.

Against any artificial system in which men are ticketed for their allotted station in life, the anarchist simply posits liberty as the all-sufficient condition. Liberty once secured, instead of chaos, social co-operation would necessarily result. Why we have so little co-operation to-day results from the habit of trusting to "representatives" to do what otherwise we would be compelled to co-operate to secure. Governments are temporary, society is eternal. Modes of administration undergo constant change, but social administration remains a constant fact. The question at issue is whether to secure perfect social adjustments liberty shall be sacrificed to regimen, or whether freedom itself will not clear the

ground of obstructions and co-operation inevitably result? To secure this healthful action of the units of society the anarchist has but two points to lay down, both destructive, in may be, in so far as they propose the abolition of barriers which deny free course to co-operative effort. These are freedom of access to land and freedom to organize credit.

The whole law and the prophets is contained in this proposition. With freedom of access to land, the abolition of that system of legalization by which one is permitted to monopolize the sole source of production, a system which practically denies to man standing room upon the earth save as a privilege, the question of rent is eliminated. When title rests in occupancy and use, when the soil is thrown open to the humblest "squatter," the great cities of the present with their vice encouraging environments will disappear.

But use of land alone will not secure economic emancipation as long as the medium of exchange is monopolized, as long as the privilege of exchanging products is subject to the monopoly government now bestows upon money. Liberty demands the same right to co-operate in securing credit as in securing insurance. There is no more reason for government assuming paternal function in the one respect than in the other. The very absence of governmental regulation, as in insurance, would lead to co-operative action to capitalize wealth, to place all products upon the same level with that now artificial bestowal upon the so-called precious metals. With liberty to capitalize all products of industry, in other words, to obtain credit upon labor performed, use would be joined to possession of land, ability to exploit nature would be secured to all, and in the absence of rent and interest nothing else would remain to exploit. Profits are but a sequence to interest and would fall with it.

But we are still children, brought up to have infantile dependence upon guidance, with superstitious faith that ignorance by a political hokus-pokus act can elect intelligence to govern us. Our rulers use every art to instill into our minds our own incapacity, our inability to act for ourselves, the necessity for guiding society, and then call upon us to elect guides! And not the most singular feature of this widespread superstitious belief in individual mediocrity and collective genius is the ease with which our state-socialistic friends swallow the dose and take our enemies' dictum for their own platform, yet assuming to seek economic emancipation by denying individual liberty to land and exchange.

MILE STONES OF PROGRESS.

Once men stood aghast at the idea of leaving the mind free from scholastic bonds to search intellectual truth with the freedom of the bee sipping honey from way-side flowers. Abelard resented the dictation of the schools and, like Galileo later, was obliged to retract. Yet scholasticism was even then doomed. Erasmus, Colet, More were to follow and out of the struggle slowly evolved intellectual liberty. The authority of the schools, the blind reverence for St. Thomas or for Aristotle as authoritative guides was shattered. Anarchy in thought was realized and in freedom mind advanced to greater conquests.

Following intellectual liberty came the struggle for religious liberty. The wisest statesmen shuddered at the thought of religious anarchy and prophesied the destruction of social order as the result. Yet time has vindicated emancipation from the bondage of the church and in the very anarchy so much dreaded man has seen progress realized. Again the standard of liberty was moved forward and political liberty became the guiding star. The king followed the priest. Old time ideas were again shattered. The fiction of divine right of man over man was exploded. Yet progress halted not. The demand for economic emancipation arose, and today the cry finds articulate expression. Intellectual liberty! Religious liberty! Political liberty! Economic liberty! These are the mile stones of progress. The issue is not doubtful. The hills are already lighted with the coming dawn.

TO PESSIMISTS.

From Freiheit.
If we now speak of pessimists we do not desire to speak of those who are such because they act as enemies of mankind and stifle their better ego with the phrase, that all mankind is a woe-begone mob to whom neither advice nor aid is beneficial, wherefore there is no wrong to "make" out of them what can be made.

This is the philosophy of tyrants, moneybags and priests, and it would be wonderful, if they were troubled with other notions; for only such contempt of men agrees with the actions of these incubi on the people.

We are not dealing with them at present. The purpose of this article is to show the pessimists in the movement their folly, and to induce them to seek again the right path. These pessimists not only are far more numerous than is generally believed, but are growing lately in a most startling manner.

After a connection of more than twenty years with the proletarian party, we have not yet lost courage; but where are most of those who worked with us at our debut in the movement? They have long since withdrawn beyond the battle lines. Many are total philistines, and only a very few of them remain connected with organization so far as to read one or the other of its papers.

In looking back we find that this withdrawing has always become more attractive. Whilst formerly a person would continue for ten years on an average in activity, one could be well satisfied to see the same person in the ranks for five years, now two years is the average period of activity!—One sometimes meets such lost ones and when questioned about their indifference they show themselves to have become either very commonplace trade-unionists or to have no ideas at all. If they find it important enough to give a reason, it will be a pessimism most unworthy and despicable.

If desiring to impose he will with dignity affirm that he will be there, "when it is going to begin." The others chatter like monkeys about various persons within the movement, whom they by legend identify with the party and its aims, and with the entire historical mission of the proletariat as a class in society. In their eyes, everyone, who is connected with labor organizations is a vagabond, the movement itself is good for the demagogue, his aim can never be reached, all mankind is a woe-begone mob of scoundrels, etc. How our heat bleeds, when listening to people so talking, with whom one has in the past worked hand in hand, and whom one has loved as a friend and comrade.

But still—why all this despairing gall? Is it want of patience, more yet of that high degree of sacrificial devotion which can only be shown in the most unswerving perseverance and above all want of judgment as regards the general position of man and society, as regards the existing human material and the reasons why the desired change becomes irrepressible. If people become pessimistically inclined after taking part in ballot mountebankism, and finding that they were only led by the nose by demagogues, it would not be manly, but it would be excusable. But, whosoever has declared himself an anarchist, and who has learned that the social question can not be solved by magic and with the ut-

most comfort, but who has always heard that a hard, tedious and sacrificial combat of life and death must be gone through—he cannot speak of disillusion and has no ground to despair of the cause and to become a pessimist.

Not even anger at the existing material of humanity is justifiable. Whosoever acknowledges our view of the world must know that the now living men, the outcome of a totally selfish, worm-eaten society, as it were, ground between the millstones of mastership and slavery, cannot be other than they are. Noble man can only be produced under anarchistic society; we must be satisfied to educate a sufficient corps of rebels, and though they be only a "corps of revenge" strong enough to subvert the existing. Verily, this poor quality of the people of today should induce all those once understanding anarchism to stand all the more firmly to the cause and never to desert their colors, or in case of a lack of momentary success to sneak off in a cowardly way.

Neither art nor courage is requisite to run along with a crowd at the minute of success and to add one more voice to the shout of triumph. True courage reveals itself in perseverance in battle, in unbending devotion to once rightly understood principles.

It is very true, throughout public life, and especially in being an anarchist, that one is persecuted, fought against, calumniated, and injured; one's life is embittered, so that in despair one doubts its value, but what have all these things, known to be naturally the rotten results of the existing state of affairs, to do with the high, holy, invincible idea of anarchism?

This, however, we serve and not men, who imperfectly developed, and declaring themselves to be our friends, vex our daily life. And should the best drop their colors before these elements, more to be pitied than hated? It would be a crime against the cause, at least a most shameful thing.

Well then—many have committed such sins. We herewith would call them back; we appeal to their sense of honor, to their sense of duty on the wane, we ask that they again appear on the field of combat.

Should they heed our call and count their numbers, this alone would give them new zeal. How many thousands would there not be now, if all who within the last ten years took part in our organization were to come out of their hiding places. With shame would they see that their continuous plaint of "nothing is done" was entirely due to their staying away and to their small way of sneaking.

This would we say to such pessimists as may yet be curable. Now to the incurables!

This class has very little of any interest left in the movement, but nevertheless read our papers, in order to know "what is going on," but only for the purpose of learning about all quarrels and gloating over every row or difficulty. They are not satisfied to sit in their corners and ignore all the fights, which their better comrades of the past had to go through, no, they consider it a pastime to mislead every friend of our cause. They slander so long and so much until their listeners also become possessed of the demon of pessimism.

We would herewith have asked them to think for a moment, what an disastrous bad effect their doings create. We would wish, that they turn over the leaves in their own book of life and find again that bright chapter which tells them of those noble enthusiastic hours when they too served the ideal. We dare hope, such reminiscences are sufficiently strong, if not for inducing them to come back, at least for keeping them from turning into pessimism others, who still are untainted by it.

Pessimism is a stately even though a poisonous weed; it is proper only to enemies of humanity by birth and occupation. Proletarians are on the wrong road when going the way of pessimism against the enemies of class. The present social system cannot long continue; a revolutionary crash is unavoidable; a reconstruction of society in the sense of anarchy is a historical necessity. Where then is there a field in the circle of the proletarian parties for the cultivation of pessimism. This satan may be get him hence.

PRIMER OF ANARCHY.

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHISM EXPLAINED TO THE PRIMARY CLASS.

FIRST LESSONS FOR THE STUDENTS IN THE NEW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS—WHAT GOVERNMENT IS.

BY G. C. CLEMENS.

INTRODUCTION.

Were a teacher to inform his pupils that "arithmetic was the science of numbers" and then forthwith direct them to work out a hard problem in percentage or in decimal fractions, would we not think he had peculiar ideas about teaching? Will a boy who has just been instructed that English grammar "is the art of speaking and of writing correctly the English language" be able at once to write essays like Addison or Macaulay? Suppose one should repeat to an audience of workmen hitherto unacquainted with the subject Herbert Spencer's definition that "Evolution is the transformation of the homogeneous, through successive generations into the heterogeneous," could his staring, bewildered auditors be reasonably expected to answer him at once and off-hand whether they were believers in evolution? Does a mere definition of a science, a philosophy or a dogma constitute a complete course of instruction to fresh inquirers after knowledge? Yet such is substantially the course which writers and speakers on anarchism pursue, even when appealing to unlearned people. Having told them that anarchism means without government—without rulers, we complain of their stupidity or lack of interest because they do not instantly declare themselves anarchists. The definition of our philosophy is in itself alone "staring to people who hear it stated for the first time; and reared, as we have all been, under the superstition that the state is a thing to be revered, and a thing man cannot get along without; our attack upon the idol seems at first chimerical and hopeless, if not dangerous and a deadly sin. For such superstition we can blame no one, for all of us were once under its dominion, and ought we not to know that when we have stated to readers or listeners the mere definition of anarchism, we have as yet told them almost nothing at all of which their minds can take hold? Take up any text book of science and you will see not only an explanation of the terms the science explains, but a statement of the prevailing theories adopted by scientists to explain the phenomena of nature with which that science deals and the arguments by which those theories are supported. Even when treating of the spherical shape of the earth, an idea now universally accepted, text-books give the reason for believing the earth to be round, and so with the revolution of the earth, theories concerning the moon, the size and distance of the sun, and the question whether the planets are inhabited. In physiology, every theory—the circulation of the blood, the processes of digestion and respiration, the organization and operations of the nervous systems, and the uses of the divers organs—is reasoned out. The writer does not stop with the mere statement of theories, giving the student no means of intelligently judging for himself. This is what should be done for the people with the social philosophy we call anarchism, before we contract our learned brows and curl in scorn our all-wise lips at the stupidity of those who have little chance, between the evening and the morning whistles, to do their thinking for themselves. Let us tell them not only that anarchism means to abolish government, but what we mean by government, why it should be abolished, what good it would do them to have it abolished, and how it can be abolished. Once told these things so that they can be clearly understood, there are few poor people, and no honest hearted people, who will not become anarchists at once. Who among you has ever done this, unless asthmatically a jerk at a time? We have plenty of excellent works treating of social reconstruction, "on the morrow of the revolution" working out economic and social problems that must then be solved; and we have some very valuable works on anarchism, too, but they treat of anarchism plus other things, none of them of anarchism alone. Here is our primer, our elementary work, our text book, if you please, that teaches

anarchism itself and nothing else? When some one comes to us honestly seeking information as to precisely what our philosophy is, what shall we tell him to read as a beginning? Every work I have ever seen save one, assumed that the reader is already an anarchist, or that he possesses a fund of ready general knowledge which it is well nigh impossible an uneducated, hardworking man or woman can have, and I believe that I have seen most that has been written on that subject. The one exception to which I allude is Edmund Burke's "Vindication of Natural Society," and even that, if it were accessible to the poor, might prove incomprehensible to many because of its constant use of "hard words." I once felt very greatly the need of just such a primer as I have mentioned here, and I am astonished that I should have, and I am astonished that in so rich a literature as anarchism has, no such simple first book was anywhere to be found. I need not tell the experienced agitator how often I have wished for such a little book in my intercourse with others. I have never yet seen the working man or woman to whom anarchism has been clearly and fully explained in the mode I have suggested who has not become an anarchist; but I have seen among workingmen professed anarchists who were really not anarchists at all, because the reasons for abolishing the state had never been impressed upon their minds.

The reader who has read thus far will have already perceived what my purpose is in writing what is to follow. I mean to explain and to prove anarchism—just simply anarchism—to the common people whose hard lot in life has denied to them all opportunity for acquiring extensive knowledge, and who dislike to keep a twelve-dollar dictionary on their weary, patched knees while they read. I think I know the everyday language of the common folks who have never been college professors, and that is the language I propose to use, not six-inch words that it takes a whole family to spell out and pronounce, and which a whole pronoun in mass meeting can never understand. My object shall be to make people anarchists first and then turn them over to you for instruction in the business of "the morrow of the revolution." The latter more ambitious task has been ably done, and the results of the labor expended and the knowledge gleaned are readily accessible once the student has advanced to a point where he can appreciate them. I have chosen the humblest task of teaching "beginners" the rudiments of our philosophy. Let others write for those already familiar with our principles; I propose to write an unpretentious primer, to be the modest pedagogy of the social revolution, and to address myself to the numerous and eager, but benighted people who shall, if it please you, make up my "first class in anarchy." I do not but that what I write for uneducated folks may be of some service, also, to men and women who have enjoyed greater advantages than the toiling poor.

I have read somewhere that a lawyer, seeing on the jury a man with a towering forehead that went over his head and hid in his collar at the back, selected him as the probable leader of the eleven nonentities, because of his stronger mind; and so supposing, the lawyer made his whole speech to this forehead, which gave him the most flattering attention. When the jury was about to leave the box for the jury room this forehead arose and remarked to the court, "I don't know some of the words they've been using. I don't know what these here lawyers mean by 'plaintiff' and 'defendant.' I can't make no sense out'n their big words" and the lawyer who had depended so hopefully upon that wide waste of forehead felt greatly discouraged. I do not wish to repeat the lawyer's mistake, and as I cannot know what each of my readers do, or do not, already understand, I shall explain the "big words" as we go along, leaving to those who need no explanation the privilege of not reading such parts as they choose to pass over. We anarchists wish to abolish government; we think there should be no government at all, and the first lesson I shall give will be to explain just what sort of thing it is we mean by "government!" (TO BE CONTINUED.)

CLUB RULE.
It matters not whether the symbol of government be a sabre, a holy water sprinkler or an umbrella—it is still a club.—Theophile Gautier.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

treaties, goes without saying. When France was illuminated with burning chateaux there was a lesson taught in tones as articulate as if spoken from heaven. Wrong persisted in brings its own retribution in these days. It is not true that "we are not driven by oppression nor passion," for the first inevitably leads to the manifestation of the second; nor need we regret it. When passion shall have destroyed, when vengeance, ever short-lived, shall have been satiated, wisdom will assert itself and ideas lead. In view of the coming collapse, expected by writers of all schools, the part of wisdom does not lie in burying ourselves in philosophical treatises as the ostrich hides its head in the sand, and believing safety is attained. To again quote Bellamy:

"As a great iceberg, floating southward from the frozen north, is gradually undermined by warmer seas, and becoming at last unstable churns the ocean to yeast for miles around by the mighty rockings that portend its overturn, so the barbaric industrial and social system, which has come down to us from savage antiquity, undermined by the criticism of economic science, is shaking the world with convulsions which preage its collapse."

O, wise virgin! The bridegroom cometh! Fill your lamps and have the wicks trimmed and ready.

BETSY ANN.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"The social problem is not a new problem. It is world-old. It is as old as the selfishness of man. It began when the first strong man wronged another because he had power to do so. It has continued through the varying phases of all civilizations, because in no country, savage or civilized, have men's dealings with men been fair and just. Tyrants have ruled their fellows and converted them into 'subjects'; men have reduced their brothers to bondage, establishing the monstrous relation of 'master' and 'slave'; laws multitudinous have been made favoring one class of men against another until, under the influences of heredity and environment, such differences appear between men and men that many wise and good persons have come to believe that kings, and noblemen, and 'the better classes' generally are ordained by god instead of being the mere creatures of law. Abolish certain laws and you have no king; abolish certain other laws and you have no noblemen; abolish certain other laws and you have no men very much richer than other men. There must always be natural distinctions between men. But social distinctions are not natural distinctions. They are based upon statute laws. Could this single fact be fully recognized by the majority the world would be speedily reformed."

I CONGRATULATE the readers of THE ALARM upon being able to add to the distinguished correspondents to its columns the name of Benj. R. Tucker. My only regret is that a subject of no greater importance than a typographical error should have called forth the able article the censor has given to my readers. But upon this subject Mr. Tucker is an authoritarian and we must submit to his dictum. I hope this will satisfy all captious friends that I have no desire to either ignore or injure so distinguished an authority.

THE McGlynn crusade is beginning to materialize. Organizers are being selected to institute non-rent clubs throughout the city. There will be no politics in this campaign.

Among all the papers which come to my address I read none with more

lively interest than "The Twentieth Century" published by Hugh O. Pentecost at No. 56 Oriental street, Newark, N. J. Each number contains the sermon of Mr. Pentecost of the preceding Sunday with other matters and contains much that is strikingly new in the way of sermon literature. The following extract from his sermon of July 8th is well worth reading:

CHICAGO is having another nightmare. The ghosts of the innocent dead still haunt the guilty living. When a Chicago policeman sets out to find bombs and dynamite it is generally a cold day when he gets left. The story of the "diabolical plot" may wash in Bonfield's bailwick, but it has a decidedly fishy flavor here in the East. Try again, Bonfield!

WHAT is a "tax on the products of industry"? Something which belongs to the individual, but which the community takes.—Hugh O. Pentecost.

CAN you conceive of a "community" outside of individuals? is a toll paid by some individuals to others for the privilege of producing.

WHAT is a perfect system of taxation? For the community to take what it produces and let the individual keep what he produces.—Hugh O. Pentecost.

THAT is, as individuals produce all they should keep all. What is left for the community to produce after deducting individual exertions? Ergo—taxation ceases.

WHAT gives value to land? The presence of population—the community. Then rent, or the value of land, morally belongs to the community.—Hugh O. Pentecost.

WHAT is the community other than the aggregate of its individual units? If the concrete units are guaranteed access to land will the abstract community suffer?

THE ALARM Publishing Club being confined to matters of business only a call has been issued for the formation of an English speaking group for discussion and agitation. All friends are invited to be present Friday evening at 8 p.m. at Arbeiter Lyra Hall, No. 642 E. 5th st.

GERMANY and Russia are to meet. At least William II. and the Czar will. The other millions don't count.

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

ITEMS OF INTEREST FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN MODERN SODOM.

The most important matter now agitating the people here is the recent developments in the C. B. and Q. "conspiracy" case. The arrest of chairman Hoge, and the publication of the circular alleged to have been issued by him, were quickly followed by the "aqueuling" of Smith and others. The extraordinary action of the road's attorneys in appearing for Kelly and McGilvery, in the refusal of these men to be set at liberty under the habeas corpus, assumed a new meaning on Friday, when Kelly was put on the stand in the character of squire. It transpired that this young man, who was the secretary of chairman Hoge, had been from the first in the thrall of the Pinkertons. And now Bowles, who was suspected of handling and secreting dynamite, before the amazed spectators in the court room tearfully begged to be permitted to make a confession "in the interests of public justice."

Truly, Chief Arthur's law'n order loving followers, who declared less than a year ago before Governor Oglesby, that they were law abiding citizens, and had they been in common with agitators who sought to disturb the public peace, have got themselves into a pretty fix. If I remember rightly, at a late feast and banquet given to Chief Arthur and his satellites by the Young Men's Christian Association last fall, that gentleman made a speech in which he alluded to the Merritt conspiracy law as a safeguard of American institutions against foreign agitators. It is the irony of

fate which now dooms Arthur's trusted lieutenants to prosecution under that very law.

The socialists and anarchists for whom the Merritt bill was passed can afford to view with composure the discomfiture of the conservative working men who are as yet the only sufferers from it.

The radicals condemned the bill; the "conservatives" strongly supported it. I remember our late comrade, Parsons, saying to me that the very men who advocated the bill would be its first victims.

Bonfield took some of the dynamite bombs captured from the strikers out to the prairie to test them. After the return of the expedition, District Attorney Ewing, who was one of the party, was seen by a reporter, to whom he gave a graphic description of the awful havoc made by an 8-inch gas-pipe bomb.

Great art thou, O dynamite! The semi-annual election of officers of the Trades Assembly was held July 15. L. A. No. 1 has started a library.

A NEW CORRESPONDENT.

EDITOR ALARM: When it pleases you to quote from the columns of Liberty, I wish you would have the fairness to quote accurately. In your last issue you credit, or rather discredit, it by the following:

A man can have no more despicable enemies than those who, pretending to be his "warm friends and admirers," make their praise the vehicle of insidious attempts to ignore or belittle him in others eyes.

I should not like the readers of THE ALARM to hold me responsible for such arrant nonsense as results from the substitution in your quotation of ignore for injure. If this was a typographical error I congratulate you on the possession of a proof-reader so closely in sympathy with your editorial policy that he knows when not to see a mistake.

AFTER THEIR OWN IMAGE.

If horses had made themselves gods they would have given them the form of horses.—Xenophanes.

THE FREEMAN.

No man who hungers is a free man.—Michel Chevalier.

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In his preface Mr. Parsons says: "On Oct. 25, Cook Co. Jail, Chicago, Ill., October 27, 1887.—This book has been written and compiled in response to the public demand for information upon the subjects treated of. The circumstances under which the work has been performed, in my dangerous, beneath the shadow of the gallows, should not be forgotten, and additional interest and importance to the subjects presented therein. If the public shall be furnished information, or assisted in reaching a clearer understanding of the great question of Capital and Labor by a perusal of these pages, I shall deem that a sufficient reward for my humble effort to supply it."

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AGENTS WANTED.

Social Problems

OF

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OR THE

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IN ITS

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THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER IN DYER D. LUM'S WORK, "SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY."

Concluded from No. 18.

Two score years ago the tariff was a vital question in our land; to-day it is but a superficial one, of value only to political gamblers. To-day the desperate struggle of all European powers for a foreign market has rendered it a dead issue. Shall we protect, that is, endeavor to advance happiness, by curtailing freedom? Then we abandon foreign markets which our growing population increasingly demands and bend under 'over-production.' Shall we have free trade? Then labor must fall to the universal level. In the one case we starve from the want of a market, in the other the same fate awaits us in the struggle for one!

Where then is the remedy? Politics offers none. Our political state is based on the present economic condition of things. The ballot can determine a choice of methods only; it cannot strike deeper. To do so would endanger vested interests, disturb proprietary rights, violate commercial contracts, jeopardize established institutions, unsettle law and order, peril religion itself. Still the cry of the age grows in distinctness; still angry men band together to secure shorter hours of toil, or to look on the gleaming bayonets of the militia on guard. The terrible struggle of states for economic advantage is the wrestle of despair to avert the inevitable doom statesmen foresee and dread. It is a death struggle where failure is inevitable to some. The politico-economic state has grown aged; it is in a moribund condition; only new methods can restore its arrested circulation. The hand of progress has written the warning message upon the wall; the meaning of history attests its interpretation—wider freedom; mental, political, economic! In the living gospel of progress we found our hope, in living humanity we again behold the Christ incarnate, and in its coming advent our future life. The old bottles answered to hold the old wine of politics, but are now bursting under the new vintage.

We now see that the spirit of the age is not a new standard, a new ideal, but the same one shifted from the field of political, to that of industrial relations. All questions resolve themselves on final analysis to the fundamental one: liberty or authority: freedom or force. And he who has a clear conception of the meaning of history will not hesitate to align himself on the side of the future rather than the past, with progress rather than with reaction. The living question of the present is that stated in the preamble of the constitution of the Knights of Labor as "the abolishment of the wage system," a problem the Mormon has alone partially solved.

If all present question are,

and have been, purely economic, in what sense was the late rebellion of the Southern States such? A quarter of a century ago I enlisted in response to the call for troops. For three years I gave my services for the defense of my country. "Our liberties were at stake!" Could I hesitate? Young and ardent I looked forward to the time when my infant child should have become a school girl, a young woman, a wife and mother. While others would recall with pride that their fathers fought for national liberty, she should not hang her head speechless. It was the logic of patriotism. In response to its dictates I gladly served in defense of "the flag of the free!" Today I view the graves of my comrades fallen with different emotions. Looking back over the score of years since I returned to enjoy a perpetual pension of water and air, the delusion has vanished. The question is not asked; "Did your father enlist?" Nay, more, my doubt extend further. I ask myself for what I fought? Liberty? Preservation of the Union? Or rather for the changes which every civil war entails; the enrichment of speculators enabled by the patent of an army contract, or taking advantage of national necessities, the manipulation of the money of the country for private ends; the centralization of authority, the tendency of industrial enterprise to concentrate into monopolies?

The fallen are honored—once a year. The survivors live to wonder at their past delusion. In preserving the Union we created a new union—o-capital. Not that of legitimate capital with free competition and equal opportunities, but entrenched behind legal enactments and overriding competition through control of conditions. We enlarged the bounds of political freedom by embracing the emancipated freedmen as equals—in industrial bondage. Through the influence of the conqueror's sword the "freedmen" owe the economic change from the selling of the worker to the highest bidder to the lowest bidder! We restored law and order with the bayonet, and made the fashion permanent.

The industrial system of the North, characterized by its freedom from all responsibility to labor, had been crossed in its path by slave labor in the territories. The cry of the North, the animating soul of its system, was that fierce struggle for precedence and advantage miscalled competition, and carried with it as a consequence cheap labor. Cheap labor brought business, commercial activity and the extension of modern civilization. The economic pressure behind was too great to admit of compromise. They were rival industrial systems which had met in the same path, and one must give way.

The war followed. The economic conditions of life suffered a violent change. A vast army had to be clothed and fed, and contractors found there a rich harvest. Great

loans were necessary and speculation became inoculated into the fever of business life. The demand for labor increased, and lists of American wages were published in foreign lands by our consuls to induce immigration, lest dearth should check production. In this general industrial prosperity the farmer sought a share. Government was called in to aid in the extension of great highways of communication.

The dominating genius of the North—private greed—was incited by prodigal gifts of land as indemnity for capital advanced, and the people's heritage was quickly swallowed up. The South failed and reconstruction ensued. To-day, South and North alike admit the fundamental principle of our industrial system, the cornerstone of our economic structure: "Free labor is cheaper than slave labor." Employers without responsibilities could find new fields for enterprise when the system which entailed responsibilities was once removed. The South are converted; the poverty of a factory population is no longer an Eastern peculiarity. The gray meets blue in hearty union to draw dividends and cut coupons. They have found free labor the cheapest. Wages still follow the old economic law, the cost of subsistence, and irresponsibility for sickness and old age follows freedom from employer to employee. Why should not the South have wept over Grant's bier?

The civil war had opened new paths to fortune, incited new passions, and found means to gratify them. The same changes which the conquest of Carthage and Greece introduced into the Roman Republic have been introduced here. We have had our Punic war and seen it followed by reckless extravagance, profligacy, and an aristocracy of wealth. And it is for the further extension of this that the cry has gone forth that the Mormon must go!

O, trusting fetish-worshiper! have you a faith greater than that which can remove mountains, to believe that with your ballots you can reach and modify the economic laws under lying even the electoral system? Do you propose to vote down the growth of the limbs when you carefully water the roots? Can the ballot affect the amenities of social life, alter the laws of chemical affinity, abolish the correlation between wealth and power? But you say, if we hold together we may, by the ballot, limit the power of capital! So it has been said: "If fishes were gold, all would take to the water!"

Yet neither are true. In the latter case, you would find on the banks of each stream the placard: "No Trespass!" In the former case, even admitting a possibility no whit more probable, you could only succeed in deranging economic conditions, withdrawing capital from enterprise, and introducing general distress and misery more keen than yet seen. Ballots might destroy or derange, but in whatever number cast could not give confidence. It is cheapness of means and

prospect of profit that calls forth capital from its hidden coffers. The system and its methods are one. The issues is not how to reform abuses and retain cheapness. The nineteenth century is not called upon to discover how by ballot we may secure "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," without striking at the taproot of the tree where cheap labor is the life-giving sap. The question is a fundamental one, reaching below our whole social system, and is not to be solved by the application of surface emollients.

The Mormons have solved the problem for themselves and are offering a passive resistance to oppression. American workmen are banding together with similar economic motives to supplant our industrial system by one based on co-operation and arbitration. Will they, like the Mormons in their struggle, feel the weight of oppression? Time will tell. Both are unconsciously marching in the same direction; both have received the same inspiration.

From god to man the sceptre passed, but progress did not halt. The priestly amulet and the kingly crown no longer have mystic power in government. We calmly label them as curiosities. Under the economic conditions which the present century ushered in, the dream of our fathers has not been realized. The purse has succeeded the crown as the symbol of authority. In our efforts to secure, through thorough organization and passive resistance, the inauguration of a better system, wherein there will be a full and free co-operation and labor receive "a full, just share of the value or capital it has created," let us bear in mind the ties of industrial affiliation by which we are connected with the persecuted Mormons. The same spirit that is striving in the halls of Congress to devise new and more despotic measures to crush the Mormon industrial system, is also plainly visible in the recent decision of our courts in relation to boycotts. We are free to organize if we will be content to remain home and suck our thumbs. The same rod which has lashed them, and which is now being fashioned into a more deadly club to break down co-operation and arbitration in Utah, is now being turned to the same end nearer home.

Shall we meet the blow with Mormon passiveness? However dissimilar the Mormon saint and our workmen, still underlying the social question which in reality constitutes the secret spring of antagonism to both, there is the spirit of the nineteenth century urging men on, the voice of the living future crying out against the demands of the dead past, living against the entrenched privileges of the dead. Can the issue be doubtful?

Both Progress halt as on revolve the ages
In man's sad martyrdom to power's
Has Freedom yet no goal foreseen by
ages,

No broader vision worthy ear
quest?
Did Progress cease when Luther's flag
was ended,
Or when the king from his high throne
descended,
Bequeathing heirs of want and sorrow
blended—
The toiling millions—but a defense
ear?
Or is the dream that stirs our imagi-
being
To larger vision and clairvoyance
seeing,
A phantom riddle e'er before us fleeing,
Unanswered and unanswerable here
Blot out the thought! vile offspring of
man's greed,
That prates of peace when profits are
in danger;
As long as toilers live in enforced need
Freedom unto their lives is e'er a
stranger.
Freedom of thought! It was a lofty
endeavor,
And millions fell ere mankind could dis-
ever
The fatal bonds which held mankind
forever
Dehuman and lifeless in its iron grip,
Yet onward in the van with exultation
Freedom, despite the bigot's lamina-
tion,
Led freemen forth to further immu-
lation,
With blood-red hand to other lands
clasp.
When Capet's head rolled 'neath the
scaffold's blade,
And France rose from her nightmare
slumber;
When Yankee patriots marched o'er hill
and glade,
That tyrants should no more our
shores encumber,
Did we attain to Freedom's full fruition
In paving paths for partisan ambition,
While millions still lay bound in serf
condition,
The economic slaves of self and greed?
Nay! ballots bring to such no repa-
ration,
Nor cease to bear the iron condemnation
That wages bring, condemned to de-
gradation,
To unrequited toil and life of need.
The battle is not o'er, the means of life
From avaricious hands must yet be
wrested;
The right to think and vote ends not
the strife
When right to bread in other hands
vested.
The priest has passed, his fatal bonds
are riven,
The monarchs flee, by people's wrath
out driven,
And Church and State, to scheming
traders given,
In terror stand confronting Free-
dom's van.
The toiling millions see the bright day
breaking,
The scheming few, in law entrenched,
are quaking,
For Freedom dawn and strong men
are awaking
Resolved to end man's martyrdom
to man!

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THE ALARM.

"Men Die, But Principles Live."

VOL. I. No. 20. CHICAGO AND NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1888. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

HOCKING VALLEY MINES.

A PROFESSIONAL WAIL OVER THE LACK OF INDUSTRIAL TRAINING AMONG THE MINERS.

AN EXAMPLE OF VIVISECTION IN WHICH THE SCALPEL IS USED BY A WELL PRACTICED HAND.

One of the most amusing features in the usually serious work of the reformer, is the spectacle of the zeal presented by the conservative member of society, to prove that some society change, which he is obliged to admit, is a final change, that good citizens have nothing further to fear from social upheavals, and that the few evils which exist it is impossible to deny may be cured by the old remedies of "charity," on the part of the employer, and "saving" on the part of the workman. The latest spectacle of this kind offered for our amusement is that by E. W. Bemis, Ph. D. in his "Mine Labor in the Hocking Valley" (Publications of the American Economic Association, July, 1888).

After a glowing description of the wonderful results obtained by arbitration between the miners and their employers we come to the following: "Of 2864 miners in the Hocking Valley and other parts of the state, working for the 194 operators that made full returns to the Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1885, a year when strikes were not especially numerous or prolonged, 1553, or 54 per cent, worked in 221, 831 days, or an average of 143 days for the year, being only 12 days a month, or 287 days a week, while 34 per cent more, 957 in all, working in each case between 200 and 250 days, did 295,944 days' work, being an average of 229 days, i. e., 19 days a month, or 4 and a half days a week. Only 12 per cent worked more than 250 days in the year. The results of such idleness in extreme poverty and demoralization among many are easily traced and can scarcely be realized. When miners only get work at from \$2.00 to \$2.50 a day for 11 days a month, as was the case during March in one of the largest mines visited, what wonder that the miners are poor and ignorant and sometimes desperate? The 139 miners making returns to the Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1885 reported their average year's earnings as only \$343.02 or \$6.60 a week, while the inside and outside day-laborers and mule-drivers average still less.

If we suppose an average of two and a half persons—an unusually low average be it remembered—to be supported by \$343.02, the amount of expenditure possible for each person was only \$137.41, or \$7.54 less than the average expenditure in all the prisons and asylums of Ohio, with their 30,040 inmates, where there are certainly few luxuries and where the economies of wholesale buying and of cooking with out waste can be practiced."

This is surely a deplorable condition as one could well imagine. If often all the glorious results of arbitration workingmen have less to live upon than criminals and paupers, what must have been their condition before? But we are getting away from Dr. Bemis and his remedies. Pay strict attention now, while I disclose them to you, for they are those that from Dr. Bemis' own statement of the disease, would never be probable occur to you in your ignorance. I give the doctor's own words, so that I may not be accused of misrepresentation: "The need of industrial training among the miners of the Hocking Valley, particularly in cooking, was very evident in view of the excessive waste observed. The testimony of others on the subject confirms this, while the need of that general education which should enable the miners to find out where and how they might improve their condition, is equally plain. There should be some encouragement to save, through postal savings banks or other agencies, by means of which a greater independence might be secured to the men, and better places of employment might be reached when desired."

I wonder of it is by this style of reasoning that men earn the right to append Ph. D. to their names. Men earn less than would be necessary to support them in a prison or an asylum, where there are no luxuries, and where there are all the advantages of economic cooking on a large scale. As a remedy

for this it is proposed to give their wives cooking lessons, and themselves lessons in saving. Can this proposal come from an honest, sane man? Now turn to the following: "At nearly all the mines the miners are under a well-understood though unwritten obligation to trade at the company store if they expect to long retain their situation. It therefore becomes the interest of the operators to employ more than the number of men necessary to fill their contracts, provided they worked steadily during the most of each month. Instead as many men will be engaged as can be induced to stay about the mine in order thereby to secure their trade in the company stores, and there add to the profits of the company without at all injuring the profits of the themselves. There is a connection, and a close one, between these company stores, and the congestion of labor about the mines, and there are also other factors of the problem. . . . Despite the prohibition of law, many of these stores have conspired to circulate script and store orders for small sums, which sometimes circulate freely, and yet afford protection to the loss of the innocent holder. One large operator who was removing to another mine, and had sold his store in consequence, and was releasing his script and store orders, acknowledged to the writer, at first, evidently without intending to, and afterwards with a request that his name be kept secret, that the miners for full value received, he was now endeavoring, often successfully, to redeem at a discount."

Could the most shameless villainy further go? Do not pocket-picking and highway robbery become noble and honorable occupations beside such deplorable conduct as described above? We should never fail to remember that in "property" gained by such means as these—attractions laborers to places in these—there is scarcely any work for them, for the double purpose of reducing wages, and of fleeing them later of the little which they do chance to get, by means of depreciated script, exorbitant prices for "black-and-white" that we are called upon to regard as sacred, and that it is "self-made" men such as these that are held up in the pulp schools as examples for our boys to follow if they would gain the world's respect.

But Dr. Bemis assures us that the picture is not as dark as we might be tempted to suppose. The kindly demeanor towards the miners, and the respect for the operators was noticeable. One of the latter was observed carrying with him to his mine twelve miles from home, a loaded containing lettuce as an unexpected gift to the sick wife of one of the miners. "I love to surprise my men in this way," he remarked, as he turned to enter the unpainted though comfortable cottage, and spoke a word of cheer at the bedside. As he came on, and in reply to some questions he remarked, "I don't hesitate at all, when detained at the mine, to go in and take dinner with any of my men, they buy as good meat as I do at home, and they appreciate my stopping." As long as such men control even a few of our industries, and it is believed that their number is both larger than many suppose, and increasing, there is reason to look forward hopefully toward a happy and wise solution of our social problems. Delightful little story, with a moral, this is it not? It has, however, that curious tendency that stories with a moral very often have. That people to whom a present of lettuce, about the cheapest vegetable in the market, would be a boon, should supply meat good enough to tempt the appetite of a millionaire owner seems just a trifle absurd. But, then, friends and countrymen, think of the honor of having an employer, whom we always feel to be an employer, to dine with one, and forget about your \$342.02, and your "unpaid" cottage, and the aches and pains in your old bones, and your naked, untought children, and duly "appreciate his stopping."

I can carry to rudely wake Dr. Bemis from his pleasant dream. There is not yet. Gifts of lettuce, and condescendences by capitalists here and there to dine with members of the working class, are more proof that the chasm between the classes has been bridged over, than did the "adopting of orphans, the portioning of meritorious maids, and the suitoring of such poor as could be pictured especially before the advent of Marie Antoinette and her court ladies, to whom in acknowledgment, the poor raised statues in snow, bridged over the chasm between the classes in pre-revolutionary days in France.

"Can your lady patch hearts that are breaking
With handfuls of coal and rice,
Or by dealing out flannel and sheeting
A little below cost price?"
"You may tire of the jail and the workhouse
And take to allotments and schools
But you're run up by a debt that will
Be paid us by penny-club rules."

GERTRUDE B. KELLY.

PROPERTY IN THOUGHT.

IS THOUGHT COMMON OR PRIVATE PROPERTY? A QUESTION IN SOCIAL ETHICS.

CAN A MAN OWN A THING ON WHICH HE HAS DONE NO WORK OR TO WHICH HE HAS GIVEN NO VALUE?

We have heard so much about our great national sin of literary piracy, that one almost involuntarily glances to see that he is not watched before entering a shop for the purchase of one of Hilder Haggard's novels, and between the lines of "She" appears the pinched face of the great literary toiler, starving because we rob him of his hard earned wage. But when the tale is finished and the imagination has cooled a little, we immediately go to purchase some golden thoughts of Ruskin or Carlyle and begin to wonder what this great national sin amounts to. First of all, when we talk of robbery we must inquire what is the value of the article which we pilfer, and how it came to have an economic value, for if it is economically valueless there can be no such thing as robbery, and the gravity of the crime increases directly with the value. Right here let me say that the question is, not one solely of international copyright, but of copyright in general.

Does a man really own his own thoughts? It is long since the advocates of copyright have given us that absurdity. But is the form of expression of a thought any more rightly property than the thought itself? Or, better still, how far does the reproduction of such expression remain property?

Or, to put it again; can a man own a thing on which he has done no work or to which he has given no value? This, then, is the real case: Does the author produce anything except his manuscript? Certainly there would be no book with its value were not the author to produce his manuscript; but neither would there be makers of screw machines, and yet we are hardly allowed enough to say that the man who designs the machine owns all the screws produced by it; yet his remuneration does actually come out of the screws, and even out of the price of the article in which they are used. But the screw machine is a finished product, and the remuneration of the designer comes directly from the purchaser, without reference to its subsequent use. Just as thoroughly is the manuscript of the author a finished product, and the bargain should be between the author and the publisher and not at all between the author and the reader. The author has produced his manuscript and nothing more; he has created value proportionate to the amount of time he has spent in its production, and for that time he is entitled to remuneration; beyond it to nothing. Of the world's store he has earned this wage and if he takes a greater it is he who is the robber; if he receives less he is defrauded. The copyright laws have without reference to justice been the world's blind effort to secure for the author exactly this remuneration, and as a policy has been so long established that the notion has become prevalent that these laws embody a right. That it is not a right I think that I have shown; that as a policy they are injurious seems to me not at all difficult to establish.

In enabling the publisher—for it is the publisher and not the author that they protect—to retain complete control of the issue of any book the copyright laws put a premium upon work which catches the million, scamped work, dishonest work, and throwing their weight thus in favor of the catchpenny, they make both publisher and author less willing to do the solid, world-propelling labor which of necessity appeals to the minority; so far from making "literature a paying profession," it makes

novel writing pay and puts hard research at a discount. When the publisher's hands are filled with well paying novels it is too much to expect him to bother his head about these epoch-making books of which he could scarcely expect to sell a single thousand. What foreign books have repaid their authors for publication in this country? None, except those of real worth; the catchpennies have been mercilessly pirated and profited to their authors, while such works as those of Spencer, Darwin, George Eliot and Arnold have in most instances been but once republished and have yielded a profit; while those vastly laborious books, such as Huxley's "Quaternions and Maxwell's Electricity have not even paid for a single republication, but must be purchased at 25 per cent advance as a protection to our American authors, and emphasizing again, the futility of any law of copyright to reward first-class work. Without a copyright the trash would be as profitless as it is valueless, and only the books of real worth would escape republication and would yield the highest prizes to author and publisher; nor can I imagine a condition of affairs more in accordance with the teachings of either ethics or policy.

F. A. C. PERRINE.

CHARITY! OH, CHARITY!

THE PROBLEM OF CRIME AND PAUPERISM VIEWED FROM A CHRISTIAN STANDPOINT.

HOW NOT TO DO IT REDUCED TO A SCIENCE BY THE NEW YORK "CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY."

The Rev. Dr. Da Costa has begun a war against the Charity Organization Society and has appealed to the labor organizations for support. Some of the managers of the society, in turn, feeling indignant at what they call the misrepresentation to which they have been subjected, are seeking to set themselves right before the working people. In pursuance of this policy I, with some others, was invited a few evenings ago to meet a lady connected with the society, so that she might explain its purposes and method of working. I will summarize what she said as shortly as possible. The main object of the society is the suppression of indiscriminate almsgiving leading to the pauperization of the receivers and the substitution of a system of scientific charity. To this end it seeks to make itself a means of communication between the various charitable organizations in the city, and to act for them and all individuals desiring its services as an investigation and reference bureau. It has a general office and a sub-office for each of the districts into which it has divided the city. When I add to this that the lady particularly insisted on it that her society and the labor organizations have entirely distinct fields of work and need never come into conflict, I have given the substance of her talk.

By this time many readers of *THE ALARM* may be wondering what they have to do with all this and why I should intrude it on them. Well, it is this: While we cannot recognize Dr. Da Costa as an ally and can take no part in his crusade, on the other hand, we must recognize and treat the charity organization society as being in fact today the best exponent of anti-socialistic theories. It exists but to give continual utterance to Cain's question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Dr. Da Costa's complaints may be summed up in a few words as being: First, the charity organization secularizes—that is, removes from the control of the church; and second, that it actually suppresses charity. To this the C. O. S. people reply that the acceptance of charity tends to degrade the receiver, so that he ultimately becomes entirely dependent on the community—thus imposing a new burden on the taxpayers. Now we care very little about secularization. Our love for the church is not so great that our sorrow would be excited by seeing its powers lessened, and we admit that almsgiving is demoralizing. When, however, we come across a human being on the point of starvation, to question the after effects of alms on his character is like discussing the effect on his physical health of being subjected continuously to the influence of a particular food when what is called for is food of any kind for the moment.

It is right here that comes in the false theory of the C. O. S. Here it invades our territory. It maintains that the individual is responsible for his own misfortune and that society has no other duties in the matter than to prevent his becoming a parasite. It is the "society" which would suffer from his aggressions that is represented in the C. O. S. The latter then denies the existence of a social question and declares there is nothing to be done but the extinction or reformation of a small body of social wrecks, those

"Outcast weeds on a desolate sea,
Fallen leaves of humanity," that we see drifting by us every day in the streets and which every now and again become stranded on the islands. On the island they are out of sight and no longer shock the daily sensibilities of the subscribers to the C. O. S. If they could only be prevented from drawing on their pockets!

JOHN F. KELLY.
(CONTINUED IN NO. 21.)

THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

The rights of man are the rights of all generations of men, and cannot be monopolized by any.—Thomas Paine.

WAITING VS. ACTING.

If you wait until a people are prepared for liberty you will never give it to them.—Macaulay.

THE ALARM.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

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DYER D. LUM, Editor.

To whom all communications should be addressed.

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FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

Equality of Opportunities for All—Hence, extinction of privilege and restriction, protection and oppression, privileged rights and vested interests.

Free Land, Mutual Credit, and Equitable Commerce—Hence, abolition of rent, interest and profit.

Supremacy of the Individual—Hence, liberty, the creation of authority, or industrial organization and social co-operation.

MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE

PERSON CELL 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1887.

The ALARM has, as you know, ever rang out strong and clear the dangers that threaten the people. Another name is now associated with this paper. Though fallen, sound and perhaps unto death, in the battle for liberty, the standard—the press—which my hands bore aloft in the midst of the struggle, is caught up by other hands, and will be again and again, if needs be, the banner of the brave in triumph over the enemies of peace, brotherhood, and happiness. Our comrade, Dyer D. Lum, is my personal acquaintance. To meet, or many of you, he is well known. His steadfastness, courage, and ability in the great work of labor's economic emancipation is recognized by all. Therefore, give to him in his work your hearty support—he is worthy and able. Farewell. A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1888.

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field battling for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation soliciting support for the publication fund will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Send all donations to the treasurer, Of the Alarm Club, A. Tewes, 350 Grove street, Jersey City, N. J.

NOTICE.

Six months' subscribers to THE ALARM who have been served notice of the expiration of their subscriptions are most earnestly requested to renew, or to write to the editor, if at present unable, to have their names remain on the books. After six months' reading of its columns they should be able to determine whether THE ALARM fills a position in economic literature not elsewhere given.

THE HEATHEN RAGE.

"Let the heathen rage and imagine vain things," says the bible, and the verse is brought back to my mind by recent events. In another column will be found several extracts from the daily press purporting to be dispatches from Chicago. I reprint them to show my readers to what length men will go in their opposition to views they hate. The social heretic of to-day, as other heretics in the past, has to maintain his convictions in the face of men clamoring for his blood. With the same blind vindictiveness which has animated protestant and catholic alike, the reptilian press resort to falsehood to blacken the characters of men they hate. Fortunately, the stake is no longer used to punish heretics, or the same zeal now displayed to hang or imprison would be shown to burn.

To waste time in denying such lies would be futile. This is a case where truth has no weight. What ever may be the truth in the amount of rubbish now being telegraphed from Chicago, the editor of THE ALARM regards the whole affair with complacency. Persistently taught that anarchy is murder and arson, it is not strange that people become excited and clamor for blood. Yet the very difficulties to overcome should nerve the true re-

former to greater zeal in defense of his opinions, greater ardor in arousing popular thought. We have had our victims; we are likely to have more; but the cause for which we contend cannot be throttled by any hangman's rope. Anarchy is a growing factor and cannot be repressed.

The Western Christian Advocate, in commenting upon the fact that over fifty suicides had occurred in Cincinnati in the last six months, piously says: "Cincinnati's scourge of suicide tells a fearful tale of skepticism and despair." It would be as true to say that these suicides tell a fearful tale of christian avarice and psalm-singing. When the church bolsters injustice, defends exploitation, and only bestows the alms of prayers upon the unfortunate, the suicide roll is not extravagant in numbers. Men who can cut coupons between prayers may bewail the fact, but they do nothing to correct it.

At the recent election in the department of Dordogne, France, the Bonapartists polled 47,650 votes; the republican candidate 41,524, while the "brave" Gen. Boulanger received only 4,645. "How are the mighty fallen!" When asked about the result he replied that he was not surprised, as he had had no time to attend to the election. So! Elections, then, require attention, or "fence building," as well as military maneuvers? Now that he has time to "fix" a department he will make another contest.

The "A. R. Parsons Debating Club" is the name of a new organization which meets every Wednesday evening at Arbeiter Lyra Hall, No. 642 East Fifth street, New York City. They have decided to take up for discussion Mr. Clemens' "Primer of Anarchy." All are invited, whether in accord with the subject matter of the discussion or not.

The recent reports that the editor of THE ALARM was "in hiding" are exceedingly rich. He has been daily where he will remain, at his desk. If wanted, he will be found there in office hours.

Suicides from lack of employment are reported to be on the increase. So, also, are contributions to the foreign missionary fund for conversion of the heathen.

Mr. Moody's church at Chicago was struck by lightning last Sunday. This was an irreverent disregard of the Merritt act upon the part of heaven. Bonfield's lightning seems to be striking around equally loose though more legally.

Thanks to groups for their interest in THE ALARM. As opposition increases I hope this interest will not lag.

THE ALARM Club meets this Friday evening. Bear it in mind.

MENTAL STRABISMUS.

Editor THE ALARM: Last week's Journal of United Labor contains a reprint with startling head lines of London Justice's imaginary Bishop of London's sermon. It appears that T. V. P. cannot distinguish between a propaganda leaflet and the facts. It appears from his comments that he believes the "sermon" was actually delivered. Please call "Teddy's" attention to the facts in the case and warn him to beware of the English socialists.

C. OMRADE.
Denver, Col., July 17, 1888.

ANARCHY.

The terms anarchy, anarchism, are now in everybody's mouth; these words have become popular, or rather popularized. They are used by all people; whether they like or dislike anarchy they speak of it all the same. It is the topic of the day. But a few years ago very few thought about it; still fewer cared to say anything about it. It then was, even to the student, a thing so far, so distant. We, the American people, had nothing whatever to do with it. Some may have heard that such a monster vegetated somewhere away there in Europe. But that was no more reason for us to spend our time and rack our brains on it than the fact that there were some Arabians vegetating away there in the deserts of Asia, or some gypsies in the woods of Hungary, made it necessary for us to study the life and theory of these peoples. They were each and all entirely out of our sphere. But of late a great change has taken place. Somehow even the most optimistic persons begin to feel that anarchy is among us, that it has found a fruitful soil in our land, "the best of all lands in the world." Somehow people begin to feel that there is a growing element in this country hostile to its institutions, hostile to true democracy, on the basis of which latter this republic was established, and to which it owes its fame and prosperity of to-day, some demagogues and politicians and would-be statesmen and political economists to the contrary notwithstanding. Somehow, I say, people begin to feel that anarchy is here. Its advocates become daily more and more bold and outspoken. Its opponents more and more venomous. It is well, then, for all thinking people to ask themselves how such a thing, which but a decade or two ago had been considered by our people not only improbable, but impossible, has now become both probable and possible? It will no longer do simply to ignore the fact. It will not do any longer merely to treat the subject with contempt. However we may abhor its doctrines and despise its methods, anarchism demands now our thoughtful study. And the recent experiences in the Western metropolis only intensify the necessity of looking the monster in the face, instead of turning our back to it, or deprecating it as a mere German importation.

What, then, the cause that gave rise in our midst to such an "odious" thing as anarchy? What the cause that allowed such an exotic to strike root in our soil? The cause, or the causes rather, are as various and multifarious as are the schools and ways and methods of anarchism. But, like unto these, they all culminate in one point, viz., the upheaval and destruction of our present institutions; so the causes that gave birth to anarchism and that foster it in this country may all be summed up in one, namely, money. As the Rev. Thos. K. Beecher put it the other day: "Liquor, land, labor and money; but the greatest of these is—money."

By this we do not mean the acquisition or possession of money as such, but the avaricious acquisition and the unlawful possession of it. When I say unlawful I refer to the moral law, the law of conscience, which, alas! is by no means always the law of the land! Money is the greatest blessing the world ever had, as those who possess it, and especially those who unfortunately do not possess it, will readily admit. But, like every other blessing, it may be, and, alas! too frequently is, turned into a curse. Possessions by the

few by means of the utter dispossession of the masses is contrary to the teachings of pure democracy as well as to the injunctions of pure Christianity. That many "bills" are passed in our legislatures to-day in the interests of enormous monopolies to the entire exclusion of the interests and welfare of the people, no one who knows anything about these matters can deny. That frauds and "ballot-stuffings" are perpetrated at every election can equally not be denied. Millions of men and women and children have to work at "starvation wages" in order to afford brilliant balls and sumptuous soirees to their employers. Thousands of men are thrown out of work by the cheapest of cheap labor—child labor; and justice and equity have in most instances become empty words, because in most instances money is the power behind the throne. Such iniquities bring forth anarchy (in its crude signification in which Webster gives it). The people's passion is aroused by oppression. The period of retaliation comes. A reign of terror is inaugurated. In those days Pinkerton thugs and bribed "sealers" will be of no avail. The gatting gun and the gallows will be put to other uses than the shooting and strangling of so-called anarchists. The tables at such times are reversed.

But after the shower, sunshine! The storm sweeps mighty trees down, but it also purifies the air. The atmosphere becomes clarified, the sky clears up, and the earth puts on its Sunday clothes. Then anarchy in its true and glorified sense shall be established. The law of "laissez faire" shall be the only law in the land. Man shall be a lay unto himself!

R. WEYLER.

UNMITIGATED LIES.

SOME CHOICE EXTRACTS GROUND OUT BY THE PROSTITUTE PRESS.
New York World, July 19.

Dyer D. Lum, editor of Parsons' old anarchist screamer, THE ALARM, is said to have been the head and chief of the dynamite plot. He is full study. And the recent experiences in the Western metropolis only intensify the necessity of looking the monster in the face, instead of turning our back to it, or deprecating it as a mere German importation.

What, then, the cause that gave rise in our midst to such an "odious" thing as anarchy? What the cause that allowed such an exotic to strike root in our soil? The cause, or the causes rather, are as various and multifarious as are the schools and ways and methods of anarchism. But, like unto these, they all culminate in one point, viz., the upheaval and destruction of our present institutions; so the causes that gave birth to anarchism and that foster it in this country may all be summed up in one, namely, money. As the Rev. Thos. K. Beecher put it the other day: "Liquor, land, labor and money; but the greatest of these is—money."

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LUM IS "HIDING" AT HIS DESK.

New York World, July 20.

A dispatch from Chicago yesterday said that Dyer D. Lum, who has been editing Anarchist Parsons' old paper, THE ALARM, and who is himself a "red" of the wild-eyed sort, had fled the town in consequence of the exposure by Inspector Bonfield of the late plot to kill the people concerned in the execu-

tion of the anarchists, and that he had returned to this city, where he was hiding from the police, but was supposed to be still running the ALARM and another lurid sheet, the Revenge, from Herr Most's office in this city. The Chicago authorities, it is said, are looking for Lum, who escaped from their clutches apparently just in time, and the New York authorities are likewise believed to be on the watch for him, and to be also keeping their eye on the movements of Most.

IS LUM A BOHEMIAN?

New York Herald, July 20.

The man credited with the formation of the small anarchistic groups to take the places of the large ones disbanded by the police just after the Haymarket riot is D. Lum, editor of the ALARM in New York. He was always very outspoken while here, even just after the hanging, when it was dangerous to say a word in behalf of anarchy. His office on Washington street was a rendezvous for the more violent anarchists, who would give vent to their feelings there.

It looks now as if the plot only includes a few ignorant Bohemians, led by a disciple of Lingg, who is almost as crazy as was his model, though that this coterie might have wrought much disaster had the scheme been allowed to hatch is not denied.

STILL LOOKING TO NEW YORK.

New York World, July 21.

Chicago, July 20.—Quiet investigation during the last two days has shown that immediately after the execution last November the three anarchist organizations—the International, the Defense Committee and the Amnesty Association—were reorganized as the La Salle Society. This has been subdivided into groups of three, who have carried on systematic agitation by house-to-house-visits and secret meetings.

The society has amassed a large sum of money by a rigorous system of dues. More money has thus been collected than there ever was for the defense of the anarchists or relief of their families. The head of the society is said to be Dyer D. Lum. The Chicago police say that he and Herr Most are the most dangerous anarchists in the country. They are still looking to New York for the head of the conspiracy.

Inspector Bonfield has in his possession copies of what purports to be a secret newspaper, which is in reality a secret circular, differing but little from the famous "revenge" circular which called the fatal Haymarket meeting together two years ago last May. The main difference is that the paper which is termed the Revenge calls for active steps on the part of old-time anarchists to avenge the execution of Spies, Parsons, Lingg, Engel and Fischer.

A FITTING COMMENTARY.

New York World, July 21.

BARON MUNCHAUSEN'S TALES. Everybody has heard of the marvellous adventures of Baron Munchausen, but few people have read them in complete form. On Sunday next the World will reprint these wonderful old stories in full, with illustrations.

PAYS BETTER THAN PREACHING.

The Walkertown (Ont.) Herald tells of a retired clergyman from its locality who removed to Dakota and who writes to a friend that he is doing well in his new home. "He had saved up quite a bit of money, and now has the whole of it lent out at 32 to 52 per cent."

PRIMER OF ANARCHY.

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHISM EXPLAINED TO THE PRIMARY CLASS.

FIRST LESSONS FOR THE STUDENTS IN THE NEW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS—WHAT GOVERNMENT IS.

BY G. C. CLEMENS.

WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?

We hear much about the despotism of Russia; yet have we any reason to speak of it as an offensive thing? What is done with a man in Russia if he breaks the laws? Do not policemen or officers like our sheriffs arrest him, take him before a court of some kind; make a charge against him and prove that charge? And when he is found guilty does not the court make him pay a fine or imprison him, or condemn him to die, or torture him by Siberian exile? And if a man in England or in the United States breaks the laws does not an officer arrest him and take him before some court for trial? And when he is found guilty does not the court make him pay a fine, or put him into prison, or condemn him to death or torture him in some cruel way, as by flogging or the like? Suppose one man in Russia owed another some money which is not paid, cannot a creditor sue in a court and get a judgment? And when the creditor gets a judgment for his debt, what can he do in Russia? Can he do anything more than to have an officer go and take the debtor's property away from him and sell it in order to pay the debt? Or, in some cases, imprison the debtor to make him or his friends pay the claim? And cannot a creditor get a judgment for his debt, what can he do in England or the United States? There are policemen in Russia and police courts, and these policemen arrest people without warrants, and on their own authority alone imprison those whom they arrest. They go into people's houses and search them "on suspicion" whenever they think proper to do so, and they lord it over the people in the harshest and most tyrannical way, knowing that even their wrongful acts will meet with no very great rebuke from those in authority. The Russian police prevent meetings from being held which it is likely the government would not like to go on; they forbid the sale or distribution of books and papers which they think "seditious," and arrest and imprison those caught distributing "treasonable" literature. But do not the police of England and the United States do precisely the same thing in precisely the same way? In short, all they can do with a man, even in Russia, is to take his property from him for a debt or for a fine, imprison him with or without hard labor, whip him, torture him, or hang him, or have policemen or soldiers shoot at him and kill him. That is all government can do to feeble, terrified man, even in Russia. But is there a day goes by that in England and in the United States hosts of people do have their property seized and sold under execution to pay debts; hundreds are shut up in prison; scores sent to penitentiaries or workhouses at hard labor? And in Kentucky and Missouri are not men, women and children, found guilty of being "without visible means of support," punished for their poverty by being sold at public auction into slavery for a month or for a year? In Delaware, and the same in other places, do we not hear frequently of persons having been publicly and mercilessly flogged by order of court? Do not every Saturday's daily morning papers contain an account of at least one execution by hanging somewhere in the United States? Are they not at this moment experimenting in New York with a view to passing a law for killing prisoners by electricity? Do not the police break up meetings in American cities, forbid the sale or distribution of "seditious" literature, and actually seize American-born citizens and drag them to prison from public platforms while addressing the people? They can do no more in the most tyrannical land than to seize a man's property, extort from him in fines his hard-earned, needed money, imprison him, degrade him to hard labor and prison gear, whip him, torture him by physical pain or by mental agony, or kill him by cruel and revolting means; and where is the "free" country where all these things are not likewise done? In every land there are laws made; officers to arrest people for disobeying their laws; courts to decide

whether the laws have been disobeyed, and to order the law-breakers to be subjected to loss, suffering, shame, or horrible death as a punishment; and other officers, or the same, to do the court's bidding by robbing, disgracing, torturing, or murdering with more than savage heartlessness and ferocity, the victims doomed by the courts and by the laws. The victim, aided by friends or sometimes by a large number of the people, might resist these savage ministers of robbery, torture, and death; and so in every land there are thousands of soldiers kept, armed with the surest death-dealing weapons; ingenuity can devise, and trained to obey even if commanded to ruthlessly destroy their own brethren or sisters, and these human murdering machines are kept in reserve to deal out instant death to all who dare stay the hand of legal cruelty. Are not all these arrangements to be seen carried out in every state of this union? And what more merciless, oppressive, or irresistible arrangements could even Russia have? In fact the same scheme of cruelty and death to keep the people in terror and "let the law take its course" is adopted in every country on the globe where government exists. Now, it is this very scheme of laws, courts, officers, soldiers, jails, and scaffolds existing in every land which the anarchist calls "government." It is a monstrous machine of terror, robbery, torture, and death—wet with human blood, echoing agony, and everywhere from it oozes the scalding tears wrung from the desolate grief of those bereaved and tortured, though guiltless of offense. It is this diabolical machine which we call "government"; and the only difference between the governments of Russia and America is in the number of the persons who work the machine and the manner in which those persons are appointed. In Russia the crank is turned by one person—the czar—and he is allowed to turn it because that privilege belongs to his family; while in the United States a number of persons turn the crank, and they are chosen by the votes of the people; but whether the crank be turned by one man who inherits the place, or by many who are chosen by the people, the machine is ever the same, and does ever the same work of robbery, torture, anguish and death. Monarchies, aristocracies, and republics are not different things, but only different forms of the same thing. If a hand organ has in it only the tunes: "Wake Up William Reilly," "Johnnie Comes Marching Home," "Maggie May," "Over the Garden Wall," "Old Hundred," and "Yankee Doodle," will it make any difference who turns the crank? If the admiring crowd, anxious for a change of tunes, clatters on to grind the concern, instead of allowing the de-cayed Italian with the monkey to grind all the time, will not the organ still keep on grinding out the same weary set of tunes as before? If you are tired of the tunes you must get rid of the machine tunes—not merely set a new hand to turning the crank. So anarchists think of government. People cannot be free, no happy, and noble under government, no matter whether a czar or a republican cabinet and congress, or a legislature turn the crank. The only privilege we have which the Russian has not is that we are allowed to say who our oppressor shall be; we, no more than the Russians, are permitted to vote away the oppression itself. So long as we keep our angry hands off the machine itself our masters are willing we shall say which of them shall turn the crank. We anarchists want to get rid of the machine itself. We want no more in any form of this cruelty called "government."

I hope, now, my readers understand what is meant by "government," and can see why there is just as much reason for anarchists in the United States as anywhere else. If any one does not yet understand, let him write and say so, and further explanations will be given in future papers. With the hope that I have been thoroughly understood so far, I shall next proceed to show why government should be abolished, and what good it would do the toiling poor to have it abolished.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

GOVERNMENT AND ORDER.

"A great part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of government. . . . It existed prior to government and would exist if the formality of government was abolished."—Paine's Rights of Man.

AN OLD TRUISM.

Laws difficult to be executed cannot be generally good.—Thomas Paine.

AN ACTIVE RESISTANCE.

THE QUESTION OF COMBATTING UNJUST CONDITIONS NOT ONE OF LIKE OR DISLIKE.

A FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE MANNER AND METHOD OF OPPOSING INJUSTICE AND OPPRESSION.

Concluded from No. 19.

History has proved that no great change has ever been effected in society without an appeal to arms. Now, if we prepare ourselves well, if we are able to put into the field a well-drilled and well-equipped army, we might be able to overawe our enemy and force him to disgorge without shedding even a drop of blood.

"I am against the deification of dynamite," says Mr. Kelly. And so am I; but I believe that education and the use of "To arms!" should go hand in hand. Force is no remedy in itself but it always has opened a way for a remedy when used by revolutionary agents. And what is the indiscriminate appeal, "To arms!" but a reaction against the policy of certain labor leaders who proclaim everywhere that the social problem will be solved through education alone, through the ballot, through appealing to the consciences of bourgeois.

And who talks about blowing up Trinity church? Perhaps some unfortunate wretch whose mind has become distorted, whose heart has become embittered through living in a tenement house owned by Trinity church—a man who desires to revenge himself personally for the wrong done to him; but surely no intelligent revolutionist ever made such a suggestion. The man who uses brute force without being backed up by the sympathy of the people is an idiot, but the man who at the right moment appeals to arms can conquer the world. The one is a brute, the other a hero. Of course, our antagonists can also use force, and they have always done so, but it is simply a question of who is the stronger, and the weaker goes to the wall.

Not even the reference to Satory and Chicago, English and Austrian dungeons, Siberia, Cayenne, and Australia holds good. It is the blood of the martyr which fertilizes the idea of the servant. Thousands of Frenchmen today know no more about the scientific basis of socialism than a cow knows of Spanish, but they do know that the communards died for a good cause, and a reference to the commune is always certain to produce enthusiasm and expressions of hatred against bourgeois rule. It is true that sometimes a Napoleon follows a revolution, but would it be better for the French people today to return to the feudal system, if that were possible, and dispense with the recollection of a Napoleon? The grand idea of the French revolution was the abolition of feudalism and the inauguration of the rule of the third estate, and this idea was realized in spite of Napoleon and despite the restoration.

And now I come to the last, but not the least, argument. When, where, how or against whom is force to be used? It is absolutely necessary to resist any infringement upon the rights which the people now possess. The people of London fight nearly every week for the right of free speech in Trafalgar square. This is a healthy sign. The people of Chicago cowardly submit to the dictum of a Bonfield and have lost the right of free speech. Then, again, the development of capitalism will show us how and where it is best to use force to achieve further ends.

Against whom force is to be used is easily answered. Society was never so clearly divided into two classes as now, and force is to be used against everybody who resists the desire of the people to free themselves. Despotism and rulers use force to enslave the people—revolutionists advocate the use of force whereby to liberate the people.

The principle of economic emancipation will show the faithful the way out of Egypt into the promised land, but force must be used to remove all obstructions on the road.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE OLD AMERICAN IDEA.

"A nation has at all times an inherent, indefeasible right to abolish any form of government it finds inconvenient, and establish such as accords with its interest, disposition and happiness."—Paine's Rights of Man.

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

ANARCHISTS MADE THE STEPPING-STONES TO BONFIELD'S AMBITION.

Bonfield has again distinguished himself. He has unearthed another "anarchist conspiracy," and the newspapers have vied with one another in their praise of "the gallant inspector." Doubtless Bonfield aspires to become a second Vidoeu, and he is shrewd enough to know that we poor devils of anarchists and socialists may be made the stepping-stones to his own greatness.

You already have most of the particulars concerning his latest brilliant exploit. Two poor workmen are arrested early in the morning, and another later in the day, charged with conspiring to kill Judges Gary and Bonfield and Inspector Bonfield, and the evening papers narrate the startling news with such embellishment as the nature of the case, seems to demand. Of course they are put through that modern instrument of devilish torture, the "sweat-box," and every means known to the Chicago inquisitors (who rival those of the fifteenth century in their ingenuity) are tried to obtain a confession. Hronek is the master (spirit), it seems. He was a warm friend of Lingg's (enough in itself to prove him guilty in the minds of many). Chapek is an older man, with a wife and eight children, and is quiet and retiring in his disposition. His neighbors give him a fine character. Some declare that he would not hurt a mouse—an excellent quality, by the way, in a revolutionist—and they one and all scout at the idea of his being a party to any conspiracy. The third man, Chlebon, is generally credited with being the informer—for of course there had to be an informer, in order to make the thing interesting. The introduction of an informer would also doubtless tend to discourage other would-be-avengers from carrying out similar schemes.

Of course the daily papers made the most of it. The paid prostitutes of the press vie with one another in accounts of the conspiracy. The Times in an editorial on Thursday, after bemoaning the fact that "dynamite is so cheap and easy to be had," closes:

It is high time that some action was taken to prevent the sale and handling of dynamite by unauthorized persons. It is time, also, to begin to prevent anarchists from running at large. We have tolerated them too long in this country. Let them be driven into the penitentiaries for life or out of the country for good.

The various accounts of the "conspiracy" have differed so widely that it is impossible to tell what has developed. On Thursday morning the News referred to the whole matter as "a big scare"; declared that no one had made a confession, that neither Bonfield nor any one else, knew aught of a conspiracy, and covertly charged him with arresting innocent men to extort confessions from them.

There is no mistake about it; in cases where anarchists and socialists are brought under the law, Bonfield is dictator. If Bonfield had ordered that the men be whipped, it is doubtful if any justice or judge would have prevented the execution of the sentence. Chapek and Chlebon have regained their liberty temporarily, but Hronek seems to be friendless. His lawyer has been denied the privilege of seeing him. He and Lingg were close friends, and that fact is sufficient to down him in the eyes of his captors.

One remarkable piece of news I found in the Tribune which may interest the editor of THE ALARM. It is as follows:

"The practical head of the conspiracy

is not in Chicago," said a young man who was formerly connected with Dyer D. Lum's ALARM in this city, yesterday. "It was Lum who founded these secret anarchist groups; now he is in New York, and I doubt whether the Chicago police have any proof against him."

At this date (July 21) most of the papers have dropped the matter.

WHAT! MORE ANARCHISTS?

(From the New York Herald.)

If the anarchists of Chicago make a second attempt to reform society by means of wholesale murder they will probably have a remarkably rough and tumble time of it.

Recent discoveries of dynamite show that these crack-brained fellows are still of the opinion that the only road to an earthly paradise is through an earthly shed. They haven't yet got the notion out of their heads that the pistol means peace and the bowie knife is the symbol of brotherly love.

Well, we have cartloads of charity for fanatics, eccentrics, fools and lunatics. Their opinions are their own and they should be protected in their property rights. But when they conclude to wring the universal neck, as they would a chicken's, blow up depots and public buildings, hunt judges and policemen like wolves or hyenas, why, that is simply their way of hauling down the American flag, and Governor Dix's advice—to "shoot them on the spot"—naturally crosses the mind.

Chicago was very merciful in the anarchist trial of two years ago. She punished the criminals, but hesitated long, and earnestly sought such extenuation as would make the hangman's rope unnecessary. She was justified by the circumstances both in the hesitation and the subsequent execution.

But the new situation calls for quick, sharp action. If the anarchists have not learned prudence that is their business. They have had time and opportunity, and if they still insist on martyrdom they should have it until their appetite is wholly appeased. As long as a man confines himself to talk, chatter, gabble, he can be safely let alone. When he commits murder there is only one thing to do, and the sooner it is done the better.

SIGNS OF LIFE.

Esteemed Comrade: Enclosed please find postal note for \$2, of which \$1 is a donation from Mrs. M. K., of this place, and the other dollar from myself for subscription.

The Labor Lyceum of this place held its regular meeting last evening, at which the question: "Political Liberty and the Labor Movement" was the subject of discussion. We managed, of course, to concentrate all interest upon anarchism and had a very lively time. Extracts from THE ALARM were read to advantage. The subject for next evening's discussion is to be: "Is Anarchism a Sound Economic Doctrine?" From the style of the question you will perceive that the other side proposed it. They will open, which will give us a fine chance to nicely pick them to pieces.

Fraternally,

San Diego, Cal., July 2, 1888.

Social Problems

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THE LAW OF PROGRESS.

A SOCIAL STUDY OF CASTES AND THE GRADUAL OBLITERATION OF DISTINCTIONS.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE MEANING OF HISTORY AND ITS BEARING UPON PRESENT PROBLEMS.

Every age, every civilization has had its own methods, its own peculiar characteristics. Yet, whatever their differences, however slight their family likeness, through them all we can follow the line of human progress, as from the mountain top the hills and ravines through which we have so wearily toiled blend into the charming landscape rejoicing the eye with its symmetrical beauty. So in the social perspective sharp angles and deep chasms blend together showing us a constant ascent in man's progress, now repressed and held back by arbitrary measures, now breaking over all obstacles and carrying the race on to grander and brighter fields.

Let us take one social institution, that of castes, and see how full of hope and meaning it is when viewed from the mountain top of the present. It existed in the oldest civilization, it exists today. Millions have groined beneath its iron rule and "cursed god and died," but in its modifications through revolutions we obtain a higher glimpse of the unity of progress, the key to the philosophy of history, and realize that

"Through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened
With the process of the suns."

to broader vistas of human liberty. Not even the iconoclasts of the French Revolution broke with the past, in their maddest flights they but followed the ideal of their race—unity. No revolution ever did step out of the groove the past which led to it had carved for it, and the great error of actors therein has been in attempting to perform this impossible task. Aims, ideals, are one thing, their realization, alas, a far different one.

In Egypt, Babylonia, India, the three oldest civilizations of which we have knowledge, we find castes instituted in social life and comprised in four classes: the priesthood, the warriors, farmers and traders, and the proletariat. Although the third is sometimes subdivided, as in Egypt, these four may be said to have included the whole social hierarchy.

In the remotest epochs the priesthood were the dominant caste and governments theocratic, and for centuries the world listened with awe to the interpreters of divine will, shed the blood of their fellow men upon altars or battle fields to enhance divine pleasure and trampled mercy under foot. The priestly assertion of a "Thus saith the Lord" commanded the arm of the mightiest and paralyzed affection in the lowliest. No less true of these hierarchs of the past than of their successors in more recent times are the lines:

"Those pseudo-Privy-Councillors of
god."

Who write down judgments with a pen
hard nibb'd,
Ushers of Beelzebub's black rod,
Commanding sinners, not to ice thick
ribb'd,
But endless flames to scorch their up
like flax—
Yet sure of heaven themselves as if
they'd cribb'd
The impression of St. Peter's keys in
wax!

Philosophy and religion were one; masters of the mystery of life and death, which ever has been a pregnant theme for thoughtful minds, they founded a society and civilization that doubtless seemed to them impregnable. But as centuries passed these old civilizations faded away; the people remained, but as they had counted for nothing they were powerless to resist invasions. The temples and pyramids of Egypt, the brick mounds of Mesopotamia, the cave temples of India, and the ruins of Central America tell us of days when wretched people besought their gods in vain—the divine arm was powerless to save. The world had outgrown a form of civilization which made no provision for the expansion of social activity. Society in accepting rules as essential to security, as guarantee against the spirit of innovation, carved for itself a groove that ignored progress, that denied growth and hence suppressed all activity to the beaten paths of custom. When those ancient cities resounded with the shouts of victory over foes, when mighty monuments commemorated the triumphs of the gods and the preservation of the state, our broader vision shows us they were but celebrating the narrowness of a policy which in confining effort to artificial and unnatural channels, could but empty into the arid sands of ruin and desolation. The torrent of invasion or intestine strife which swept over these cities and plains must have seemed to their inhabitants the destruction of all social activity and a return to anarchy and chaos. But as time rolled on we see new civilizations rising in which the warriors are the dominant class. With the passage from a pastoral to a thickly settled stage, with great cities and increasing complexity of social functions, the arm of the warrior had become necessary to defend, to preserve. The growing differentiation in activity pressed against the walls which custom had erected and demanded outlet. Whether by invasion or peaceful evolution theocracy, in repressing the extension of social activity led to mediocrity and social death.

The warrior, the sole form in which activity could find scope, replaced the priest-king and the second caste mounted to the throne of power. The fall of priest rule was accomplished by the growth of the second class to a position no longer compatible with the demands of progress. Human activity had become cramped under theocracy and demanded a wider field, and the pages of history henceforth present us with the achievements of conquest, of war-like exploits and the idealization of heroic valor. A contemplative life, resignation, religious devotions no

longer meet the requirements of man's restless nature; strength, energy, courage are developed, the manly qualities, individuality. Social activity is henceforth aggressive. The priesthood replaced as rulers, still claim their functions as expounders of divine will. Without temporal, they claim spiritual dominion and seek to guide and direct the stormy natures that wear the insignias of power. Nor is the alliance an unequal one. Both base their respective rights on the same fundamental principle—authority; both hold their tenure of power by appealing to the same motive—fear. The fear of the gods and the fear of the rulers' wrath kept the people in subjection and bound priest and noble in a common cause. If the sword had succeeded the amulet as the insignia of power, the priest consecrated the sword, and the king became the gods' anointed. Down to the French Revolution the noblesse and the church, kingcraft and priestcraft worked in unison. Though disputes arose here and there, though struggles occurred for supremacy, we ever find the state securing firmer ground, the church falling behind it and blending with it. Although in parliaments the noble and the priest appeared as distinct, their interests were one, and whenever revolt from below has arisen, have acted together as one. The warrior caste in dominating the state virtually obliterated the priest caste by absorbing it, by making its interests to lie in their success, and to unite with them in preserving the state and conjointly spoiling their inferiors.

As social growth became more complex we find the priesthood unconsciously answering to the demand of humanity for a better and higher, a moresocial, codification of human aspirations; yet because based on authority struggling to regain their former dominating position in the state. From the fifth to the twelfth century Europe was the scene of this struggle. They necessarily fail because their struggle is one directed against social growth, and an unconscious attempt to return to social infancy.

"Crabbed age and youth
Cannot live together."

The middle caste, or classes, for under whatever name they may be known they really constituted but one, denied entrance to the ruling caste, and looking with contempt on those beneath them, received the new breath of social inspiration, and slowly began that silent march, which was to raise them into rivals and opponents. As society became closer united and more compact, as bonds of social interests brought men into closer relationships, the infusion of energy and diversified activity in which they had shared demanded realization in other directions than on the battle field. What had fitted a less compact phase of social activity no longer answered the requirements of social existence. The energy given to human activity became manifested, first, in warfare of defense to protect acquired rights, and

second, in warfare on nature, or industry. Again the ruling caste were brought where past and future were face to face, and again they must rely upon authority for their course.

The struggle between the military or feudal class, and the bourgeoisie or commercial class from the crusades to 1789, was but a repetition of the caste antagonism we have been considering. While castes remain to artificially divide mankind, authority must remain, power must be used to repress growth, preserve well-worn beaten paths, and maintain privilege. Rome fell through the invasion of wealth and luxury corrupting its institutions, the fruits of conquest and rapine. Even while the Roman populace were celebrating the triumphs of Roman valor, and province was added to province under the Roman eagle, the seeds of dissolution were already sprouting from its soil. Again civilization plunged into night, men wept that such high hopes were wrecked and bewailed approaching barbarism. But from the mountain top of the present we look back over cities sacked, and plains devastated by barbarian hordes and smile at the fears of those who fancied that humanity was mortal and proscribed.

"While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand;
When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall;
And when Rome falls—the world."

But the time had not arrived for the triumph of the merchant caste when the Cades, the Artaveldes, the Marceis, the Rienzis tried to stir the hearts of their countrymen to aspirations for freedom; a long apprenticeship was yet necessary under feudal rule to impart to it self-reliance and individuality, which could alone render its power secure. Rome tried to meet impending danger by agrarian laws, but in vain; the finger on her walls had traced the sentence of doom, she played her part in the world's drama, and man's future demanded that she pass from the stage of action. But in her fall, in the collapse of that stupendous despotism in which Caesarism sat enthroned to rule the world, and which spiritual Caesarism in vain sought to prolong, the shifting of scenes brought states upon the stage. Central authority disappeared, and imperialism henceforth was confined within narrower limits. Feudalism achieved its work by raising the middle class from the servile position into which barbarian irruption had temporarily thrown it and giving it scope for its energies. Though we still hear the din of conflict, the commune, inclosed within strong walls, and allying itself for protection with royal power, maintained its ground, and after the crusades took its position as a disunited power rising more and more into importance and more and more voicing and responding to wider demands and higher social needs. And in proportion as it did so the ruling caste necessarily became more reactionary, more obstructive to social progress,

and a greater weight upon activity.

HATCHING RAD EGGS.
The Pinkertons seem to be trying to hatch out some very bad eggs in the shape of supposed dynamite plots. We are of opinion that the greatest stink will be found in their own nest. They are too stale to be swallowed by the public, no matter how large a heading the capitalist press may use. —Lake Superior Sentinel.

THE RULING PASSION.
He was bravely rescuing her from the billowy waves, but it looked as if they might never see Boston again.
"Hold on tight, Penelope," he gasped; "hold on tight!"
"Don't say, 'hold on tight,'" gurgled the girl, with her mouth full of Atlantic ocean; "say, 'hold on tightly.'" —Utica Observer.

THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.
For president, a 19-inch collar; for vice-president, a bandanna handkerchief. —Oppeka Post.

A CORRECT DIAGNOSIS.
The inequality of fortune is injustice, of which the source lies in the insolence of the rich and the cowardice of the poor. —Puffendorf.

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And he added:
"Dr. Meyer found that in Bavaria, during 25 years, that for every rise by two pence of the price of a bushel of wheat there was one more theft per 100 inhabitants, and, on the other hand,

that for every fall by two pence there was one theft less in the same number of people."

Now, surely, the poor, starving devils who stole in order to get a bare living, and who stopped stealing just as soon as it became possible for them to do so and live were not the authors of the commercial crisis? If individual responsibility there be in such cases, it rather must be fastened on the sleek, well-fed gentlemen who sit on the boards of the Charity Organization Society and its kindred societies. No wonder the great Belgian statistician Queteletiered out that society prepared the crime and the individual did but execute it.

Crowned and crownsless rulers of men. —He is judged, and doomed by the statist's pen.

Last winter, when Mr. Keyser was making an effort to feed the unemployed poor of this city, Mr. Kellogg, the secretary of the C. O. S. seized the opportunity to denounce him as a dangerous man inasmuch as he was offering temptations to the poor of other districts to flock in here. Now, the mere offer of poor and insufficient food could be no inducement to any one to come here unless he could find even less elsewhere. Mr. Kellogg's notion of workmen throwing up their places and rushing into New York to secure free bread and coffee is too ridiculous to demand a moment's attention. But, it is claimed, while the bread and coffee might not induce any one to come in, they keep those in who are here and who might secure work elsewhere. Where this elsewhere is his never been clearly defined, and as the allies of the C. O. S. are each in its own district singing the same song we are entitled to dispute its existence. The Italian laborers are now the special object of attack, and they are asked who invited them here. Curiously enough this question was not asked while they were building the West Shore railroad at rates so low as to drive all other labor out of the market. The truth of the matter is that it is an attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie of each district to force its indigent to go somewhere else. The same system has been pushed to an extreme in England under the law of settlement, and its consequences are to be seen in the country in the so-called open villages; and in Ireland, in the return there to be supported by it in their old age of men and women whose best years were spent in building up England. But then these Irish were not asked to go to England—they simply had their houses pulled down over their heads and it was a question of going to England or going to the poorhouse at once.

To sum up, then, the C. O. S. is composed of people who thrive on the present organization of society and are resolved to keep it as it is. Through the action of the C. O. S. they seek to rid themselves of the troublesome importunities of their victims, and if possible to convince both these and the general public not plucked entirely bare that the victims are so through their own fault, while the ease and plenty in which C. O. S. people live are due to their exceeding merit. That between such an organization and socialists there can be nothing but war is evident.

JOHN F. KELLY.

A PIOUS WISH.
O, black 'scondrels, and you, imbeciles of all colors! Accomplish your work, inflame the brain of the people with old superstitions, precipitate them into the way of fanaticism; yourselves some day will fall its victims. You will not escape the destiny of maladroited conspirators who are not able to master the spirits they have invoked, and by whom you will be torn in pieces. —Henri Heine.

IS THEIR BLOOD SO PURE?
A gentleman once said, to sustain the pre-eminence of the nobility: "Think of all the blood the nobility has shed on the field of battle." A man of the third estate responded: "But the blood of the people shed at the same time—was it water?" —Cervantes.

THE ALARM.

VOL. I. No. 21.

"Men Die, But Principles Live."

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

CHARITY! OH, CHARITY!

THE PROBLEM OF CRIME AND PAUPERISM VIEWED FROM A CHRISTIAN STANDPOINT.

HOW NOT TO DO IT REDUCED TO A SCIENCE BY THE NEW YORK "CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY."

Concluded From No. 20.
Now, in truth, there is more than one sense in which we may say that crime and pauperism are due to individual failings. In the first place, as the C. O. S. argues, there are many who to all outward appearances are subjected to the same influences as those who have become vicious and yet remain honest; and in the second, it is evident that if every one were perfectly good, the bad social conditions complained of would not exist. The first of these arguments is valueless so long as it is not demonstrated that the conditions under which the weaker succumb are unavoidable or of their own creation. It is, in fact, as if a slaveholder were to reply to complaints of ill-treatment of his slaves by saying that the naturally more robust among them survived it. To the second it may be replied that it reverses causes and effects. While it is true that a perfectly good people would not have evil institutions—they would not tolerate them—it is equally true that such a people could not grow up under such institutions. Take, for instance, monopolistic land laws. Allowing these to be bad, the theorists of the C. O. S. would say they were the result of our debased state and advise us to reform ourselves. But the "ourselves" needing to be reformed in this case would include on the one hand the landlords deriving profit from the existing state of affairs, and on the other hand the multitudes yearly flung into misery and consequent vice through their agency. Contrast this with the method of appealing to the broad class lying between the landlords and those whom misery has utterly depraved, to abolish the system of landlordism and so put an end to the manufacture of criminals. That being done we might consider the reformation of the remainder.

To support their contention that misery, vice and crime are due to defects in the individuals themselves the C. O. S. people are given to preparing sheets of statistics and criminal statistics books like the history of the Jukes family. Well, the wider view taken of statistics the less their position is supported. Baron Kolb publishes the following table, which in itself should be sufficient to prove our case:

In 1840 the number of persons arrested for theft was	31,768
In 1847, the year of famine, the number rose to	41,626
In 1848, the number fell to	30,000
In 1849 the number of imprisonment for crime in England was	22,451
In 1855 and 1856 a marked decrease was experienced; the price of corn fell, and work became more plentiful.	
In 1857 the price of corn rose and the number of prisoners amounted to	25,051
From 1857 to 1841 high prices continued and trade depressed, when the number rose to	31,309
1842-1846—Peel's reform in taxation. Wheat at 54s a quarter. Imprisonments oscillated between 24,000 and	25,000
In 1847 a commercial crisis was accompanied by a rise to	28,838
In 1848 the commercial crisis continued and there was a further rise to	30,249
By the abolition of the corn laws and cheapness of provisions the number was stationary, notwithstanding the increase in population, but in 1853, with wheat at 53s per quarter, the number of prisoners fell to	27,057
1854—wheat 72s per quarter; the number of prisoners rose to	29,359

And he added:
"Dr. Meyer found that in Bavaria, during 25 years, that for every rise by two pence of the price of a bushel of wheat there was one more theft per 100 inhabitants, and, on the other hand,

that for every fall by two pence there was one theft less in the same number of people."

Now, surely, the poor, starving devils who stole in order to get a bare living, and who stopped stealing just as soon as it became possible for them to do so and live were not the authors of the commercial crisis? If individual responsibility there be in such cases, it rather must be fastened on the sleek, well-fed gentlemen who sit on the boards of the Charity Organization Society and its kindred societies. No wonder the great Belgian statistician Queteletiered out that society prepared the crime and the individual did but execute it.

Crowned and crownsless rulers of men. —He is judged, and doomed by the statist's pen.

THE ADVOCACY OF FORCE

IS RESISTANCE TO WRONG AND OPPRESSION AN INVASION OF PERSONAL LIBERTY?

WHEN THE TIME IS RIFE WE SHALL WITNESS THE FRUIT OF OUR HOPES—NOT BEFORE.

After reading the arguments of Mr. Kelly and Miss Kelly in No. 18 of THE ALARM against the use of force, I involuntarily asked myself: Is there any place in the radical movement for the advocates of physical force? Does the revolutionist serve any good purpose in the present stage of the movement? Let us see.

For the purposes of illustration I will take my own case. I am a man of peace. Naturally of a retiring and sensitive nature, I hate turmoil and strife. Not only do I abhor war and bloodshed, but even the wrangling and haggling of ordinary business life is repugnant to me; indeed, so great is my dislike for it, that I have repeatedly slighted opportunities of embarking in business, and still remain a wage slave. I expect it must have been this general dislike for petty wrangling that first led me to look to socialism as a remedy.

But nature has also implanted within me another and still stronger feeling, namely, a desire for exact justice and a disposition to resist to the utmost every form of oppression. I am a natural rebel. My rebellious spirit may not lead me farther, except under extraordinary circumstances, than remonstrance or denunciation; but I cannot, I will not keep silent while wrongs remain unrighted and tyranny prevails. If a man does me a wrong I expect and desire to see him atone for it. I believe every person who knowingly wrongs another or himself should suffer punishment. I believe also that the most sacred of all duties is resistance to oppression. The man who will not fight to the death if necessary for what he holds most dear is fit only to be a slave, and I know nothing more dear than freedom—no, not even life itself. It is these impulses and feelings which make me a revolutionist and an advocate of physical force.

There is an ethical view of this question which has impressed me deeply. There is a certain natural law called the law of balance, or the law of retribution, which is as regular and systematic in its operations as it is just in its results. This law cannot be evaded or changed. Every individual must come under its workings and take the consequences of its violation. Communities and all aggregations of individuals must also conform to its operations. Ignorance of the result of the violation of any natural law does not lessen the penalty. If a child, too young to know better, thrusts its hand into the fire it feels the pain as keenly as one who wilfully does the same act. If an individual abuses himself sooner or later he must pay the penalty. So, if a community, a state or a nation commit crimes there must surely come a time of reckoning. France surely the wind all through the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, and reaped the whirlwind in her reign of terror. The United States for a century turned a deaf ear to the agonized shrieks of the bondsman; more than four years of civil war washed away the stain of slavery. Other examples are not necessary.

For how many years, ago generations, have the victims of greed and cruelty petitioned the very heavens for succor. "How long, O how long?" has been the agonized wail of countless thousands in this and other lands. Think you this cry ascends for naught? Are there any who suppose that this great debt which has been accumulating so long, made up as it is of tears and groans, blood and unutterable woe, will never be repaid? That the rottenness and reeking corruption in public and private life will wear itself out and pass away or that it will be eradicated

by appeals to the public conscience? And I say it would not be right that it should do so. Let the law of retribution have full scope as it will and pity the misguided individual who attempts to stay it.

All history, as well as the signs of the times, bear us out in prophesying the revolution. Let it come, for it brings not alone retribution to the tyrants of the earth, but ultimate peace and happiness to the poor and downtrodden. I would not stay it if I could. All the peace-babbling of soft-hearted philanthropists and sentimentalists will avail nothing, for the law of retribution is mightier than man, and though apparently merciless it is none the less just. It is strange to hear anarchists prate about "criminals," using that term as it is generally understood. The ruling classes make all the laws, and nine-tenths of the violations of these laws are crimes not against nature, but against the decrees of men. Crimes against property! Pshaw! Natural rights are greater than acquired rights. But it may be asked, is there any sense in continually urging force methods?

In the first place I am sorry to see intelligent correspondents of THE ALARM indulge in tactics which have made the name of anarchists infamous in a certain quarter. As if we were continually running about the streets shouting "To arms!" or advocating indiscriminate butchery. Your correspondent is right when he says that we revolutionists are more peaceable and less desirous to see blood than those who war upon us. But, aside from this, I contend that we should urge the people to resist their tyrants. Suppose some unlooked-for event, like the spread of a great strike as in 1877, should now force upon us a conflict. What would be the result? The working people, without arms, or the means of defending themselves, would be completely at the mercy of the bayonet and the galling gun. There would be all on one side, resulting in the people once more being driven back to servitude. Whereas, on the other hand, were they armed they could return blow for blow, with some hope of gaining the battle.

Is nothing accomplished by the propaganda by deed? How can anyone say so with the Haymarket still fresh in their memories? No matter who threw the bomb, the anarchists got the blame and some of our number paid for it with their lives, yet the movement has been augmented tenfold.

Many weak-minded people—socialists—after May 4, declared that the movement had been killed outright, and I wrote an article to the Denver Labor Enquirer predicting that the agitation resulting would vastly increase our number. Subsequent events have proved me right.

For my part I am inclined to believe this movement is far greater than the most sanguine of us believe. We have very little to do, as individuals, in hastening or retarding it. When the time is ripe we shall witness the fruition of our hopes, not before. When other methods fail to arouse the still-dreaming giant of labor the shock of the propaganda will cause him to awaken.

ECONOMIC DEVOLUTION.
Notwithstanding the laborer has derived benefits from the cheapness of manufactured goods, and from many inventions of common utility, he is much inferior in his ability to support a family than were his ancestors three centuries ago.—Hallam.

ANARCHY.
No one has a wish to limit his own liberty, and no one has a right to limit that of another.—Record of the Times.

THOUGHT AND PROGRESS.
When once a nation begins to think it is impossible to stop progress.—Voltaire.

THE ESSENCE OF SLAVERY.
The essence of slavery is the robbery of labor.—Henry George.

ANARCHY AND POLITICS

WHY FOLLOW THE POLITICAL BELLWETHERS LIKE A FLOCK OF SILLY SHEEP?

WE MAKE OUR APPEAL TO THE CONGRESS OF THE NATIONS AND ASK OUR RIGHTS, NOT DELEGATE THEM.

What effect or what place can a man not in accord with the existing state of affairs have in any of the halls of legislation, and what object have we in supporting during the coming election either candidates of our own or those of the regular parties? Surely, if we support one of the recognized candidates there can be no protest that we can enter which will effectually repudiate his political acts, for we have tacitly delegated to him the administration of our social affairs, and though at the end of his term we may discharge him as an unfaithful servant, yet in his person we have endorsed the state as it stands; besides, it is too much for us to expect him to do or say aught against it, for he has sworn to maintain its authority. To attempt the election of a candidate of our own would be but a protest against the individual methods of the ruling parties while at the same time it would be an endorsement from us of the representative system of government and a countenance of governmental interference in the affairs of private life. Even if we should be seated as members of these legislatures would we not find ourselves in a false position before the great problems we are trying to solve?

Are not all the members of these bodies elected, just as we ourselves would be, for the preservation of certain constituencies, and these interests clashed with ours, would there be any yielding before our power? Would there not rather be a more strenuous opposition to our encroachments, and on the equal floor would we not find the hard master turned to a deadly enemy? Look at any of the debates and votes in any of our houses of representatives; read the president's messages, study the political history of our country and you will find that the history of legislative debates and votes is the history of the parties not of the individuals. A measure proposed by a democratic president is opposed by a republican congress and carried by a democratic one, and that not at all because the measure concerns party principles but merely party prestige. Do all the elaborate debates upon the Mills bill change a single vote? And is there a chance of arguments sufficient to pass it being presented in the senate or sufficient to defeat it in the house?

You might, indeed, hurt yourself needlessly against the party walls but you would earn nothing but jeers for your pains from the politicians too busy with their deals of patronage to so much as listen to your arguments. To achieve any success in political ranks you must have become at least an important minority, and in that condition you are already prepared to laugh to scorn their money-making rags. Why should we present our arguments to these politicians? Is it that they are robbers of the poor only through ignorance, and once aware of the evil effects of monopolies and of the rule of man by man they would fall in the dust before the wronged ones, freely yielding their plunder?

If it is a chance for argument that is needed, are we not already in the great senate of the people and members of the congress of the nations, and here on the floor of the world have we not an opportunity vastly grander than any to be obtained in the capitol at Washington where even a favorable vote would be a negation of our foundation principle of individual sovereignty. It is a brotherhood among men that we require and a feeling of individual responsibility resulting in uncompelled honesty that we seek, what can there be in the existing state to prevent our preaching our principles before all men, and thus proving that for ourselves, at least, these laws are unnecessary. By legislative enactment it is impossible for us consistently to tamper with a single law, but it is infinitely easier and better for us to render them dead letters by proving their uselessness in our lives. Let us remember always that the state is an enemy because it is a government that is not to be overthrown even by voting for its overthrowal.

F. A. C. PERLINE.

AGENTS WANTED.

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MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE

PRISON CELL 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1887.
The Alarm has, as you know, ever rung out strong and clear the danger that threatened the people. To other hands is now committed that task which was mine in the work and duty as editor of this paper. Though fallen, wounded, perhaps unto death, in the battle for liberty, the student—the press—which my hands bore aloft in the midst of the struggle is caught up by other hands, and will be again and again, if need be, the crimson banner waving in triumph over the enemies of peace, brotherhood, and happiness. Our comrades, Dyer D. Lum, is my editorial successor. To most, or many of you, he is well known. His straightforwardness, courage, and ability in the great work of labor's economic emancipation is recognized by all. Therefore, give him in his work your hearty support—he is worthy and able. Farewell. A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1888.

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field battling for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation soliciting support for the publication fund will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Send all donations to the treasurer of The Alarm Club, A. Tewes, 350 Grove street, Jersey City, N. J.

CHICAGO CONSPIRATORS.

That there has been a conspiracy at Chicago is undoubtedly correct. But who are the conspirators? Are they the men incarcerated, subjected to the torture of the "sweat-box," inveigled into the meshes of the law by unscrupulous detectives? Or are they the Bonfields, the Schaacks, the Pinkertons and their vile horde of blackmailing hirelings? A judge once refused a detective permission to testify upon the ground that he was a "professional witness," that his calling required habitual lying and deceit and that any testimony he had to offer must necessarily be partisan and its truth doubtful.

But today we find these professional liars industriously molding public opinion. The evidence against the railroad strikers who were said to be planning "dynamite outrages" having failed to convince the public a new sensation became necessary. And upon whom could it be more successfully worked than the detested anarchists? Are they not social heretics? Do they not refuse to bow the knee to the common-place? Have they not blasphemed the sacred name of Mother Grundy and refused allegiance to the reactionary policy which sets a premium upon mediocrity? As men were once incited to cry "crucify him!" so the clamoring mob are adroitly excited to cry, "hang them." Universal history has been called "the martyrdom of man." The same blind zeal and wild rage which sent the religious heretic to the stake or to the rack, which sent the political heretic to the scaffold or to the dungeon, is evoked today against social heretics. Legislators conspire to make laws which shall prove impervious barriers to social progress. Editors conspire to debauch public opinion and win the approval of plunderers who hire them. Cler-

gymen conspire to convince people that god not only winks at but sanctions gross iniquity. Officials conspire to cheat the people and prostitute their positions to defraud suffrage. But worse, and as much lower as the pimp is than the seducer, are the police officials who set on their hireling dogs against the heretics of the present day.

The arch-conspirator of today is Clubber Bonfield, whose name is a stench in the nostrils of every decent man. Despised and contemned by those who use him, his whole life passed in soliciting favors from the powers that be, he would as calmly see a man's life sworn away as to drown a sick kitten, if thereby his own ambition may be gratified and his emoluments increased. And yet the social heretic quails not. Looking back over the long and stormy road marked with the bleeding feet of predecessors wounded unto death, he takes new heart. His zeal is kindled with renewed energy; he proclaims the blasphemy that the wrongs of our social condition are not right, that injustice is not and cannot be eternal. Rome fell, but man survived and a higher civilization resulted. Yet vested interests had as much at stake in the preservation of Rome as they now have in the safety of Chicago or New York.

Over and above the material interests for which church and state are so concerned, the social heretic raises the cry for human liberty as of vastly more importance. The new abolition, in demanding the destruction of the barriers which crib and confine us within the narrow limits of commercialism has established, is not to be crushed by official conspirators. Its adherents will not be silent though every hamlet erect a scaffold, or every jail becomes filled by those who so persistently voice the aspiration of the people for economic emancipation. Anarchy is here to stay.

THE ADVANCE GUARD.

In every progressive cause there is always an advance guard. They first meet the enemy, and upon the skirmish line the first shots are fired. In all great movements, whether religious or political, it is the skirmish line which precipitates the conflict. The reserve hear the distant musketry and deprecate the "hot-headedness" of the men whom they are unconsciously following. Yet in time they find themselves involved in the general conflict.

When the old abolitionists first appealed to the moral sense of their fellows against the rank injustice of human slavery all the power of church and state were arrayed against them. Fifty years ago or more my granduncle had his furniture taken from his house here in New York and burned in the street by a mob upon the ground that he was an "amalgamationist." He was a heretic on the slavery question, and the civic authorities winked at the outrage. As to an abolitionist and an "amalgamationist" was one and the same thing in the eyes of the populace. Able editors, grave senators and devout clergymen adroitly fed the flame which bigotry had lighted. Still the world moves on, and those who survive that conflict recognize in that skirmish line the advance guard of human progress. Garrison represented the quaker element, an apostle of passive resistance. John Brown stood forth and gave his life in adhering to an opposite policy. Yet the thoughts which emanated from Garrison's brain were the same which moved

John Brown's arm. Ideas ever, sooner or later, find expression through muscles. Stop the idea, emasculate the brain, if you would confine progress to peaceful lines.

So today the new abolitionist looks philosophically on when he finds his thought materializing in overt act. It would be as mad folly to combat it as to preach it. It inevitably and logically follows when the resistance becomes too great. He stands today on the skirmish line, fighting the battle of others enjoying peaceful camp life, and who yet will be forced to come to the front. The trade unions, the Knights of Labor and kindred organizations of industrials may regret that the advance guard have encountered the enemy. Even in their fear they may wish their defeat; but when the skirmish line is broken upon them will fall the blunt of the attack. It is the anarchist today—it will be the labor organizations tomorrow. Powderly may not look upon "the damned spot that will not out," made upon his hand by the blood of his murdered brother, A. R. Parsons, but Parsons but led the way upon a march where, with slower feet, Powderly will find himself forced to tread. Signs already indicate this fact. The various laws against boycotting, conspiracy acts, etc., are but shots from the enemy which already fly over the heads of the advance guard into the advancing column and indicate the nearing approach of the industrial army to the field of battle.

PEACE.

I cry peace! peace! even though there be no peace. Anarchists wish peace because they are wearied of war.

They see boys at a tender age enlisting to fight for a bare subsistence. Loaded down with the equipments of ignorance which necessity has forced upon them they seldom get discharged.

They see girls forced into the ranks, an amazonian army whose energies are soon sapped, and whose lives are too often blighted.

They see men of all grades in society reduced to the ranks of privates, silently, sullenly marching on toward a nameless goal.

They see mothers bereft and forced into the ever-swelling ranks and contributing their failing strength to achieve success.

"Success?" But for whom? Not for the private in the ranks, not for themselves who bear the brunt of the conflict.

One by one they are beginning to think. They are dimly seeing that their foe is not a real one; that their generals who are leading them receive all the emoluments, enjoy all the rewards.

They desire to turn their arms upon nature to exploit her for common needs. But the generals forbid.

The generals who assume to lead, the so-called captains of industry, are the real foes and peace will be impossible till they are removed. Ruhe!

AN INCIDENT WITH A MORAL.

The papers recently contained an account of the rescue of a man after ten day's confinement in a well which had caved in upon him. By great effort a small opening was secured, and food and water supplied to him. The noteworthy feature of the incident was the general sympathy manifested by the citizens. Here was a human being, a laborer, in sore need. While working no one cared about him. The race for legal privilege over land and credit made each anxious only for himself. But when actual need arose, when sensibilities were

appealed to, the intrinsic generosity of human nature asserted itself. The dispatch says:

After he was taken into the house the crowd gave three cheers for Henry Archer and George Campbell, the men who took him from the well. They were so overcome with fatigue and joy that when the crowd began congratulating them they were like children. There is as much rejoicing here as if Anderson had been a brother to every person in the community. For the last ten days business in Johnstown and Ainsworth and on the farms has been practically suspended. So intense was the excitement and anxiety that farmers left their fields and merchants their stores, and flocked to the scene of the accident. Every day supplies were sent to the workers from private residences and stores, and the women were unceasing in their kindly offices.

Under our present social system indifference, and even avarice is fostered. A premium is placed upon callousness. Yet such incidents as this shows that but for legalized privilege the better side of our nature would always assert itself. Under conditions where equal opportunities existed, social inequality would become more strikingly illustrated, the idle dispute over needs and deeds would disappear, our better qualities be developed and fraternity become a fact. To such of my readers as believe that a narrow selfishness is inherent in human nature, and can conceive of no form of society in which the ego is not the chief factor, I commend the above incident. Abolish restrictive legislation, give human nature free play to carve out an existence, and such a development of sociality would result as would far transcend the fabled millennium poets have hoped for. In face of such facts, and they are by no means rare, how foolish to theorize over proposed systems whereby individualism may be preserved. Give us liberty and the need of one will be the concern of all.

ANOTHER CONSPIRACY.

The Sun last week contained a long dispatch from Chicago in which occurred the following suggestive paragraph:

Chicago, July 26.—Capt. Schaack has a long conference with the State's attorney this afternoon concerning anarchists and dynamite. It is said that the fighting captain contemplates beginning a few prosecutions on his own account to offset the popularity that Inspector Bonfield has been gaining from his discovery of the recent plot. That he knows more about anarchists and anarchy than any other man in Chicago there cannot be any doubt. He has never relaxed his vigilance one jot since the day after the Haymarket, when he began railing anarchist haunts in the North Division of the city. All last year he had five experienced detectives on his personal staff who were paid from a fund raised by frightened millionaires, and they kept such a careful eye on the movements of the revolutionists that the latter were unable to make a single move without running against armed and determined policemen. He still has three officers at work among the groups that have been formed since last November.

Bonfield having worked the South side, it seems that the doughty captain is jealous and intends to spring a plot on the North side. Between the two we shall probably have a surfeit of "conspiracies unearthed." Keep it up, gentlemen, if you will, but remember the story of the boy, who cried "Wolf! wolf!" once too often.

CONGRESS is investigating our immigration. The old know-nothing sentiment is being revived and the astute statesmen think they can stifle socialism by closing the ports to ignorance. And these are the men who imagine they are qualified to govern other men.

AMMIDOWN, a manufacturer at Passaic, N. J., poses as a friend of

protection to American labor, in the political jargon of the day. To rob labor of the "protection" a high tariff confers would presumably break his heart. Yet recent investigation has shown that he has been importing Hungarians whose average rate of wages is \$5.00 per week. Are they not virtually slaves?

As announced elsewhere THE ALARM Publishing Club are going to have a picnic on Labor Day. Friends in the immediate vicinity will please bear it in mind and endeavor to attend. THE ALARM needs help.

THE ROMANIAN REVOLT.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER RECEIVED FROM A FRIEND AT BUCHAREST.

No doubt you have heard of the peasant rising throughout the Roumanian states. I have had an opportunity of passing through the section where the rising was the strongest, and a few points may be of interest to your readers. The insurrection was spontaneous among the country people and spread quite rapidly, reaching over to Servia and Bulgaria, and calling forth even the attention of the Austrian government which has strengthened several of its border fortresses. It was arising such as forbade the great revolution of France, peasants burning their masters houses, and demanding a new repatriation of the soil as had been done in 1866 but which, on account of the continued division into smaller tracts through the laws of inheritance threw the peasants into the hands of usurers. The Roumanian is very frugal and lives mainly on Indian corn, very seldom tasting meat but the old pride has not yet entirely forsaken him as he holds himself to be a direct offspring of the Romans. This pride it is which drives him into these unending revolts, so that his country is the land of rebellion above all others.

The revolt was most serious in the provinces about Bucharest, Ploesti, Giurgewo and Calarascu. Over one hundred villages had revolted, many of the people were killed by the troops, and upwards of 1200 were made prisoners. The army also lost a great many men while engaged in the massacring of the people. The peasants had armed themselves by breaking into the military stores in the various towns. Even with the army at hand "order" was only restored after governmental distributions of maize; though let it be understood this was only done after the soldiers began refusing obedience to their commanders, one regiment for having turned its guns on the hussars was sent off to the Moldavian frontiers.

The chambers will consider a law to give to each family 22 hectares of land (about 52 acres) instead of as in 1866 only 11 hectares. Whether this will really calm the agitation remains to be seen, at any rate it again demonstrates the folly of peasant proprietorship, as has been shown in the case of France, Belgium, etc. Yet here as well as in the British Island the abortive "reforms" of politicians, lawyers, demagogues and cabinets will come to naught on the day when the poor interest-ridden peasant (the Roumanian sometimes only gets the one fourth part of the products of his "own" land) will make common cause with his oppressed life throughout the world. Here the rising was, as usual, not simultaneous, one village submitting as another rose, but this is greatly owing to the imperfection of the roads. However, these affairs all serve as lessons, and when people try again they may achieve more. I will write to you when there is a change in things; just now "order" reigns again, but the mutterings are not silenced and the embers may be relit in a moment.

May 29th, 1888.

WAR AND PEACE.

WAR.
The London "Freedom" says that the American Mutualist papers, with the exception of THE ALARM, "zealously repudiate all but passive resistance to oppression, and cling to the peace-at-all-costs doctrine of George Fox, Godwin, Shelley, Proudhon, and Leo Tolstol." The truth of this assertion cannot be tested unless "Freedom" will be good enough to define the doctrine

AN IDEAL MAN.

An anarchist is an ideal man.—Rev. Myron W. Reed.

PRIMER OF ANARCHY.

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHISM EXPLAINED TO THE PRIMARY CLASS.

FIRST LESSONS FOR THE STUDENT IN THE NEW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS—WHAT GOVERNMENT IS AND WHY IT SHOULD CEASE.

BY G. C. CLEMENS.

GOVERNMENT AND CRIME.

Tell me, Sir Judge, What does the government avail the peasant? Would not he plough his field, and sow the corn, And, in peace, enjoy the harvest, too?—Would not the sun shine, and the dew descend, Though neither king nor parliament existed? Just heaven! of what service is the state?—Southey's Drama of Wat Tyler.

"We are humbugged by institutions!" once exclaimed Wendell Phillips, in old anti-slavery days; and so may the anarchist exclaim today. From our very cradles we have all been taught to fear and to reverence "the authorities." To obey the law like wretched slaves bound to a blind, unquestioning servility, is, we have been taught, the chief distinction of the upright and the good. So it is not wonderful that when it is proposed to abolish "the authorities" people should straightway inquire: "Why, if the government is abolished, there will be nothing to prevent crime; life and property will be unsafe, and the strong will oppress the weak unchecked; pray, how could we get along without government?" And it is of no use to talk anarchism to any poor son of Adam while his superstitious faith in government remains unshaken. I propose, therefore, to give that faith a good vigorous shake.

My benighted friend, does government prevent crime? If so, pray explain the murders, larcenies, burglaries, robberies, embezzlements, confidence games, and the like, which take up so much space in every daily paper that comes from the press? What have the people done who crowd our penitentiaries and our jails? Surely, you will not say they are criminals, if government prevents crime, for how can a thing happen when it is prevented? Every Friday you read that some man somewhere has gone to the scaffold for murdering a fellow mortal; yet you tell me government prevents murder. Is it not strange that men should be hanged for doing what government prevents being done? Does government prevent train robberies or pocket-picking? Does it prevent land sharks from swindling poor men out of their homes? Does it prevent assaults upon women, or does it make impossible the heartless villain's ruin of a confiding girl that loves him? Does it keep bank tellers and cashiers from embezzling the savings of toiling poverty? How can you look me in the eye and tell me that government prevents crime? After some murderer has put a bullet through your heart or your brain, the government will hang him, imprison him, or turn him loose, as a court and jury man may think best, if your family will pay a reward for catching him; but even if your murderer gets regularly hanged at last, pray are you not as dead as you were before? Has government protected your life by taking another life after yours has gone out? If a burglar enters your house and steals all you have, starved yourself to save, and even the family keepsakes and the trinkets a dead loved one had left to you as souvenirs, the loss of which breaks the hearts of a household, will government get you back your money or your mementos? No; the very most it will do will be to send the burglar to the penitentiary if you are able to offer a reward for his arrest and conviction. But suppose the burglar goes to prison, does that restore to you the things he took and for which you grieve? If government prevents crime, how came the burglar to be in your house? If a highwayman assaults and robs you of your week's wages and gives you a dangerous wound in the struggle will government make good your loss, pay you for the time you are laid up with your wound, and settle your doctor's bill? No; it will very seldom even catch the robber; and if it does catch him and he goes to prison for his natural life how much richer does that make you? Besides, how came the highwayman to assault you; how came such a thing as a highwayman to exist

at all if government prevents crime? And

When lovely woman stoops to folly, And finds too late that heaven betray'd, Will government give her back her unsullied character? Will it restore her maiden purity? Will it even rescue her innocent progeny from the disgrace of illicit parentage? No; all government will consent to do is to compel the seducer to pay something for the support of the birth-cursed babe he had brought into the world; and it will do even that only upon condition that a modest, if too-trusting girl, will go into court to be made the object of obscene jest—the spectacle for scores of lewd men and boys gathered to laugh over the story of the desolation of a woman's life. But if government protects the weak against the strong and so certainly prevents crime, how came such an occurrence to happen at all? I know what your wretched idolatry will teach you to answer to all this. You know, the very moment you begin to think about it, that government does not prevent crime, for it is constantly going on right under your very eyes; but not willing, to give up your idol, you will tell me that government makes crime common, that if it were not for government there would be still more crime committed; and that criminals are not punished for the sake of doing their victims any good, but for the purpose of frightening others who might otherwise be guilty of crime. Do you really believe all this? Let us see how much sense there is in it. Of course, if government does make crime less common than it would be, it does so only by keeping up the fear of punishment by sending criminals to prison or to the scaffold, for this is the only way government attempts to prevent crime. Well, that sort of thing has been tried all the time, every day for thousands of years—since away back the other side of Moses, and if crime could be even lessened in this way ought it not to be a little less common now than when jails and scaffolds were first used? Yet it is not the universal complaint that the number of crimes committed is constantly increasing? Nobody really believes that government actually protects life or property, else why is it that people in cities will not leave their doors unlocked, and why do prudent women always look under the beds for burglars before retiring to balmy sleep? Go into any book-store at closing time at night, and you will very likely see gold pens and the like taken out of showcase cases and locked up securely in a safe or a vault, and this, too, right on a policeman's regular beat, and although lights are left burning in the store all night. Not only the banks but even the government's own treasuries have safes or vaults with time locks—that is, locks which cannot be unlocked till a certain hour has arrived. Iron bars are put across plate-glass show-windows, and merchant's doors opening on to the most public streets are bolted and barred at night with mighty bars and bolts; as firmly as were the entrance to the baronial castles of the middle ages when war was rife and an attack was feared. Large sums are paid by business houses every year to private watchmen and for electric lights or gas, that must be kept burning all night. Even the government itself will not rely upon its own ordinary protection, but employs special watchmen to guard its treasuries. Does punishment prevent crime? The assassin knifes his victim to night with in a stone-thrown of yesterday's scaffold. Pockets are picked and passengers defrauded by confidence games on the very same train, and sometimes on the very same coach, which bears manacled thieves and confidence men to their years of punishment in the penitentiary. The very bank officer who caused a forger's arrest may be an embezzler already plotting his flight to Canada. The government confesses, by its own laws, that it does not afford protection to life nor property; for is it not a good defense to a charge of murder that the person slain had threatened the life of the accused? Or that the killing was done while the deceased was in the accused's house at night to steal? Yet, why should either of these defenses be allowed if government protects the menaced life and the invaded home? Why does not the law say: You should have relied upon the government to protect you. There would be no use for government if every man were to be left to protect his own person and possession.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

INSPECTOR BONFIELD'S AMBITION LEADS HIM ON TO THE RAGGED EDGE OF DESPAIR.

BONFIELD AS PUBLIC PROSECUTOR, JUDGE AND EXECUTIONER OF HIS OWN DECREES IN WESTERN SODOM.

The cause of Bonfield's remarkable activity in hunting up dynamite conspiracies and hunting down anarchists and socialists is now made plainer than ever. That Bonfield should have his enemies among the working classes, whose just hatred and vengeance he has invited by his many acts of barbarity, is not strange, but that he should be disliked by those unscrupulous politicians whose best interest he serves, is something remarkable. Yet it is even so. It may be that jealousy has something to do with the hostility felt for the bullying inspector by his "friends" (for it is said that he is ambitious), but be that as it may, it is believed that his fears for his official head, and evidence was not wanting that his fears were well grounded.

The Herald contained an article on Wednesday last which was a revelation to a good many. According to that paper, Chief Hubbard as well as Inspector Bonfield has been feeling very insecure recently, and a change may be made in the heads of the police department when least expected. Politics at the bottom of it all, and a determined effort is to be made to place the police department under the influence of city hall politicians. Chas. Aldrich, at present captain of the Desplained street station, is the man talked of as possible successor to Hubbard. Aldrich is a politician and is said to be a willing and a plant tool in the hands of Davis and Swift, the leaders of the local politicians. He has received a number of favors at their hands, and it is thought that with Aldrich as chief and Bonfield removed the local republican ranks could be considerably strengthened.

The labor politicians will have nothing to do with any party supporting Bonfield, and the Republicans just now sadly need help from some quarter.

But Bonfield is no fool, he knows how to make himself solid with the business portion of the community, and by his renewed activity in noising out new "plots" he has once more entrenched himself more securely than ever in his position. He is virtually chief of the department. His word is law; his every wish is gratified. In fact he is as much an autocrat in his surroundings as the czar of Russia. He usurps the authority of the magistrate and acts as public prosecutor and judge and executes his own decrees.

Another alleged dynamiter has been arrested and now languishes in jail, unable to furnish the heavy bonds imposed upon him by Bonfield. He is by birth also a Bohemian; his name is Sevic, and he keeps a gunsmith shop on the West side. According to Bonfield, Sevic is the man who bought the dynamite and conveyed it to the other three. It made no difference that the poor fellow denied everything, and that there is not a scintilla of evidence against him except the bare word of Bonfield. That word was sufficient to outweigh all his protests of innocence. "Let his bonds be placed at \$7,000," said Bonfield, "for I hold him to be more guilty than the other three," and it was done. Five times this amount was scheduled by three of his friends, but even this security was refused, and the poor fellow is still in prison.

The Trades Assembly had an election of officers for the ensuing six months on last Sunday. The radicals again made a clean sweep, electing every candidate by acclamation.

As you know, I am not interested in politics, but next week I will try to send you an account of the doings of the political laborites.

WAR AND PEACE.

WAR.
The London "Freedom" says that the American Mutualist papers, with the exception of THE ALARM, "zealously repudiate all but passive resistance to oppression, and cling to the peace-at-all-costs doctrine of George Fox, Godwin, Shelley, Proudhon, and Leo Tolstol." The truth of this assertion cannot be tested unless "Freedom" will be good enough to define the doctrine

HALLO! HOW IS THIS?

THE MODERN VINDICQ PROCLAIMS HIMSELF A LIAR.

When the recent reports of astounding dynamite plots at Chicago were being sent out some gentlemen of this city improvised a scheme to get at the facts. They drew upon their imagination and wrote to Inspector Bonfield that a number of wealthy families of Memphis desired to remove to Chicago, but were deterred by what appeared to them very great dangers to life and property from dynamiters. The schemers were merely curious, and did not even expect a reply. But it arrived on time, as follows:

CITY HALL, Chicago, July 21, 1888.
E. I. Cowles, Esq., Penbody Hotel, Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Sir—Your letter of 19th inst. has my attention. In reply will state that the reports which you refer to concerning dynamite are greatly exaggerated. While there are cranks of all kind here, as will be found in most large cities, they are considered not at all dangerous. Chicago is as safe and quiet as any city in the Union. Yours very truly,
JOHN BONFIELD,
Inspector of Police & Chief of Detectives.
—Memphis Appeal.

"CUM GRANO SALIS"

The report of renewed plots of so-called anarchists at Chicago ought to be taken with much allowance—with many grains of salt, as it were. There seems to be a predisposition towards panic prevalent among all classes in that city. If the newspaper accounts are to be credited, the persons arrested as anarchists are very ignorant and as timid as rabbits. They are so nervous, according to the report, that on meeting one of their intended victims, "face to face," in the public street, they were so moved, excited, or frightened as to utter exclamations and attract his attention to their agitated condition! Choice material to be selected for desperate deeds! On the other hand, Inspector Bonfield does not impress us as either calmly resolute or very clear-headed. He seems disposed to make a big rush unnecessarily and, of course, unwisely. For, even if things be as he seems to dread, a wise and brave officer would not publicly magnify the danger. If the men arrested are as ignorant as represented, they can hardly be anarchists—and if so timid, they cannot be such dangerous desperadoes! We do most earnestly hope that this business of "terrorizing millions of people about the doings or vapors of a few fools or cowards may be brought to an end. We believe that the Chicago police and the newspapers grossly exaggerate in their statements and surmises.—Hayes Valley Advertiser.

ALARM PUBLISHING FUND.

To the editor: C. W. Bowers, \$1; A. W. Cleveland, O., \$1; Scheidegger, 50c; N. N. Providence, 50c; S. F. New Haven, 50c; James Halbeck, \$1; A. Kriemert, \$1; E. Leeders, 50c; total, \$8.

To the treasurer: Dr. Mary Aikin, Grinnell, Ia., monthly subscription, \$2; E. Walton, Muscatine, Ia., \$1; C. Pugin, Westmoreland Co., Irwin station, Pa., \$1; E. Sullivan, Jersey City, 25c; Pittsburg Alarm Club, donation, \$10; E. Sullivan, Jersey City, 25c; Julia Weckerman, \$1; Bloom, 20c; Higgins, 20c; Purcell, \$3; Lina, \$1; Ritzen, 50c; Lieberman, \$1; C. Schmitt, 25c; Metzlow, 25c; Most, 25c; Misouri, 25c; Abrahams, Newark, 25c; Adler, 50c; Sale, 20c; total, \$23.35.

THE USUAL RESULT.

The politicians are now stuffing the voters and the stuffing of the ballot boxes will come later.

THE LAW OF PROGRESS.

A SOCIAL STUDY OF CASTES AND THE GRADUAL OBLITERATION OF DISTINCTIONS.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE MEANING OF HISTORY AND ITS BEARING UPON PRESENT PROBLEMS.

Continued from No. 20.

In 1789 the third great phase of social growth was definitely inaugurated: the landlord and commercial caste, the middle class, became masters of the state, a result which naturally followed from the conflict of ideas preceding it where in the philosophers and the economists had shown that they were fully prepared for the step. The race had become more individualized; priest and noble had become penumbral relics of past conditions.

The bourgeois, as heir of the feudal noblesse, were too anxious to grasp the reins of power to listen to dreams of a millennial future. The guilds, which contained the germ of an industrial organization that might have furthered the cause of human activity and social happiness by giving to man's warfare upon nature a wider front, were ruthlessly swept aside, and society handed over to the greed and forestalling of corporate rather than noble plunderers. Unlike all previous change there was no unifying faith; when the priesthood fell behind the noble they virtually abdicated, and their fate was bound in that of the caste in which they had sunk their aims. "Listen," cries Camille Desmoulins, "listen to Paris, to Lyons, to Rouen, to Bordeaux, Calais and Marseilles, from one end of France to the other the same cry, a universal cry, is heard. The action everywhere expresses the same desire: all wish to be free!" With the decay of the religious feeling the brotherhood of the guilds had become oppressive, the security they gave to their members in no wise compensated for the loss they inflicted by restrictions, and even their redeeming features were sacrificed. The same fact is also seen in the treatment of the land question. Under the cry of liberty all obstacles to individual greed were swept from their path; a new apprenticeship of suffering was to be undergone to prepare the lowest of all castes for the future which the whole history of human progress and civilization points out as awaiting them; an apprenticeship to be continued until they too feel that degree of self-reliance to cope with their rulers and wrest from their hands the right to rule over fellow men. Blind indeed must he be who does not recognize that what is called civilization is an ever growing progress toward an as yet dimly conceived unity, the realization of which will be the apogee of social destiny. Further, that the revolutions

that have characterized social growth, however much they may have scared the timid, and been dreaded by well meaning friends of Liberty, have been but the steady pressure of the increasing momentum dammed by artificial barriers; and if, when the waters sweep over or through these dams selfishness and caste have been erected, some are carried on its current to destruction, still,

"Evermore the right comes uppermost, Evermore is justice done." In the gradual weakening of religious faith we see a striking illustration of the truth of our thesis. As society has evolved more diversified forms of activity, the gods have shrunk back in dimmer distance. As faith relaxes her hold upon the mind, manly self-reliance rises in the scale and as humanity emerges more and more into the foreground, the gods recede into the dim twilight whither they would beckon as to retrace our steps. Each caste as it came in turn to seize the reins of power has presented its own features in the god it adores. The difference between the religions of the ancient civilizations of the East and that of medieval Europe was not more profound than that which separates the latter from so-called modern christianity, the churchocracy of the present day. The religion of the present regime is protestant, whether openly professed as in England and America, or masquerading behind a mask as in France. But protestantism, the bastard progeny of the catholic church is not properly speaking a religion; it is a philosophy and in its chaotic and metaphysical characteristics, bringing no complete synthesis of human life to bear upon the problems of the age, it fitsly marks the transitional era we have yet to pass wandering in the wilderness. It is individualism dominant in the emotional realm, the barren response of the feudal spirit to the demands of feeling. Catholicism is but a ghost of departed days; it would revive the medieval reign of feeling, while intellect has sapped it of all foundation. But behind these divergences, there is seen arising a greater unity into which protestantism and catholicism blend and are refactored forth upon the world as the comfortable belief of a commercial age, in which every man for himself becomes its golden rule, and bankruptcy its realistic hell! The separation began under the lead of the military class has been intensified by the present regime and is as marked in religious as in social relations.

In all this we but see illustrated again the amalgamation of deposed castes into the ruling one. The bourgeois or middle class have absorbed priest and noble within itself. Priest, noble, and burgher are one in sentiment, in aim, in their destiny. When toleration found footing in the State thus clearly informing the world that church rule had been forever left behind, human thought left religious dogma to discuss forms of government. The thought religion lost the state

supposed it had gained, but it was a vain hope; for into the crucible of thought the state lost its form and emerged anew to repeat the same experience. Today all thought is directed toward economics, and again the state finds its new foundation in the crucible of discussion. At this altar priest, noble, and burgher sink their individualities in a common worship, and wage income in a common hope. The god of the priest, the conservator of the king, and the inspirer of the burgher is one, the new trinity of rent, interest, and profits.

Nowhere do we find greater chaos than in this world wide discussion of politico-economic questions. The teachers of the past regimes accommodate themselves to the needs of the present, and we have the same metaphysical conception of laws as an active force or creative energy in the renovation of society as in the past. It forms but a part of the characteristic confusion of the present regime wherein the thousand and one quick-remedies submitted for the redress of social ills, attest the inability of prevalent methods to grapple with the problem. Labor and capital, which united in '89 to secure the magical "liberty" which was to remove all discord, are now contending for respective rights; both alike appeal to the state hoping to find in legislative enactments, on the one hand, a legal right to ignore moral considerations, and on the other, to seek through statute law the correction of all iniquities and the inauguration of equality!

Political economy presents us with its natural laws as of old and renews the deceptive promise with which it entered the French revolution that their liberty would make earth a paradise. We are still presented with the old formulas which never explained anything, but merely re-stated in general and vague terms the facts they were supposed to explain. Its laws are but the record of observed phenomena, and they will remain "laws" only so long as privilege grants charters to personal selfishness to exploit the weak. Whenever the prevailing motives which determine men shall cease to be operative, that moment their economic laws are abrogated. The laws of political economy are all relative to the present state of civilization, they formulate existing conditions, and the laws of supply and demand, of interest and wages, and the other learned expositions made by the economists of existing conditions, are mere resultant, not causative, statements. Society has again and again been based on motives for action radically different from those of today, as it will be again. Frederic Harrison has somewhere compared our Malthusian economics to a pretended science of the stomach independent of the nervous system or knowledge of the circulation of the blood. While claiming to be governed by scientific precision they, from the outset, raise their formulas of modes of social existence into abstract

phenomena. The cry of liberty raised by the ruling caste in order to grasp coercive power will yet prove their own destruction. In the crucible of thought into which economic conditions are plunged it is becoming more clearly discernible that liberty in exchange is not the sole end of social effort; that this liberty must be extended to cover the relations existing prior to production as well as in the exchange of the product. By the mysterious and undefined principle of liberty all wrongs were to be righted, all ills redressed, yet a century has seen them intensified. Does the tenure of land cripple agricultural development, and disinherit millions? Does the industrial system restrict manufactures and limit application? In reply they set up abstract man, the "average" individual, without historical connection with the past or social affiliation with the present, and demanded for him his "natural rights." This liberty has prevailed more or less for a century as the guiding principle of our civilization, and we are again face to face with monopolies, venality and corruption in administration and social degradation accompanied with a growing display of private luxury and public misery. Our modern social lords are indebted to their purses for their prestige, their religion is the laws of trade, their messiah Adam Smith or Turgot, their altar the counter. And in this degeneracy of faith in the ruling caste is the harbinger of hope for their shorter duration.

This leads us to a clearer enunciation of the true law of progress th historical cause of which we have tried to outline. Progress is not mere change but the widening of the sphere of individual liberty, that healthful evolution of social life wherein the working forces of the organism are in perfect harmony, resulting in the more general diffusion of individual happiness. The laws of social health offer to the thinker material for the profoundest reflection, for the individual welfare of each and social order are identical and can only result from liberty as a pre-existing condition; order not being an end in itself, but that balance of social forces where by health, or the exercise of the normal functions of the organism, are best promoted. Therefore, order made manifest is progress, hence they are in effect identical, the one being the development of the other: its dynamic expression. Order, therefore, is never stationary or retrograde, but must eventually be in progress, which has no meaning save as it applies to the relationships of life. Progress, in the only intelligible meaning of the word, includes the physical, intellectual, and moral advancement of the individual. The true object of human life being the perfection of our whole nature, every thought, design and act must be released from artificial control to become baptised with social feeling. As in the deterioration of human character

the three aspects are indissolubly connected, so in the evolution of progress the three are indissolubly blended. (TO BE CONCLUDED IN NO. 22.)

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In his preface Mr. Parsons says:—
Cell 25, Cook Co. Jail, Chicago, Ill., October 27, 1887.—This book has been written and compiled in response to the public demand for information upon the subjects named. The circumstances under which the work has been performed, in my judgment, beneath the shadow of the gallows, should, if it could, tend additional interest and importance to the subject presented herein. If the public shall be furnished information, or assisted in reaching conclusions, by the use of the great questions of Capital and Labor by a perusal of these pages, I shall deem that a sufficient reward for my humble effort to supply it.

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ADMISSION FREE!

THE STATE OF EUROPE.
THE RED SPECTRE STALKING
THROUGH EUROPE BRINGING
HOPE TO THE PEOPLE.

EUROPE IN INDUSTRIOUSLY SOWING THE
WIND IS PREPARING REAPERS FOR
HARVESTING THE WHIRLWIND.

That Europe is hastening to a crisis some can deny. That the crisis will be a terrible one, all admit. But that the people will in the end be triumphant, some can doubt. The crisis will embrace every European state, from the highest to the lowest, from the icy regions of St. Petersburg to the sunny plains of the South. Throughout Europe the revolution is in the ascendant. And throughout Europe the revolution will yet be triumphant. We read of the progress of art and of science; of the development of trade and of commerce; but we read of the increase of population, but the powers of production increase faster still. We are told of the increasing wealth of the nations, we also hear of the increasing poverty of the wealth-producers. In the midst of untold riches we have the want and misery of the millions. By the side of our universities, we have the ignorance and degradation of the masses. The people everywhere complain, but are answered only by measures of repression.

Look at the ever increasing debts and expenditure of the great military powers, burdens that are increasing from year to year far beyond the means of the nations to bear. In twenty years the military establishments have more than doubled. In all the states of Europe debts and taxation, poverty and discontent go hand in hand together. Take the expenditure of the following powers:

	1865	1885
Austria-Hungary	52,050,000	96,565,000
Prussia	38,500,000	117,043,000
France	51,600,000	113,142,000
Italy	74,500,000	153,065,000
Spain	36,300,000	62,227,000
Total	252,950,000	542,042,000

See too the enormous increase of their debts, which hang like millstones around the necks of the people. No wonder the people are poor. No wonder there is discontent.

	1865	1885
Austria-Hungary	118,000,000	508,300,000
Prussia	82,000,000	302,000,000
France	95,000,000	325,000,000
Italy	221,000,000	960,000,000
Spain	68,000,000	475,600,000
Total	584,000,000	2,881,900,000

And we have the increase of the burdens in all the smaller states of the European continent. And yet people are surprised that trade is depressed. Taking the whole of Europe the imperial expenditure was

	1865	1885
In 1865 390 millions pounds sterling.		
"1885 744 "		
"1887 733 "		

Look at the total of the public debts: in 1852 under 2,000 millions pounds sterling. "1882 4,224 " "1885 4,560 "

See the general result: Cost of military establishments 260 mill. pounds. Interest on public debts 220 " Interest on capital invested in fortifications 50 " Three items only 530 " Add value of the labor of five millions of men under arms, at only one pound per week each Total 780 "

What would that 780,000,000 pounds do? It would give one pound per week to 15 millions 6 hundred thousand families! Why all the industry of the world could not support such a system. All the baronets in the world could not uphold it. All the patience in the world could not endure it. Who can wonder at Nullism in Russia, at Social Demo-

cracy in Germany, at the progress of revolutionary ideas in every country? What is society today in all the states of Europe but one huge system of plunder, plunder in every form through all its ramifications. Europe is still cursed with the barbarism of the middle ages. The prince, the priest, and the peer still flourish and fatten on the plunder of the toiling millions. A few military despots hold in their hands the destinies of the nations, hold in their hands the power of peace and war, with their countless legions ever ready to carry death and devastation through all the states of Europe. Yes, Europe is still cursed with royalty and imperialism, which feeds on the vitals of the people. Look at the cost to the nations of a few of these royal and imperial vampires. Look at the cost of their royal households. That of Germany, 3,348 thous. pounds; Russia, 2,450 " " " Austria, 900 " " " Italy, 700 " " " Great Britain, 1,074 " " " Cost of five royal and imperial households . . . Total 8,472 " "

The total cost of this barbarous institution in the whole of the European states cannot be less than twelve millions a year. How many tens of thousands would those millions feed and clothe, and house in comfort? Yet royalty is but a relic of the dark ages, an institution of barbarous origin, and whose great attraction lies in the barbaric splendor of its saturnalia.

But to understand more fully the crushing effects of these monster burdens on the people of the European states, we must take into consideration the total incomes of the several states. It includes every source of income.

England is said to be the richest country in the world, that is, in proportion to its population. In 1884 its total income was 1,250 million pounds, equal to 35 pounds 3 shillings per head of the population. Her taxation was 90 million pounds. With several millions of less the taxation of Italy was over 62 millions pounds, though her income was only equal to 12 pounds per head, being only 345 million pounds. Take France, with an income of 965 millions, equal to 25 pounds 7 shillings of the population, and taxation over 143 million pounds, and then take Russia, with an income of 848 millions, equal to only 9 pounds 9 shillings per head, and 117 million pounds taxation. Take Holland with an income of 104 millions, or 26 pounds per head, and the great empire of Germany with its income of 850 millions, which is only equal to 18 pounds odd per head. The income of little Denmark is equal to 23 pounds 3 shillings per head, while that of still proud and powerful Spain is only 13 pounds 8 shillings. Taking the whole of the European states in 1884, the total income was 5,578 million pounds (agriculture 2,568 millions, and other sources 3,010 million pounds), equal to 18 pounds per head, or 90 pounds per family of five.

There is then an abundance of wealth produced, even in the poorest of the European states; but how is that wealth distributed?

In Great Britain and Ireland of the 1,250 million pounds less than 25 per cent went to the wealth-producing classes. In France, of the 965 million pounds, some 2.5 of the population received 127 million pounds; the middle classes, forming 21.64 per cent of the population 333 millions; leaving the other 75 per cent of the population with five hundred and five million pounds. In all the other states the same is the case.

If we look at the social condition of the population—at the workers, who form from three-fifths to four-fifths—we find it as low as it is possible for it to be. In the vast empire of Russia, ignorance, want and misery, with long hours of labor, and but very little leisure, are their normal condition. In many parts of Germany it is equally bad. In the greater part of Italy it is equally so. In France, even in the rural districts, it gets worse from year to year. The same is the case throughout the whole of the Continent. In England the workers are

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Last Saturday they again behaved as the devils they are, resorting to every mean and cowardly trick that even police ingenuity could think of to work up excuses for exercising brutality, and by three-fourths of the "representatives of the people" in parliament they are supported in what they do, while it is only a few, a mere handful, who dare to countenance, much less aid, their being resisted. The vast body of respectable, vote-holding people, even those who go in for "Justice to Ireland" are dead against anything of the kind for England. The unrespectable people who as a class have no votes, or few, are on our side but are politically powerless in a "constitutional" way. Yet we have in the socialist party a large number of dukes and kickers who are always prating of parliamentary methods and constitutional means!

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There is a cheering bit of news to add—the boycott has come and looks like staying! Bryant and May, the gigantic match monopolists, so oppressed their poor devils of girls, that they struck. Some socialists took up the case, Mrs. Besant at their head, and a vigorous agitation began. The terrible details that came out interested a large part of the public not usually touched by such affairs, and in spite of the strenuous efforts of the reptile press, the money came in for the strike fund at the rate of 150 pounds a week. The firm blustered,

denies everything, prated of philanthropy, talked big of taking their capital out of the country—all the usual rot in short. It looked very much as if the strike would last as long as contributions came in, and then collapse. But a boycott on Bryant and May's matches was called for; the idea took and it spread like wildfire. Smokers, housewives, thousands of all kinds refused the familiar matches. "There was blood on the box." A very few days of this and the firm came down, took back everything, needed to all the girls demanded, asked them to form a union, so that future differences, "if such should unfortunately occur" could be settled in a less expensive and troublesome way. Then the reptile press, which had been busily whitewashing the firm, "pitoying" the girls, and abusing the socialists, turned upon the firm and gave them a lecture. Not upon their previous conduct, O dear, no! but upon giving way in the manner they had done. That whining whig rag, the "Daily News," was especially angry that so great a firm should have taught the workers the dangerous lesson that in combination and agitation there was power. It would lead to so much trouble in the future. Amen!

In a couple of days there is to be a demonstration upon the sweating system. We as the Socialist League are taking part in order to push our own ideas. What our attitude on the question is, you know.

By joining in such incidental battles in the great class-war as this that the Bryant and May affair, and showing the proletariat that making their wrongs public and joining to resist them—agitation and organization—they are mighty and can at length prevail, we are doing good revolutionary work, and one would think in such peaceable fashion that even the dukes and kickers would be content. But no! Putting bits of paper in a box is such a nice game (for the candidate stake-holders) that it must not be let slide—there is blood in it. Those who do not hanker after blood are moved by the desire to have M. P. after their name, and be called "my honorable friend!" And so the world wages; but the revolutionist who is discouraged by these things had better back out and go home. He must make up his mind to face the effects of centuries of competition and monopoly, to find most men fools, most of the fools rogues as well, and the small minority who are neither rogue nor fool not all on his side. "In perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often," he must never despair. He fights on the winning side, even if he himself die fighting.

IL. HALLIDAY SPARKING.
London, July 19th, 1888.

AN ODISIOUS COMPARISON.
The platform adopted by the Democratic party reminds the writer of one of Petroleum V. Nasby's letters. During the Tilden and Hendricks campaign, Nasby wrote to the late Samuel J. Tilden, telling him he was about to take the stump, and asking him how he should handle the financial question. Tilden replied, stating that if Mr. Nasby was going to commence his tour in the West, he had better talk "soft" money and harden it as he came East. If he started in the East, he should talk "hard" money and soften it as he went West.

The present platform is built on the same style of architecture. It will do to discuss free trade in the West and protection in the East. It is evident the Democratic party has not the courage of its convictions.—New Crusade.

"THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS."
Every progress is made at the expense of some victims. How many men have allowed themselves to be persecuted and martyred for freedom of thought.—Max Nordau.

[CONTINUED ON THIRD PAGE.]

THE ALARM.

"Men Die, But Principles Live."

VOL. I. No. 22.

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

THE STATE OF EUROPE.

THE RED SPECTRE STALKING
THROUGH EUROPE BRINGING
HOPE TO THE PEOPLE.

EUROPE IN INDUSTRIOUSLY SOWING THE
WIND IS PREPARING REAPERS FOR
HARVESTING THE WHIRLWIND.

That Europe is hastening to a crisis some can deny. That the crisis will be a terrible one, all admit. But that the people will in the end be triumphant, some can doubt. The crisis will embrace every European state, from the highest to the lowest, from the icy regions of St. Petersburg to the sunny plains of the South. Throughout Europe the revolution is in the ascendant. And throughout Europe the revolution will yet be triumphant. We read of the progress of art and of science; of the development of trade and of commerce; but we read of the increase of population, but the powers of production increase faster still. We are told of the increasing wealth of the nations, we also hear of the increasing poverty of the wealth-producers. In the midst of untold riches we have the want and misery of the millions. By the side of our universities, we have the ignorance and degradation of the masses. The people everywhere complain, but are answered only by measures of repression.

Look at the ever increasing debts and expenditure of the great military powers, burdens that are increasing from year to year far beyond the means of the nations to bear. In twenty years the military establishments have more than doubled. In all the states of Europe debts and taxation, poverty and discontent go hand in hand together. Take the expenditure of the following powers:

	1865	1885
Austria-Hungary	52,050,000	96,565,000
Prussia	38,500,000	117,043,000
France	51,600,000	113,142,000
Italy	74,500,000	153,065,000
Spain	36,300,000	62,227,000
Total	252,950,000	542,042,000

See too the enormous increase of their debts, which hang like millstones around the necks of the people. No wonder the people are poor. No wonder there is discontent.

	1865	1885
Austria-Hungary	118,000,000	508,300,000
Prussia	82,000,000	302,000,000
France	95,000,000	325,000,000
Italy	221,000,000	960,000,000
Spain	68,000,000	475,600,000
Total	584,000,000	2,881,900,000

And we have the increase of the burdens in all the smaller states of the European continent. And yet people are surprised that trade is depressed. Taking the whole of Europe the imperial expenditure was

	1865	1885
In 1865 390 millions pounds sterling.		
"1885 744 "		
"1887 733 "		

Look at the total of the public debts: in 1852 under 2,000 millions pounds sterling. "1882 4,224 " "1885 4,560 "

See the general result: Cost of military establishments 260 mill. pounds. Interest on public debts 220 " Interest on capital invested in fortifications 50 " Three items only 530 " Add value of the labor of five millions of men under arms, at only one pound per week each Total 780 "

What would that 780,000,000 pounds do? It would give one pound per week to 15 millions 6 hundred thousand families! Why all the industry of the world could not support such a system. All the baronets in the world could not uphold it. All the patience in the world could not endure it. Who can wonder at Nullism in Russia, at Social Demo-

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DYER D. LUM, Editor,
To whom all communications should be addressed.

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FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

Equality of Opportunities for All—Hence, extinction of privilege and restriction, protection and oppression, cherished rights and vested wrongs.

Free Land, Mutual Credit, and Equitable Commerce—Hence, abolition of rent, interest and profit.

Sovereignty of the Individual—Hence, liberty, the cessation of authority, or industrial emancipation and social co-operation.

MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE

PRISON CELL 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1887.

The Alarm has, as you know, over-rung our strong, and clear the dangers that threatened the people. To other hands is now committed that task which was mine in the work and duty as editor of this paper. Though fallen, wounded, perhaps unto death, in the battle for liberty, the standard—the press—which my hands bore aloft in the midst of the struggle is caught up by other hands, and will be again and again, I trust, till the enemies of human progress and liberty are crushed. Our comrade, Dyer D. Lum, is my editorial successor. To most, or many of you, he is well known. His stead-fastness, courage and ability in the great work of labor's economic emancipation is recognized by all. Therefore, give to him in his work your hearty support—he is worthy and able. Farewell. A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1888.

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field battling for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation soliciting support for the publication fund will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Send all donations to the treasurer of The Alarm Club, A. Tewes, 350 Grove Street, Jersey City, N. J.

THE WAR CLOUD.

Storm-clouds are again overshadowing Europe. The different "trusts" known as European states cannot accord. The ideal statesman is he who can best harmonize conflicting interests. Bismarck is a statesman. His whole ambition is to achieve victory for the empire. To think of the people is but dreamy sentimentalism. The people are necessary. But for them no empire could exist; no princely salaries drawn. As the mere fact of being a swine-herd or cow-herd implies swine and cattle, so a statesman implies the herd who are ruled or driven.

The new emperor of Germany, Bismarck's clever pupil, is showing his hand. Whether it is a bob-tail-flush—remains to be seen. He has seen Russia. Germany and Russia are in accord. William and Alexander are Germany and Russia. The herd count only as support—as things to be driven and as source for revenue. The swine and cattle obey, but contribute nothing in enforced taxation. They may be sold and butchered, but they do not buy the knives of their butchers. The human biped does. The delusion of patriotism demands it. The benediction of religion sanctifies it.

So Germany and Russia are in accord. Two men have so decided. As result, France is to be isolated. That nest of new ideas is to be confined. Its nestlings are to be kept within national boundaries; 1889 is drawing near. Another centennial of human aspirations is feared. Authority dreads the red spectre. Its ghastly form, with silent step, breathes hope into the peasant's hut—and strikes terror into the monarch's dream. The peasant and "hand" of all lands, the last-caste to demand emancipation, feel the breath of a new inspiration. The patriot appeals to

the past. But hope, said to spring eternal in the human breast, looks to the future. The zeit-geist of the ages leads, it never follows. While statesmen dicker, it shapes events.

Germany and Russia may bargain to settle Eastern questions; Roumanian and Bulgarian politics may be settled; Turkey, "the sick man of the East," may be placated; royal marriages planned, Austrian demands satisfied, but still the ideas of '89 will cross boundary lines. The red spectre, like the wandering Jew, appears, where least expected. The present cloud, now no larger than a man's hand, is not subject to human control. Even a policy of blood and iron can receive a check.

There is a "tension" between France and Italy. Countries which have common interests are not in accord. Comrades may yet be called by "patriotism" to cut each others' throats.

So be it! Yet over the bloody field the red spectre will direct events. Across boundary lines the ideas of '89 will force their way without paying custom duties. The Jacquerie was a fact and a prophecy. It will again be a fact and a realization. Speed the day! Let the clouds blacken and lower. The red spectre will rule the storm. Hail the social revolution.

DEATH TRAPS.

A fire lately occurred on the Bowery. But in a great city fires are common. In this case, however, twenty-one lives were sacrificed. There still remains some touch of sympathy in civilized human nature, and people are moved. Inquiry is instituted. The daily press "discuss" the incident. A crowded tenement house, filled with Hebrew tailors. Necessity had forced them there to struggle for an existence.

The papers report: "Death trap as it was, it was built in conformity with the law." In a moment the dread cry of "Fire!" breaks out. The rickety structure was soon enveloped in flames. It yielded a good revenue to its owner who complied with the letter of the law. But necessity knows no law. Yet grim necessity compelled human beings to live and work in what is now acknowledged to have been a death-trap. Death-trap as it was, it was valuable property. It contributed materially to its owner's comfort. Monopoly of land gave it a rental value. Monopoly of credit is the lash which drove human beings to enter there with their lives in their hands. They were as powerless to resist the sad necessity as to fight the flames. The one was as imperative as the other.

But the causes are vastly different. We seek to guard against the natural law that fire will burn. Human sympathy—sociality—which artificial regulations cannot wholly obliterate, will still assert itself. But man-made law, created to bolster privilege, to enable one to exploit others, is far different. Monopoly of land and credit, privilege to charge rent and issue money, leaves the toiler helpless. While no one can say fire shall not burn human beings, it does lie in our power to say that as disastrous effects should not be artificially created.

Give us access to land, the source of all production, and freedom to capitalize our own credit, or labor products, and the necessity for living in death-traps will cease.

These two lashes, which drove men, women and children into the fiery trap, and which they are religiously taught to be natural laws, are but the product of human greed. And in the same incident

a striking nature of their malign influence was manifested. An adjoining building had iron shutters on its windows. Several escaped by passing from the burning building through these windows where they could descend in safety. But property was at stake as well as lives. Other people's lives might be sacrificed, but the loss of property meant personal sacrifice of income. Hence the shutters were closed in the faces of the fleeing inmates. Monopoly of credit made money the first consideration. The demonic love of gain which it entails conquers even natural feeling.

The issue of more money, or cheap money, is no solution. The anarchist alone solves the problem in demanding the abolition of the fatal legal restriction which makes money, credit, the medium of exchange, a governmental monopoly to be manipulated for general profit. This is the scourge which fastens poverty upon humanity as a permanent factor, and furnishes fuel for countless death-traps. Abolish the privilege and voluntary co-operation will settle the question of credit and leave the better side of our nature room to assert itself.

POSTHUMOUS LETTERS.

TWO INTERESTING UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM ALBERT R. PARSONS.

COOK CO. BASTILE, CELL No. 29, (Chicago, Sept. 2, 1886.)

My Dear Comrade: We are all of us well and in good spirits. Since the edict of monopoly's vigilance committee sentencing us to death, monopoly's mouth-piece—the capitalist press—has used every art and intrigue to stay and suppress the indignant protest of not alone organized labor in this city, but of citizens generally, as well. But all in vain. The people, en masse, are condemning the outrage perpetrated upon them through the anarchists in the name of "law and order." There was no evidence that I or any of us killed, or had anything to do with the killing, of policemen at the Haymarket. None at all. But it was proven clearly that we were, all of us, anarchists, socialists, communists, knights of labor, unionists. It was proven that three of us were editors of labor papers; that five of us were labor organizers and speakers at working men's mass meetings. They, this class court, jury, law and verdict, have decided that we must be put to death—because, as they say, we are "leaders" of men who denounce and battle against the oppression, slavery, robbery and influences of the monopolists. Of these crimes against the capitalist class they found us guilty beyond any reasonable doubt, and so finding, they have sentenced us.

As to the Haymarket tragedy and our participation, what are the facts? Six of us were not present at the time of the occurrence. My wife, another lady, my two little children, four and six years old, accompanied me to the meeting. Think of it! Oscar Neebe, who is sentenced to fifteen years in the penitentiary, was at home and asleep and knew of the affair only next morning. These facts were undisputed before that jury and court. But what matter? These men, us, are the undeniable enemies of class rule, class domination and exploitation. That was enough. Penalty—death.

Well, let it come. We are ready to meet it like men—like anarchists. If in our death at the hands of the "executioner" "liberty, fraternity, equality" can be made to triumph, then welcome death in such a cause. To die for man, the rights of man, while I do not seek yet I do not shun it. Death for liberty's sake is better than to live in uncomplaining slavery. If we must die, then we can die.

Our attorneys tell us that all is not yet lost; that we will get a new hearing undoubtedly. May be, I hope so. But if the worst comes we are prepared to meet it.

Comrade Lum is to come here to take up THE ALARM. He is the best fitted man in America for that work. How is the old internationalist, Victor Drury? Embrace him for me. Embrace all comrades. All send love. No surrender. Salut et anarchie. A. R. PARSONS.

P. S.—Did you read my "Plea for Anarchy" in the New York Herald of last Monday? It would be good food for the Henry George political reformers, eh? A. R. P.

COOK CO. BASTILE, CELL No. 29, September 3, 1886.

My Dear Comrade: I wrote you yesterday. It seems to me that it would be a good idea to send marked copy of "Plea for Anarchy" in New York Herald of Monday, August 30, to the Anarchist, Commonwealth, and Justice, of London, England. I suggest also that if the Boycotter and Switzer of Paper of New York City published it it would be good propaganda among that element of American workmen who consider anything beneath their notice until it has received consideration, etc., of their capitalist masters. This is their fawning nature, and we (anarchists) must always reckon on it. The fact that it appeared in the Herald is enough for men of this mental mold to consider and respect that which they would otherwise treat with contempt!

Citizens held great mass meeting of protest here last night. Others will follow. Push the work. Work the propaganda. Love to all. Salute. A. R. PARSONS.

OVER and over again THE ALARM has insisted that freedom to co-operate in organizing credit was the great and main fact to be achieved to secure economic emancipation. Credit and confidence are, in reality, convertible terms. I can conceive of a society without money, but not without credit, or confidence. The organization of credit means in social administration voluntary association to facilitate exchange. Where the demand is felt, freedom granted, the supply will, and must needs be, forthcoming. To deny this is to deny freedom. To say, however, that mutual credit associations must take this or that form, or necessarily be based upon our present commercialism, is a deduction not contained in the premise.

To DAMN with faint praise is an old trick. To quote from an article for the purpose of approval is one thing; but to approve for the purpose of damning with malicious innuendoes is a far different thing. For illustration, see last number of Liberty. What have I done that I should be indicted with this undesirable approval? By the way, is not this the fifth or sixth "first and last time" I was to be noticed?

The Brooklyn Central Labor Union have decided that a distinctive labor flag shall not appear in the procession on Labor Day. In other words only the "star-bangled spanner" shall wave above the heads of the dupes who will imagine that they are celebrating something or other. Better come over to THE ALARM picnic and bring your red flags with you.

Only an old woman picking rags! The sight is not a strange one, and thousands pass by in the early morn on their way to work unheeding. Why should they bother their heads over so familiar a scene? The whistle has not yet blown for the day's toil, yet her huge sack is filled. Her aged back bends beneath the heavy load. Her face furrowed and wrinkled by care, defies conjecture as to her age. She looks seventy, but, alas! how often has poverty creased the human face into premature old age. Yet she is aged. There is no mistaking the haggard look, the halting step and the dimness of the eyes.

Her dress reminds one of Joseph's coat of many colors. Piece after piece has been carefully stitched on to cover rents till the whole garment has become a textile mosaic. Young girls passing by to work look and smile. They, so nice and clean, so particular about their appearance, cannot imagine an affinity between them and the rag-picker. Yet she was once young and hopeful. Words of love filled her ears, and her eyes danced merrily with visions of happiness.

As she wearily plods along, who can imagine the sadness of her life? She will soon return home. "Home!" Will stalwart sons and helpful daughters await her return? Will there be a berry of bright-eyed children to climb upon grandma's knees to welcome her coming? Alas! how welcome the thought. Yet watch her. Think of the sons and daughters to whom she has probably given birth and upon whose fair young foreheads she imprinted a mother's loving kiss. Are they now like her, mild strange scenes fighting grim death for a precarious living?

A carriage rolls by from the depot with a happy family returning home. She hurries out of the way to save herself and looks up the way eyes meet. The happy wife and joyous children, manifest no expression of pity. Why should they? The scene is a familiar one, even to the children. Theoretically, they will admit that the chiffoniere is a human being; but practically she might be of a distinct species, so wide-apart are their spheres.

Nor on her face is there a single expression of envy or hatred. The scene is a familiar one. She has become used to the distinction between rich and poor. To her beclouded mind the distinction seems a natural one. Priests have assiduously impressed upon her mind that the good god has willed it so. The all-pitying father reserves his pity for another world, where she hopes to eternally wear a clean gingham apron and sit in a rocking chair.

Peace, peace, beclouded soul! "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly fine." Not forever will aged mothers be forced to rise before dawn to eke out a joyless life that others may reap the benefit. Not forever will wearied limbs kneel at superstition's shrine to express thanks that their miserable lives are still prolonged. Not forever will gaunt misery and plethoric plenty stand face to face without emotion. Not forever will robbery be termed order, sacrilege be deemed religion, nor patience under injustice be called a virtue.

Many of the gay lords and ladies who drove through the streets of Paris in 1789 with contemptuous indifference to the misery around them, lived to ride over the same streets in tumbrils. We are again sowing the wind. When will the harvest be! THE LOITERER.

THE LOITERER'S NOTE-BOOK.

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The whistle has not yet blown for the day's toil, yet her huge sack is filled. Her aged back bends beneath the heavy load. Her face furrowed and wrinkled by care, defies conjecture as to her age. She looks seventy, but, alas! how often has poverty creased the human face into premature old age. Yet she is aged. There is no mistaking the haggard look, the halting step and the dimness of the eyes.

Her dress reminds one of Joseph's coat of many colors. Piece after piece has been carefully stitched on to cover rents till the whole garment has become a textile mosaic. Young girls passing by to work look and smile. They, so nice and clean, so particular about their appearance, cannot imagine an affinity between them and the rag-picker. Yet she was once young and hopeful. Words of love filled her ears, and her eyes danced merrily with visions of happiness.

As she wearily plods along, who can imagine the sadness of her life? She will soon return home. "Home!" Will stalwart sons and helpful daughters await her return? Will there be a berry of bright-eyed children to climb upon grandma's knees to welcome her coming? Alas! how welcome the thought. Yet watch her. Think of the sons and daughters to whom she has probably given birth and upon whose fair young foreheads she imprinted a mother's loving kiss. Are they now like her, mild strange scenes fighting grim death for a precarious living?

A carriage rolls by from the depot with a happy family returning home. She hurries out of the way to save herself and looks up the way eyes meet. The happy wife and joyous children, manifest no expression of pity. Why should they? The scene is a familiar one, even to the children. Theoretically, they will admit that the chiffoniere is a human being; but practically she might be of a distinct species, so wide-apart are their spheres.

Nor on her face is there a single expression of envy or hatred. The scene is a familiar one. She has become used to the distinction between rich and poor. To her beclouded mind the distinction seems a natural one. Priests have assiduously impressed upon her mind that the good god has willed it so. The all-pitying father reserves his pity for another world, where she hopes to eternally wear a clean gingham apron and sit in a rocking chair.

Peace, peace, beclouded soul! "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly fine." Not forever will aged mothers be forced to rise before dawn to eke out a joyless life that others may reap the benefit. Not forever will wearied limbs kneel at superstition's shrine to express thanks that their miserable lives are still prolonged. Not forever will gaunt misery and plethoric plenty stand face to face without emotion. Not forever will robbery be termed order, sacrilege be deemed religion, nor patience under injustice be called a virtue.

Many of the gay lords and ladies who drove through the streets of Paris in 1789 with contemptuous indifference to the misery around them, lived to ride over the same streets in tumbrils. We are again sowing the wind. When will the harvest be! THE LOITERER.

PRIMER OF ANARCHY.

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHISM EXPLAINED TO THE PRIMARY CLASS.

FIRST LESSONS FOR THE STUDENT IN THE NEW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS—WHAT GOVERNMENT IS AND WHY IT SHOULD CEASE.

BY G. C. CLEMENS.

II.

GOVERNMENT AND CRIME.

The fact that self-defense is everywhere regarded as a complete justification, shows that even government is aware life and property would not be safe were no protection allowed but such as the government gives. Besides all this, it is an old doctrine, favored by even Blackstone, that crime diminishes as punishment becomes less severe, and he cites an old English statute the preamble to which declared:

That the state of every king consists more assuredly in the love of the subjects toward their prince, than in the dread of laws made with rigorous pains; and that laws made for the preservation of the commonwealth without great penalties are more often obeyed and kept than laws made with extreme punishments.

I think no one who looks about him with an open mind can assert so absurd a thing as that government prevents crime, or that it protects life and property; for there stand the jails and penitentiaries filled with inmates to deny his assertion, and every newspaper in the land disapproves it every day. Let us now see how men behave when they have no government. History in modern times records several instances where, between the overthrow of an old government and the establishment of a new one, the people have been left for a time in a state of complete anarchy. Let us compare these reigns of anarchy with the familiar condition of affairs while government is in active operation.

In his "Rights of Man," Thomas Paine thus describes what passed under his own observation a hundred years ago in this very land:

For upward of two years from the commencement of the American war, and a longer period in several of the American states, there were no established forms of government. The old government had been abolished, and the country was too much occupied in defense to employ its attention in establishing new governments; yet during this interval, order and harmony were preserved as inviolate as in any country in Europe. There is a natural aptness in man, and more so in society, because it embraces a greater variety of abilities and resources, to accommodate itself to whatever situation it is in. The instant formal government is abolished, society begins to act. A general association takes place, and common interest produces common security.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, the great philosopher of Massachusetts, in a speech delivered on "Affairs in Kansas" in 1855, gave another instance. Said he: "I am glad to see that the terror at disunion and anarchy is disappearing. Massachusetts, in its heroic day, had no government—was an anarchy. Every man stood on his own feet, was his own governor; and there was no breach of peace from Cape Cod to Mount Hooac.

In the city of Paris, after the revolution of 1830, there was a season of anarchy; and a writer thus wrote about it in the "Edinburgh Review" for October of that year:

The conduct of the French people on this occasion was truly above all human praise. Their moderation in victory even exceeded the bravery that gained it. No one act of cruelty stained the glorious laurels which they had won. Even plunder was unknown among the poorest classes of the multitude. A most affecting circumstance, which cannot be told without emotion, is related of these who opened the bankers' goldsmiths' shops. The lowest of the mob were for hours among untold treasures and unwitnessed, not a farthing not a trinket was touched. The same persons were seen, after the fatigues and perils of the day, begging charity that they might have wherewithal to purchase the meal of the evening, and when the purses of the admiring bystanders were pressed upon them, few were who they would accept. No Greek or Roman virtue ever surpassed, ever equaled this!

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

THE OLD STORY.

Just as we predicted, the dynamite cases of the Q. against the B. & O. road are rapidly developing into persecutions, planned and worked up by Pinkerton's thugs. It is an outrage that our courts should be converted into engines for the maintenance of monopoly schemes for the manufacture of public sentiment.—Arbitrator.

THE STATE OF EUROPE.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

sinking lower and lower from year to year.

In a paper read before the statistical society of London by Mr. Charles Booth, a few months ago, on the working population of London, we find it stated that in the East, with a population of one million, the middle classes being less than ten per cent, that the 'loafers' and criminals formed eleven thousand and only.

That there are one hundred thousand men, women and children whose means are insufficient to enable them to live decently, that seventy-five thousand workers are not regularly employed, but who, when at work, earn from 18 to 21 shillings per week. That another 128 thousand, who as a rule are in regular work, but earn only the same rate of wages. And taking the whole of London with its four millions of population, he gives the following summary:

Loafers and criminals, 50 thousand. The very poor, in 300, chronic want 300, With irregular work 250, With regular, but low wages 400, .

The other three millions embrace; all those in regular work with fairly good wages, and all the other classes of society. What a picture this of the richest city in the world, with its princes, priests, and peers, with its bible and missionary societies, and its eighty thousand prostitutes!

Behold then, this Europe at the close of the 19th century. The victim of imperial despotism, with its hundreds of millions of taxation, its thousands of millions of debt, its millions of mercenary cut-throats, its millions of paupers, and its tens of millions of workers in want and misery. In all the states of Europe, the prince and the priest, the throne and the altar, in the name of authority, at war with the people. Behold them, clothed in purple and gold, the great pillars of European civilization. See the imperial despots resting on their thrones of blood, the vice-generals of heaven, and the tyrants of earth, behold them, the protectors of European society, the upholders of law and order, where tyranny rules rampant, where oppression and corruption everywhere prevail, and where the plunder of the people is reduced to a system.

J. SKETCHLEY, Birmingham, England.

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

The feature of the week has been the Times exposures of woman and girl slavery in the clothing factories in this city. Under the flaming headlines, "City Slave Girls," which it has kept standing, the Times has given daily sketches of some of those places where poor girls and women are compelled to earn their bread. Names and locations of these establishments are given, the writer being a lady reporter of the Times, who, in the interests of her employers, donned poverty's rags and daily played the role of working girl. It is fortunate for the cause they seek to further that the lady can wield a trenchant and caustic pen; and that she has pluck enough to show up the brutes who run these factories in their true light.

The Times is also backing up these articles by long and able editorials, showing that whatever the motive may be that prompted the warfare against female slavery, they are very much in earnest about it, and mean to give the whole thing a good airing, at least.

It may not be either wise or just to question the motives of even as capitalistic a sheet as the Times in a movement of this kind. However, it is plain that its managers are shrewd and long-headed enough to see that this bubble of industrial putrescence was just ripe enough to be punctured, and that the breaking of it would redound to their benefit.

The articles are creating a great sensation, of course, and the Times is loaded with compliments from a great many good-hearted but sadly ignorant people. Great surprise and indignation is felt that there are actually young girls just barely entering their teens who are compelled to work in cloak factories for a pittance of \$1.25 a week, and that meat can be so inhuman as to pay but 75 cents a dozen for making shirts. If they had kept their eyes open, and the prejudice out of their hearts, they might have learned all about these and worse evils of factory life long ago.

Scores of letters are written to the Times, and all sorts of remedies are being offered.

But if the temporary experience of a newspaper reporter—in no case extend-

ing over one day in a single place, and frequently not more than two or three hours—in these respectable slave shops can cause such virtuous indignation and shame, what would be thought if all the horrors of years of such experience be made known. There are women, in some cases past the turn of life, who have passed their whole time since childhood amid such scenes as are painted by this intelligent lady.

But the sewing establishments, bad as they are, are nevertheless glimpses of a christian heaven beside some of the places where children and girls are employed. If the readers of the Times are shocked at clothing factory slavery, what would be their feelings could they behold the daily lives of those girls and boys who are employed in the canning factories, the soap works and the glue factories. I doubt very much that the zealous lady reporter of the Times would even attempt to get work in these. Yet it is there that slavery, and worse, exists in all its loathsomeness. These establishments, moreover, are owned by millionaire capitalists and giant corporations, and it is not a safe thing for even a wealthy capitalist to attack with a spasm of virtue to sheet them.

H.

CIVILIZATION IN AFRICA.

NOT WHOLLY INAPPLICABLE TO THIS CONTINENT.

A large strong man, dressed in uniform, and armed to the teeth, knocks the door of a hut on the coast of Africa.

"Who are you, and what do you want, sir?" inquires a voice from the inner apartment.

"In the name of civilization open your door or I'll break it down for you, and fill you full of lead."

"But what do you want here?"

"My name is Christian Civilization. Don't talk like a fool, you black brute; what do you suppose I want here, but to civilize you, and make a reasonable human being out of you, if such a thing is possible."

"What are you going to do?"

"In the first place you must dress yourself like a white man. You go a shame and a disgrace the way you go about. From now on you must wear under-clothing, a pair of pants, vest, coat, plug hat, and a pair of yellow gloves. I will furnish them to you at living rates."

"What shall I do with them?"

"Wear them, of course; you didn't expect to eat them, did you? The first step in civilization is in wearing proper clothes."

"But it is too hot here to wear such garments. I'm not used to them. I'll perish from the heat. Do you want to murder me?"

"Well, if you die, you will have the satisfaction of being a martyr to civilization."

"You are very kind."

"Don't mention it. What do you do for a living, anyhow?"

"When I am hungry I eat a banana. I eat, drink or sleep just as I feel like."

"What horrible barbarity."

"Why so?"

"You must settle down to some occupation, my friend. If you don't I'll have to lock you up as a vagrant."

"If I've got to follow some occupation I think I'll start a coffee house. I've got a good deal of coffee and sugar on hand."

"Oh, you have, have you? Why, you are not such a hopeless case as I thought you were. In the first place you want to pay me fifty dollars."

"What for?"

"An occupation tax, you ignorant heathen. Do you expect to get all the blessings of civilization for nothing?"

"But I haven't got any money."

"That makes no difference. I'll take it out in coffee and sugar. If you don't pay up I'll put you in jail."

"What is jail?"

"Jail is a progressive word. You must be prepared to make some sacrifices for civilization, you know."

"What a great thing civilization is!"

"You cannot possibly realize the benefits, but you will before I get through with you."

The unfortunate native took to the woods, and has not been seen since. — TEXAS SIFTINGS.

ALARM PUBLISHING FUND.
To the treasurer, Dr. Mary H. Aiken, \$1; Pittsburgh Alarm Club, \$10.
To the editor, H. Frey, \$5; F. A. C. Perrine, \$5; South Pittsburgh Alarm Club, \$6.50; M. Franklin, \$2.

PROTECTION AND TARIFF.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

a third of the whole values of property. Colonel Ingersoll allows that the tariff is superfluous for some manufactures; his figure then represents only those which could not stand the difference in wages between this and older countries, so that buildings and machinery would perish. Twenty billions! Is this serious? Does our phenomenal ingenuity in labor-saving inventions, of which the trades so bitterly complain, count for nothing? I cannot then but admire the reverence of capitalist employers for the law against importing contract labor, and which they could so easily get round by advertising abroad, splitting the difference in scale of wages, and furnishing free passage. A trust combine might take charge of this and of distributing the immigrants. The consideration of the American capitalist for American labor, in foregoing this advantage of greater cheapness, proves that national generosity for which Colonel Ingersoll credits them.

In estimating costs, there is local advantage to be considered. Nature rivets mining industries to mines, and the heavier iron wares, steel rails, etc., are thus influenced. Even in cottons it is hard to believe that English factories can distance those of Columbus, Ga., which undersell our Northern in the New York market for the heavier goods. In the lighter, a thin shirt I am wearing costs 5 cents per yard after paying several profits to commerce. Let us distinguish between losses to certain individuals or companies, as working capital changes hands, and the loss of that capital itself; for in the former case, privilege, making way for industrial virtue, would leave gain to economic capacity. There is much room for such in bringing cotton mills to the cotton field. This crop now supports an army of parasite intermediaries who consume but little cotton stuffs, whereas their profits, shared between the grower and the factory, would nearly double the purchasing power of the farmer who would be a large consumer. Whatever loss a change of tariff policy might occasion in some branches, is an objection less to gradual, than to an abrupt change, which could only result from an extreme and improbable reaction; and involve the abandonment of indirect revenue. It may, therefore, be dismissed as a bugbear, with which the liberal orator should not frighten Uncle Sam's superstitious children. Were the sudden loss of tariff privilege to result on the other hand, from the surcease or death of the general government, it is not improbable that similar causes would have occasioned a similar revolution in Europe; thus abolishing that cheapness of production there, against which our tariff protects certain employers at the cost of self-employing producers. I say producers, for these the long run pay all taxes, whoever may be the consumer. EDGEWORTH.

RATIONAL TARIFF TALK.

A THOUGHT OR TWO FOR THE CHUMPS WHO CARRY TORCHES IN POLITICAL PROCESSIONS.

For the past twenty-five years we of this country have been enjoying the benefits of "protection," with what consequences every intelligent working man knows. Two millions of artisans living in enforced idleness, and the rest perfectly satisfied, as attested by innumerable strikes, lockouts and riots. Let us vote for "protection" by all means. Hurrah for "protection!"

In England the people live under the domin

FREDERICK A. C. PERRINE,
Newark, N. J. August 9, 1888.

THE ALARM.

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DYER D. LUM, Editor,
To whom all communications should be addressed:
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FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

Equality of Opportunities for All—Hence, extinction of privilege and restriction, protection and oppression, chartered rights and vested wrongs.
Free Land, Mutual Credit, and Equitable Commerce—Hence, abolition of rent, interest and profit.
Sovereignty of the Individual—Hence, liberty, the cessation of authority, or industrial emancipation and social co-operation.

MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE

PRISON CELL 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1887.
The Alarm has, as you know, dragged out strong and clear, the dangers that threatened the people. To other hands is now committed that task which was mine in the work of this editor of this paper. Though fallen, wounded perhaps unto death in the battle for liberty, the standard—the press—which has banded her aloft in the midst of the struggle is caught up by other hands, and will be again and again, if need be, the crimson banner waving in triumph over the enemies of peace, brotherhood and humanity. Our comrade, Dyer D. Lum, is my editorial successor. To most, or many of you, he is well known. His steady, fearless, courage and ability in the great work of labor's emancipation is recognized by all. Therefore, give to him in his work your hearty support—he is worthy and able. Farewell. A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1888.

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field battling for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation soliciting support for the publication fund will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Send all donations to the treasurer of The Alarm Club, A. Tewes, 350 Grove street, Jersey City, N. J.

THE ALARM TO ITS FRIENDS.

To render THE ALARM self-supporting its list of subscribers must be increased. As the weekly report of the Publication Fund receipts shows many friends have generously contributed a certain amount monthly: Several groups and friends have been very active, to whom I return my sincere thanks. Among my subscribers are doubtless many who are interested mainly from curiosity, but the larger number are in full sympathy; to them I appeal, for this once only, to exert themselves to increase my list of readers. Give THE ALARM a sure standing. Let the truths its founder loved so well continue to ring out to arouse the people. He is dead; the journal he founded, the child of his thought, must live. It was founded to fight the battle of the poor; upon the poor it must rely for support. It will not be smirched with political boodle. Independent and fearless, it fights your battle. To such as recognize this I am confident that I do not appeal in vain.

FOR MY CRITICS.

My first page this week contains two articles in which the position of THE ALARM is directly assailed. I am not aware that the policy of the paper has changed since I assumed direction of these columns. I have not been more outspoken in New York than I was at Chicago. My sympathies there were, as I have stated, with the revolutionary portion of the eight condemned anarchists.

Failing there and obliged to look up an entire new "plant," I succeeded in finding it here. Reduced in size and with a smaller amount

of type I have been compelled to omit some of the economical treatises formerly published and which I should be glad to resume. The editorials breathe the same spirit. Any attack upon THE ALARM must be upon what I myself write, for I hold the columns open to Kelly and Perrine as well as to Charles and Holmes.

My own views having been so often expressed, I need not respond to my critics. I simply refer them and others to the following article on "Revolutions" which appeared in my first number at Chicago, Nov. 5, 1887. It met the approval of my dead comrades, it expressed my views, and to the ideas therein outlined I still adhere. In the words of Arthur Arnold: "I will never oppose a measure because it appears violent or because it seems moderate. I will always oppose a measure which I find false, illogical, dangerous, impracticable, and contrary to the end in view, a certain course is not revolutionary because it is violent; it is revolutionary if it is of a nature to bring about the triumph of the revolution."

REVOLUTIONS.

Force is not necessary to a revolution, nor in its use generally successful. That an appeal has been made to arms is all great revolutionary crises is beyond question. Why so?

Because human nature is a constant factor in all social problems. Because ideas lay behind the growing protest a point was reached where forbearance ceased to be a virtue.

The church sought to hold on to its usurped power over mind when increasing intelligence demanded emancipation. Thought had long been dormant, bound in strong cables fastened to god's throne. Mind awakened, sighed for freedom, and revolted. The cables were parted and in their vibration shook the stability of the throne to which they were attached.

On earth red-handed war had full sway. Countries were desolated, families ravished, slaughtered, exterminated.

Yet progress halted not. God's voice was lost in the din of strife; earth was arrayed against heaven; finite man against the omnipotent fiend the church had enthroned.

Yet from blood-stained fields liberty of mind emerged victorious. The union of church and state remained, but it became a moribund rather than a sanctified alliance; a left-handed marriage that but provoked contempt and mockery.

Was liberty satisfied? Was its work accomplished? Were the swords to be beaten into plowshares?

On the contrary. The guidons of progress were moved forward. A new position was taken. Old enemies in new uniform still confronted man.

Authority, driven from the church, took refuge in the state. Impotent in the one, it displayed virility in the other.

The old cables were again tightened. The keeper of the amulet blessed the holder of the sword and the consecrated king went forth to conquer.

Again the bugles blew and the contest waged. Again the cables parted and king and priest were left to condole with each other.

But man rejoiced! He was free to bind himself with superstition's cables or to cut them. Was liberty satisfied?

Was its work accomplished? Were the swords to be beaten into plowshares?

On the contrary. A vital question arose: Who should possess the plowshares?

But much had been accomplished, though each step of progress was stained with human blood. And while authority remains liberty's garments will not be spotless.

Are not all discussions, all controversies, all sermons which pass beyond the drowsy ears of hearers into print, all "able editors" work, all cabinet deliberations, all parliamentary wrangling essentially economic in nature?

Industrial emancipation! Will it come?

Is history a false guide? Is experience a delusion? Is progress a myth?

Are human aspirations fruitless? Courage, comrades! Bide your time, but continue sowing seed for the harvest.

The morning dawneth after the darkest night.

Driven from the domain of thought, divorced from the throne, authority finds its mission in economics.

It has transformed the political state into an economic one. Forms of government are secondary, forms of profits primary, in state counsels.

The industrial baron craves the protecting arm once sought by ecclesiastical or political knights.

Again protest rises, and again the old cables are tightened.

Have no fear. What priest and king failed to accomplish, the trader cannot enforce. Our wishes, our plans, our rights are unavailing to arrest coming events.

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends; Rough-hew them how we will."

Have patience, though liberty leads to sombre scenes. We may study the line of battle; not to us to direct it. We may perform a soldier's duty in the ranks; but liberty alone commandeth. The egoist may arrogate to himself omniscience, but his voice is unheard.

The fields are whitening for the harvest.

Wait!

QUEEN VICTORIA'S CATS.

Victoria of England, the relic of her late lamented lackey, John Brown, lives in the hearts of her subjects. Among the many denizens of England none will hold her name in greater reverence than the cats. Fools may hurrah ignorantly, but cats will mew intelligently.

It seems that Victoria's tender heart has been touched by a tale of distress. The cats in the fashionable club-houses and city palaces grow fat while society is in town, but lean and gaunt when the followers of fashion depart for the country. Should this be? Should timid Grimalpink, who eats the daintiest food, be allowed to suffer; should not those against whose legs she rubs, or on whose laps she so gratefully purrs, remember her in her hour of need? Perish the thought that cats should suffer.

Members of the Animals' Institute have recognized the gravity of the situation. An appeal has been made to the queen. Her heart was touched. So, upon the recent visit of the court to Osborne, orders were given to provide baskets for the numerous cats which keep meat on their ribs upon food which otherwise would be thrown away. She said it, and it was done.

But Windsor cats, through privileged to gaze upon a queen, are not the sole beneficiaries. They set the fashion for aristocratic catdom. The cable reporter says: "This has become fashionable. Society newspapers solemnly inform us that pretty decorated baskets are

in great demand, and the happy beasts may be seen by dozens at the railway stations going to the mountain or the seaside just like anybody else."

I congratulate the toilers of England. Loyal above all other peoples, they should rejoice over this instance of her royal majesty's tender heartedness. They may suffer now with more complaisance. They may lack bread, but they have the satisfaction of knowing that cats of high degree fatten on dainties. They will now hasten to pay taxes, as they virtually do, with increased pleasure, never mind hunger, loss of work, starving children, fading wives, increasing destitution—the cats are protected.

Hurrah for Protection! "God save the queen!"

THE A. R. PARSONS' Debating Group meet every Wednesday evening. See advertisement. The next meeting of THE ALARM Publishing Club will be held Thursday evening, August 23rd.

Don't forget THE ALARM picnic on Labor Day. Bring your wife or sweetheart and have a good time.

CHICAGO respectability is surprised that anarchy is not dead. Well, I should smile!

OUR CHICAGO LETTER

THE SOCIALISTIC PICNIC AT SHEFFIELD A GREAT SUCCESS.

"It is one of our days again." With this exclamation I was awakened by my wife last Sunday morning. It was indeed a genuine anarchist's day; one of those bright cool days so rare in the month of August, but which, singularly enough, always come on the very day of the annual anarchist picnic. It has been remarked by many that for the past five years our excursions to Sheffield have been always blessed by the most splendid weather: truly a good sign of the favor of the gods.

The picnic to Sheffield, arranged by the Pioneer Aid and Support Association for the benefit of the Monument Fund was an unqualified success. Three trains, comprising thirty-nine cars, every one of which was uncomfortably crowded, bore the happy excursionists to this popular resort, and the woods were shaded with twilight when the last train started on its homeward run. To say that everybody enjoyed themselves is an expression almost too mild. Nothing occurred to mar the enjoyment; even those parasitic hangers-on of every excursion, the "chuck-a-luck" and "shell" men were absent. They have probably learned by this time that there is more danger than profit in attending a socialistic picnic. Many strangers were out—their first venture at one of our demonstrations. Some had feared to go because they had relied upon the statements of the capitalist press that we were a very tough crowd, and these people learned with surprise that our excursions were noted for their peaceful and harmonious character. Even the capitalist papers gave us credit for "hosting" of this. Our inquiring friends are just beginning to learn that the mere fact of being a socialist and an anarchist is a sufficient guarantee of good order at our gatherings. A person not only has to be more intelligent to be a socialist, but he must also possess a good heart, quick sympathies, and sound judgment, and people possessing these attributes will not seek to wrong each other.

The woods and the lake were delightful. To one shut up in a close office six days in the week it was a taste of freedom. Some of the comrades wandered away in search of wild flowers; others spent their time in the vicinity of the grounds. There was singing by the various German singing societies, boating and sailing on the lake, and dancing on the platform. During the whole day the beach was lined with bathers, young and old. Sometimes a whole family would start off a little way down the shore and while the "kids" stripped off for a plunge in the water the parents would sit on the sand near by. No one was disturbed by the close proximity of some of the bathers, and the sight of "nature unadorned" did not bring even a blush to the cheeks of

the young ladies who promenaded on the shore of the lake. And why should it? A pure mind is never offended by exposure of the human form. It is only the puritan, pampered slaves of fashion and freedom, that are horrified by such exposure. They are kind of women who would faint if seen by masculine eyes in night robe, yet at the seashore or in the ball room expose enough of their own nakedness to arouse the passions of even a hermit. Thank good fortune women of radical tendencies are not of this class.

About 4 o'clock the speaking commenced. Short addresses were made by Dr. Schmidt, Albert Curran, and Paul Grottkau in German, and by Chas. W. Stevenson in English. The latter is one of the new men, a member of L. A. No. 1, and a very promising speaker. He said that we had gathered together to do homage to the memory of some of the world's greatest heroes. We must go on and continue the work they have so nobly begun, and we will erect another monument, whose foundation shall be liberty and the four pillars freedom, sobriety, fraternity and equality.

At the close of the regular programme loud and frequent calls were made for Mrs. Parsons from the great crowd assembled. Finally yielding to the entreaties of friends she ascended the platform; her appearance being the signal for an enthusiastic applause. Those who expected a fiery speech were probably disappointed, her manner being quiet, and with a shade of sadness now habitual to her. She said she looked upon the calls made for her as an honor to the name she bore. Referring to the occasion which had brought them there she said "this is but the beginning of the spirit that is abroad throughout the world. It will never die, and there will never be peace until the scarlet banner of liberty, equality, and fraternity shall wave above the capitalist ramparts of the world, and shall announce the universal emancipation of man."

The Times' exposures are still continued daily. During the week some of our large retail stores have been overhauled. How the "shop-shops" where work is carried on in damp cellars, and in foul smelling disease breeding tenements, are being visited, and the Times declares the work but just begun. While nothing radical may result from these investigations, yet a little light thrown upon the general subject of wage slavery can do no harm. Already people are beginning to suggest remedies for the evil, and we shall certainly be remiss in our duty if we are not heard from.

The capitalist press has found a new sensation which they are using to heap odium upon us. It is the socialistic Sunday schools which have been started in various parts of the city. A reporter for the Herald visited one of these last Sunday and, under the starting caption, "how to throw bombs," narrated what he saw and heard. After reading such a hair lifting head-line one would expect to learn of schools where children are taught to make and hurl bombs, but the dynamite dispensed at the school was, it seems, of quite a different kind. The children were taught scientific theories as to the formation of the earth, and the presence of animal life thereon, and were told that the lot of labor had always been to receive crusts, bones and water, while the lords of the earth revelled in fine meats and rich wines. A dangerous doctrine, no doubt, but we can all say heartily, success to such good work.

The capitalist press, however, naturally look at the matter from a different standpoint. They regard these schools as extremely dangerous institutions, and are incessant in their demands to have them suppressed. They declare that parents who teach their children to learn such teachings are unfit guardians of the young, and actually suggest the forcible separation of socialized parents from their children.

We have endured much for the sake of furthering the peaceful propagation of our principles; but it remains to be seen whether we will tamely submit to having our children torn from us by the whelps of capitalism. We know our power, and it pushed to extremities will not be slow to use it.

PRIMER OF ANARCHY.

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHISM EXPLAINED TO THE PRIMARY CLASS.

FIRST LESSONS FOR THE STUDENT IN THE NEW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS—WHAT GOVERNMENT IS AND WHY IT SHOULD CEASE.

BY G. C. CLEMENS.

GOVERNMENT AND CRIME.

(Continued.)

After the flight of King Louis Philippe in March, 1848, Paris was again left without a regular government; and in Martin's "History of France" (vol. iii. p. 143) the condition of things is thus described:

All authority, all police had vanished. The government was aided in its task by a throng of willing assistants, the best of whom were the people themselves, who would not permit pillage or personal violence. Two thieves caught in the act were shot, and the motto: "Death to thieves" was the watchword even at the last moment. The barricades remained, lest the ex-government should make some fresh attempt; all public buildings were protected by armed crowds, men in rage and tatters, guarding the bank and its treasures. Not an excess was committed, nor a threat uttered, the popular feeling was fine; the danger lay in imagination.

It is worthy of mention here that crime had been on the decrease since the 24th of February. The same fact is noticeable in Paris during the calamities of 1870. Political and social passions and preoccupations diverted men from selfish passions which lead to crime. (pp. 151, 152.)

Again in 1871, Napoleon III. fled from France, and until the commune was again established Paris was again in a state of anarchy; and again crime disappeared. A writer in the "Edinburgh Review" for October, 1871, thus describes how people behave without a government to watch them:

As for the capital itself, it was rescued from the state of lethargic abandonment into which it fell after capitulation by the entry of the Prussians on the 1st of March, and from that time up to the outbreak of the actual revolution, on the 18th, it remained simmering in a state of chaotic anarchy; to put an end to which the government took no important step whatever. Yet, in its outward appearance, in the early days of March, the city bore no sign of the wild spirit which was at work within. Although there was not a shadow of a policeman to be seen anywhere, the streets were crowded with people, and ladies and children walked everywhere unmolested, and there was no report of violence or crime. The shops were beginning to reopen with confidence, though in every street closed shutters in abundance announced a tale of ruin by the siege.

Up to the time at which the streets of Paris became the scene of actual warfare, the order and general respect for life and property was remarkable, considering that Paris was completely at the mercy of the populace.

The Rev. William Ellery Channing, of Boston, in an introduction to his works in 1841, bears this testimony:

Liberty would prove the best peace-officer. The social order of New England, without a soldier and almost without a police, bears loud witness to this truth.

After this review, showing by an appeal to every man's own observation, that government does not protect life nor property, nor prevent the commission of crime; and by an appeal to actual instances, that crime ends and life and property become secure whenever anarchy begins, I think I may conclude in the words of Emerson that:

The private citizen might be reasonable and a good neighbor, without a hint of a jail or a confiscation. * * * Thousands of human beings may exercise toward each other the grandest and simplest sentiments, as well as a knot of fiends, or a pair of lovers.

III.

GOVERNMENT IS SLAVERY.

Equally is your birthright. When I gaze on the proud palaces, and behold one man in the blood-purged robes of royalty. Feasting at ease, amid millions; And then turn me to the lot of poverty. And see the wretched laborer, with toil, Divide his scanty morsel with the infants, I sickened, and indignant at the sight, I blushed for the patience of my father."

Southey's "Wat Tyler."

When the church is social worth. When the state-houses are full of men, Then the perfect state is come. The republican at home. —Emerson.

"Nothing," says Hume, "appears more surprising to those who consider human affairs with a philosophical eye, than the easiness with which the many are governed by the few," and the reason why the many suffer themselves to

be so easily governed by the few is to be found in the remark of the same writer that "obedience or subjection becomes so familiar, that most men never make any enquiry about its origin or cause, more than about the principle of gravity, resistance, or the most universal laws of nature;" in short, the vast majority of people never think. When you reflect upon it, why should some men rule over others? make laws for others to obey? send at will some to the dungeon, others to the gallows?

More pertinent still, why should the many obey the laws made for them by the few? Why should they suffer any to be imprisoned or to be hanged? Why should the multitude be governed at all? Why, upon some pretext they do not even understand, should the farmers and laborers of one country be forced to meet in bloody butchery of war the farmers and laborers of another country—there, the poor of the two nations to make widows of each other's wives, peniless orphans of each other's children? Is government so beneficial an institution that all its oppressions and all the injuries it inflicts must be borne out of reverence and love for the sacred thing? No; long ago it was agreed to bestow great evil, that if not absolutely necessary it ought not to be endured.

"Society," wrote Paine, "in every state is a blessing, but government, even in the best state, is but a necessary evil. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built upon the ruins of the bowers of paradise;" and William Ellery Channing, the celebrated Boston preacher, said of government that it "has up to this time been the great wrong-doer. Its crimes throw those of private men into the shade. Its murders reduce to insignificance those of the bandits, pirates, highwaymen, assassins, against whom it undertakes to protect society."

It has been in every age in every land the bitterest and deadliest foe of liberty. Every man, in all the ages, who has sought to make his people nobler; every one who has first uttered a great thought that was destined to elevate mankind; every man who has dared to be sincere amidst the hypocrisy of his age;—has been persecuted by his government.

For uttering a needed truth, government killed Socrates by poison; for daring to teach the equality and the brotherhood of men, government nailed Jesus Christ to the cross; for daring to assert their right to breathe the free air of heaven, government slew the heroic Spartacus and filled twelve miles of roadsides with the crucified bodies of the fugitive slaves, who were his followers. The nameless martyrs of Europe murdered by government through the dark ages, almost equal the living population of the Continent. Government sent Galileo to a dungeon and threatened him with death for asserting the earth revolved on its axis; it sentenced Luther to die for protesting that every man had a right to read the bible for himself, and that the pope was but a man; it murdered Russell and Algernon Sidney for desiring the people to have the right of choosing their own kings; drove Rousseau into exile for asserting and proving that all men are by nature equal; hanged starving peasants on a gallows a hundred and fifty feet high for complaining to Louis XVI. that they were starving to death; it fanned in the common lands of England, driving the people off to make way for sheep; confiscated the lands of the monasteries and made others homeless; and then imprisoned by the thousands and hanged by the score the "sturdy vagrants" it had made by leaving them no place to live.

Men have waxed eloquent over the brutal persecutions carried on by the church; but they were not carried on by the church; the tortures of the inquisition were the fiendish work of the government of Spain; every fugit who ever burned around a heretic's agonized body was lighted by government. For a hundred years the horrors of the French Revolution have been depicted as an awful warning of what the people unrestrained will do; but these butcheries were not done by the people; they were the diabolical work of the government of Robespierre. Every man, woman or child ever burned as a witch was burned by government; and it burned every hole that ever perforated a quaker's tongue. Government was the only dread of the fugitive slave; it stood at the auction block and robbed the husband of the power of manly resistance when wife and child were torn from him forever; it palsied every arm while the bare backs of tender women were torn to shreds by the slave overseer's

merciless lash; it murders a few laborers every year for daring to clamor of injustice too loud; the doors of its prisons grate upon their harsh and hopeless hinges to shut in from sun and home, and joy to the heralds of freedom and justice to the poor.

For teaching that the producers of food and raiment ought not to be the only hungry and unclothed; that the builders of the proud mansions and palaces of the cities ought not themselves to be alone the homeless; that were the "owners" of this world but to be just, every family might have a home; there would be food, and raiment, and books, and pleasures, and joy for all, and none need toil like a galley slave; for teaching that all have an equal right to live upon the earth and to enjoy the means of living it gives, three men were last year shut up in prison, and five were murdered by government in a single American state; government seized the wife and children of one of the men doomed by it to die, denied them a parting look, a parting kiss, and locked them in prison in the very agony of their grief, while whispering to the victim of the gallows the diabolical lie that neither wife nor babies had cared enough to seek to see him and this but a few months ago. Government first hung John Brown and then made him its saint. At the behest of its favorites, government drives the poor from the unused lots of the cities and herds them in tenement houses to die from poisoned air; within a stone's throw of trains loaded with coal, it forces poverty to freeze to death; it compels the toilers of the western states to starve unremunerated, while the food their soil has raised is carried by them to feed the richer people of other lands.

BOYCOTT COWPERTHWAIT.

The employees engaged in the furniture trade again remind the wage workers of the existence of a firm in New York and Brooklyn, which refuses, under all circumstances, to recognize their rights; this firm is B. M. Cowperthwait & Co., in Park Row, New York City, and in Brooklyn at the corner of Gallatin Place and Fulton street. During May of last year several employees were discharged, the cry being raised that they were agitators in the cause of labor, and their names were put on the "black list" of all dealers in furniture in the United States by the vindictiveness of Cowperthwait & Co. Some of these discharged men were driven by hunger and poverty to desperation. The boycott against this firm is being urged by those who were "black-listed," and last week thousands after thousands of circulars explaining the boycott were circulated to the public, with the endorsement of the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn and D. A. 49. With these facts, and with the endorsements of such unions, they cannot fail to have the assistance of all true friends of labor.

THE TWO-FOOTED WORKERS.

A man willing to work and unable to find work, is, perhaps, the saddest sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun. That he might be put on a level with the four-footed workers of the planet which is his! There is not a horse willing to work but can find his food and shelter in requital; a thing this two-footed worker has to seek for, to solicit occasionally in vain. And yet it is currently reported that an immortal soul within him—Carlyle.

GREAT SCOTT! ANOTHER QUAKER?

Dyer D. Lum, who had second place on the ticket when Wendell Phillips ran for governor of Massachusetts, is now editing an anarchist journal in New York called THE ALARM. The paper was formerly published in Chicago by Albert R. Parsons, one of the anarchists hanged by that city. Mr. Lum is now under the surveillance of the police, who suspect he may have been connected with Chicago's latest dynamite scare. We do not believe Mr. Lum knew anything about it. We should pick him out as the least bloodthirsty man in a large congregation of Quakers.—Freethought.

ALARM PUBLISHING FUND.

To the treasurer: A. Lawson, \$2; C. Schuler, \$5; Haydon, \$0.25; Liebermann, \$0.10; Pommer, \$0.50; Metzkow, \$0.25; J. Hyman, \$0.20; J. W. Allen, \$2; G. Kitter, \$0.25; Dr. Mary H. Kirk, \$2; Total \$11.55.
To the editor: L. Dadovitch, \$1; J. Frick, \$1; Gebel, \$6; Chicago Alarm Club, per H. \$10; C. F. Heydon, \$0.25; L. Koloseus, \$0.50; Goughmar, \$1; Total 19.75.

MR. KELLY'S REJOINER.

(CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.)

To follow Mr. Charles through all his contradictory statements would require too great space—this letter has already grown—but a few more points must be noted. In one column he tells us the people have no chance to understand economic phenomena, and, in another that they are organizing to overthrow their oppressors, not individuals but a class, a work which implies knowledge of economic principles. Then again, after once more informing us that the people are ignorant, he tells us that force is to be used by the people against the exploiters as a class, again implying that the people have an understanding of the class struggle. Why, if the class that consists of nine-tenths of the people had an understanding of its position, it should need force to right itself. Mr. Charles nowhere thinks it worth while to explain. The ruling classes very rarely rob directly through force, they rob by means of the existing industrial system which is so arranged that it throws wealth into their hands without an effort on their part. Now this system exists through the consent of the exploited nine-tenths, and could not exist for a single day without their consent. No doubt the nine-tenths object to being sheared so close, object, in fact, individually to being sheared at all, but do not seek the destruction of the shearing process. If they did, they would be socialists, which, alas! they are not.

And now a few words to your sole address. Do you consider it fair discussion to insinuate, as you do in the article headed "Peace" in the last issue, that the dispute turns on whether we should allow the present to exist or use force to overthrow it, when you know full well that the question is as to the best means of overthrowing it? Events, you tell us, are the true schoolmasters. Such a profoundly philosophical remark should be accompanied by its mate that phenomena are the only appearances. As everything that occurs is an event, it is evident that events are not only the true but the sole schoolmaster; are we perhaps to understand that in the new language you are introducing only the killing of a capitalist is an event? And what are we to make of this? "Ideas even, sooner or later, find expression through muscles. Stop the idea, emasculate the brain, if you would confine progress to peaceful lines." Are we then to understand that when the social revolution for which we strive is accomplished that thought will cease? Are we to believe that violence is eternal? One of these things you mean or you mean nothing. And then too, the question arises through whose muscles are the ideas to find expression? Is the outcome of all our agitation to be that a new aristocracy of "prophets" is to be found, to whose prophecies the "muscles" of other men are to give expression?

At one moment you tell us that the individual counts for nothing, the consideration of what is best is of no avail; and, in the next you give us to understand that John Brown, single handed, provoked the civil war and emancipated the slaves. John Brown is certainly a most unfortunate text for a "prophet." He did the work he saw before him, and neither talked of events or prophesied in a newspaper. To take refuge in prophecy is an unworthy evasion. Either you believe that violence will settle the social question or you do not. If you do, you have more to do than prophesying; if not, violence is an accident with which you have no more to do than with political action, and this latter you do not find it worth while to predict. I have never disputed that violence will occur; it is part of the outcome of existing institutions, and is one of the reasons for wishing them altered. In other words the use of violence, instead of being a means to the revolution, merely shows that the revolution is not accomplished. As Victor Hugo said, it is the revolution or the Jaquerie.

I can not close without expressing my surprise that Mr. Holmes should try to take part in this controversy. It certainly never occurred to me that he could accomplish his ends without violence. On the contrary that is the idea that I have been trying to impress upon him since I first ran across him. Were I a communist, I too, would favor violence.

JOHN F. KELLY.
August 5th, 1888.

FREE COURAGE.

"Any coward can fight a battle when he's sure of winning; but give me the man that has pluck to fight when he's sure of losing."—George Elliot.

ANARCHISM IN NORWAY.

THE LAND OF THE MIDNIGHT SUN RESPONDS TO THE NEW INSPIRATION.

My dear Comrade—I am very much obliged to you for THE ALARM, which I have received every week. Here, in the far North—in the land of the midnight sun—Anarchism has commenced to grow, and it will soon be a large tree with branches over the whole country.

It is only one year since Prince Kropotkin's articles on this subject were translated in the Norwegian tongue, and now we have a great many anarchists. But they are not assembled yet as a union, nor does anybody know how many there are, but still they are there.—Men don't count—thoughts do.

But in the several newspapers there have been written articles on anarchism. Pierre Kropotkin is the great authority from which everybody draw their thoughts. I have translated two of his articles from the "Nineteenth Century," and besides that I have translated several articles from our martyrs, our dear brother A. R. Parsons' book "Anarchism," and a good many of the articles in THE ALARM.

In "Social-Demokraten," one of the few socialistic papers in Norway, I have written several articles myself on the same subject, and one of the greatest authors in Norway, Mr. Arne Garborg has also written about it in his paper "Fedraheimen." One of the greatest poets in Europe, Henrik Ibsen (a Norwegian) has said to the nations that "the state is the excretion of society," and "if the people would forward the revolution he would throw the bomb."

I am sure that in a few years the anarchists will be an influential party in Norway. It will go very slow at first, but when the people commence to know what anarchism is, it is surely will take the whole country in a very short time.

Anarchism will in a near future be the next form of government or rather, of social administration to speak more correctly. It is the greatest reform that ever arose in a human brain. And we, poor human beings, we cannot see that society—not the state—can exist in any more perfect form. Anarchism is liberty—individual liberty!

Down with the state! down with the governments! Thrill the law! Greeting.

TO WOMEN OF AMERICA.

PRINCE KROPOTKIN'S LETTER
TO THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL
COUNCIL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

"IT IS STILL THE WOMAN WHO BENDS
LOWEST BENEATH THE INIQUITIES
THAT WEIGH UPON MANKIND."

Women of America: It is with profound sympathy that your labors have been followed by my compatriots, the women of Russia. At the two extremities of the civilized world the problem that presents itself is one and the same, to abolish the privileges that have been created for the benefit of one half of humanity to the detriment of the other half.

Under a despotic government which considers the ignorance of its subjects as the best guarantee of its own supremacy and hastens to crush freedom of thought under whatever form it shows itself, the Russian women have nevertheless succeeded by their persevering efforts in constructing for their sex a whole vast system of instruction. For the institutes of old times (a sort of convents, they have substituted 430 lycées, which at this moment contain 91,000 pupils. Under the title of lectures on the art of teaching they have created for themselves against the wishes of the government, which found itself forced to yield, a course of secondary education, preparatory to the studies of the universities. And under the modest titles of lectures for the "Higher Education of Women" they have created four universities, which were giving instruction absolutely equal to that of the best German and French universities to eighteen hundred students when the government ordered their abolition.

They have done more. By taking an active and devoted part in the great movement for the emancipation of the people which has been taking place during the last twenty-five years in Russia, they have conquered their rights as citizens. It was by working to liberate the Russian people that they have prepared the way for their liberation.

They have shared all the hardships of the struggle, all the pain of the persecuted. In prison, in exile, at the mines, dragging their chains beside their brothers, they have known how to inspire them with their nerve courage, and they have pleaded their rights to be recognized as citizens by mounting the scaffold, like Sophia Perovskaya, with calm front and lofty bearing, uniting in her last words the names of her beloved mother and the Russian peasant for whose liberty she had lived.

If it were not for the despotic government, which at this moment is harassing Russia by its furious pursuit of the very faintest mark of sympathy toward every flight of emancipating thought, Russian women would surely be amongst you today taking part in your labors and exchanging with you their ideas, their experience, their confidence for the future?

But it is not only as a Russian, a witness for the noble struggle of the women of Russia for liberty, that I permit myself to address you.

Women of America, in your country, as in all civilized lands, you have the supreme happiness to live at an epoch which history will certainly characterize as the epoch of the awakening of the masses; the epoch of the bold criticism of all the institutions bequeathed to us—children of the nineteenth century—by the centuries of barbarism and of war; the epoch where the march of humanity toward equality and liberty is leading us to fraternity!

Living for more than ten years in the very midst of the European workmen and having the opportunity to see, to feel this enormous intellectual movement that is now taking place amongst the masses; seeing day by day the birth of the great ideas of freedom, and of fraternity in the bosom of those whom the rich and powerful have condemned to remain forever beneath their domination. Noting day by day for ten years the dawn of ideas, of rooted convictions, and of earnest devotion in the heart of the workers, and drawing inspiration myself from this glorious awakening, I long to tell you at this moment it is all over with the system which condemns the masses of mankind to poverty, to overwork, to privation of all those pleasures of knowledge and of art that alone are capable of rendering human life a source of happiness, and all this to obtain leisure, wealth, luxury, for a mere handful amongst us.

The system is condemned, and I affirm, in full knowledge of the surroundings in which my life is framed, that the century will not end before the toiling masses make a supreme effort to transform from beginning to end a state of things which is unjust, degrading, hurtful to humanity, and a bar upon progress.

You will see this magnificent struggle of the workers for their liberation taking a more and more important and serious character. But on which side will you be found? What position will you take in the strife?

Will you be on the side of the written law without asking yourselves if this law be not contrary to justice? Or else will you be with those who struggle against the law—that miserable legacy of an obscure past—but for justice, for the equality of all human beings without distinction of class, race, or sex, the only solid base of true fraternity?

It is your duty to take a place in the struggle. You can no longer remain mere spectators if you desire it. The strife forces itself upon your notice by the gallows of Chicago, the fusillades of Paris, the exterminations of rebels in Ireland. But to take a part in the struggle you must know its cause; you must make clear to yourselves the meaning of this contest which is being carried on everywhere under the name of socialism, beneath the shadow of the star-spangled banner

of the United States, as beneath the shade of the imperial eagle of Russia, in the German monarchy as in the French republic, in the new world as in the old.

Under penalty of one day discovering that you are amidst the oppressors acting against the oppressed, you must find for yourselves the true significance of this strife between the rich and the poor, between workmen and capitalists, between the creators of social wealth and those who take possession of it.

And when, after having gazed into the abyss of the suffering and iniquities of our existing society, you return home and see there your ornaments, the luxury of your house; that luxury and those ornaments will disgust you, as they disgusted Sophia Perovskaya and so many others. You will ask yourself, "Whence comes this fortune? My father," you will say, "worked." But that girl who, with her weak frame shivering beneath a thread-bare gown, hurries each morning to the factory, entreating to be killed, her father worked too! "My husband writes."

The rich will hate you for this. They will pursue you with foolish abuse, with base insults. No matter! They did the same to the first abolitionists. Are they not venerated today? Women of America, I personally belong to that great school of socialism—anarchism—which seeks to free the human beings from the yoke of authority, at the same time as from the yoke of capital.

After having been with Mrs. Beecher Stowe, your venerable president, Mrs. Cady Stanton, in the vanguard of the good cause, will you ever admit the possibility of finding yourselves with the modern enslavers hunting to death the revolted slaves of modern times.

Away with the idea. During your congress you will discuss the political rights of women, and you will find yourselves face to face with this question: man or woman, has the poor the same political rights as the rich? Girl or boy, has the poor the leisure to instruct himself, when from the age of thirteen or fifteen years he or she must exhaust an ill-nursed body in the mill, the mine or the factory! Stealing education in the hours of necessary repose, can the poor take the part in the affairs of his or her nation, or city, that can be taken by professional politicians, who enjoy leisure because they live upon the produce of the labor of others.

You are about to study the judicial rights of women. You will censure such an unjust law as that which permits the man to seize upon the woman's fortune. But what judicial rights does the woman enjoy who has nothing but the shawl upon her shoulders, and who all her life has toiled to produce the fortune and provide the demands for the other; for the woman who never went near a machine, never lifted a spade.

You are about to speak of that loathsome fact—prostitution. And you will be forced to ask yourselves why has

bread been wanting for this child who sells herself, when markets are overflowing with corn? Why has she, who is bred to work, never been able to buy herself those dresses and ornaments which the idler's wife displays in the street?

You are about to speak of the industrial condition of women, of their wages inferior to the wages of men. And you will be brought to ask yourselves why a woman accepts starvation wages at all? Is it not because all that she requires to produce new wealth—the soil, the instruments of labor, machinery—all that would enable her merely to live, have been appropriated by the minority?

Good! But the husband of that other woman writes as much or more. Why has she to struggle with poverty in bringing up her children? And why then am I living in opulence? What are my rights to this opulence?

"Is not my wealth woven of the poverty of my sisters?"

But if this question confronts you, you will have to do as Sophia Perovskaya did. Flee this luxury; join the ranks of the workers; bring them your enlightenment; aid them in their struggle for freedom.

But I will not even attempt to convert you to my principles. Seek the truth for yourselves; judge for yourselves the divers schools of socialism, and perforce you will be brought to join the ranks of militant socialists.

The great mass of mankind groans beneath the privilege bequeathed to it by history. But here, as elsewhere, the grand martyr, the one who suffers the most from this privilege, the one who bears the heaviest burden, is still, and is always, the woman.

Rich or poor, maiden or mother, it is still the woman who bends lowest beneath the iniquities that weigh upon mankind.

Work for her liberation. All our wishes, all our sympathies go with you. But you can obtain the complete liberation of woman only by working for the liberation of humanity.

PRINCE PIERRE KROPOTKIN.
March, 1888.

FORCE INHERENT IN LAW.

Force is an absolutely essential element of all law whatever. Indeed, law is nothing but regulated force subjected to particular conditions and directed toward particular objects. The abolition of the law of force cannot therefore mean the withdrawal of the element of force from law, for that would be the destruction of law altogether.—J. F. Stephen.

THE VALUE SHARP.

The "value-sharp" genius is one who by statute law is empowered to make the social force tributary to his own use and benefit—a parasite!—A. R. Parsons.

KINGDOM OF MAN.

Those who can read the signs of the times read in them that the kingdom of man is at hand.—N. Kingston Clifford.

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chists that has yet been put in print. Chicago
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In his preface Mr. Parsons says—
"Cell 24, Cook Co. Jail, Chicago, Ill., Octo-
ber 27, 1887.—This book has been written
and compiled in response to the public
demand for information upon the subjects
dealt with. The circumstances under which
the work has been performed, in my dan-
ger, beneath the shadow of the gallows,
and the importance of the subjects re-
sented therein. If the public shall be in-
terested in the subject, and assisted in reach-
ing a clearer understanding of the great ques-
tion of Capital and Labor by a perusal of
these pages, I shall deem that a sufficient
reward for my humble effort to supply it."

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Social Problems
OF
TO-DAY,

OR THE
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IN ITS

Economic Aspect.

A study of co-operation and arbitra-
tion in Mormonism, from the stand-
point of a wage-worker. By Dyer D.
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"THE ALARM" CLUB

HAS ARRANGED FOR A GRAND

EXCURSION,

IN AID OF THE ALARM

PUBLISHING FUND,

MONDAY, SEPT. 3, 1888.

LABOR DAY

STATEN ISLAND.

Brown's Pavilion, South Beach

ADMISSION FREE!

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DEBATING GROUP

meets every Wednesday evening, 8 p. m., at

Arbeiter Lyra Hall, No. 642 5th street.

Subject of Discussion:

CLEMENS' PRIMER OF ANARCHY.

All are invited.

THE ALARM.

VOL. I. No. 24.

"Men Die, But Principles Live."

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

A. R. PARSONS' RETREAT.

REMINISCENCES BROUGHT TO MIND
BY A VISIT TO THE LOVELY
HILLS OF WAUKESHA.

INTERESTING REFLECTIONS WRITTEN A-
MID SCENES WHERE MR. PARSONS PASSED
HIS LAST DAYS OF FREEDOM.

Dear ALARM: Waukesha, with its
lovely hills and fountains must forever
be endeared to all of us who cherish the
memory of our martyrs; here, one of
them rested in safe seclusion while the
whole machinery of authority and class
was put in motion to secure his blood;
here he worked, watched and waited,
ready at the right moment to present
himself among his comrades for a sup-
posed fair trial; here his last free days
were passed; and one must look on the
winding path o'er shadowed with trees,
on the green hillsides and cozy nooks,
with deepened interest knowing that
here and here his feet pressed the
earth, and there his eyes last looked
upon a fair beautiful world. I am this
moment writing upon his favorite seat,
half way up Spence's hill with the valley
and village, and distant slopes spread
in a beautiful panorama before me. Be-
low, sparkles the Acme Spring where
every morning he came to taste its pur-
waters. Above wave the branches in a
low, steady murmur, and the fresh in-
vigilating air sweeps through them,
breathing of strength, and health, and
freedom, as though slavery had no exist-
ence. It was his daily custom to take
run up this hill and wander through the
woods, coming in at breakfast time with
his hands full of wild flowers and ferns,
and his face bright with animation and
in good health. Then after breakfast he
would go at his "carpenter work." The
great lattice work, the turret and porch
he brought into shape, are part of the
home of our host, and we never tire of
looking at them. We like to imagine
him in his old gray coat or workman's
apron, and his big straw hat patiently
joining bits of wood together as neatly
as a "journeyman" could do it, and
then standing back to look at his work,
saying "well, that's immense!"

On the Sunday before his return he
sat a long time upon this hillside bench,
looking dreamily into the distance and
thinking—thinking. Who can guess the
thoughts, the dreams, the hopes and
emotions that passed through his mind
on that last free day of his? Was it not
his garden of Gethsemane? For like him
his soul, innocent though he was, what
going back meant.

He stopped with these kind, true
friends seven weeks, and might have re-
mained seven years in safety; but with
his character that would have been im-
possible. The cause, and his comrades
in peril, was enough; peace and quiet-
ness could no longer be indulged in. He
said good by to the hills, the free fresh
air, the wide and lovely view that seemed
to breathe of liberty. It must have been
so hard to do this deliberately.

Oh liberty, can man resign thee
Once having felt thy virtues flames
Can dungeon bolts or bars confine thee.
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?

Well, the prison door closed upon him;
the stone walls shut out for ever
nature's free earth, and man repaid an
unprecedented act of devotion with—
death.

His comrades gave him a sorrowful
welcome, for it was only for the "good
of the cause" they had glad he was
among them. They had borne his seven
months of imprisonment while he was
free with a cheerfulness and courage
equaled only by the spirit of his volun-
tary sacrifice.

Mrs. Parsons and his children are also
here; they have found warm friends who
stand ready to do anything in their
power that will add to their comfort
or enjoyment; and even your corre-
spondent finds her name spoken kindly,
where only strangers were expected.
These friends are earnest workers in
this cause, with the highest ideals of the
work to be done, and a true faithfulness
in living up to their convictions. Though

with one or two exceptions their earnest-
ness is of an emotional nature, and there-
fore of an intuitive hatred of oppression,
wrong and suffering, rather than com-
ing from a thorough understanding of
economic conditions, and the workings
of the present worldwide industrial
system. I am afraid they expect to
"redeem the world through saving
grace"—to bring the millennium by en-
couraging and inculcating brotherly
love, unselfishness, generosity in indi-
viduals. It is all very beautiful, and they
certainly set a good example as their
kindness to us proves. But they have
but a faint conception of the real state
of society, of the poverty, drudgery
and unwillingness among the people,
of the causes underlying the seething
surface; of our systems and institutions
and their inevitable results, or of the
actual, tangible obstacles that must be
removed before love and unselfishness
can come into play with good effect.

We cannot, if we would, agree to be un-
selfish and share our every blessing
with our neighbor under the present
regime. We, who live in one or two
rooms at an enormous rent, and depend
on the whim of a boss for the few cents
that compose our only income, would
soon find ourselves with no blessings to
share, if we carried it out to the letter.
Generosity is beautiful but justice is
better, and until we have justice we re-
ally have no opportunity to cultivate
generosity and see what it would do for
the human race.

To be a genuine anarchist it seems to
me one must have been a student for
many years. One can entertain lofty
emotional conviction of freedom, and
plenty, and justice with credit to one's
self, but to be able to talk it and to con-
vince others, one must study it as you
would a science.

BALLOTS AND BULLETS

BALLOTS AVAILABLE ONLY FOR
PRIVILEGE WORTHLESS FOR IN-
DUSTRIAL EMANCIPATION.

CAPITALISTS WILL FAVOR SUFFRAGE
ONLY SO LONG AS MAJORITIES DO
NOT ASSAIL PROPERTY.

F. A. C. Perrine, in true anarchist
vein, shows the ballot with an apage
Satanas! This is well, but outside the
religion of our principle, we must meet
and convert the multitude embred from
childhood with the sophism of suffrage
as the agency of political liberty, a prej-
udice which state socialist intrigues in
quest of office flatter by invoking it for
an economic revolution in behalf of the
proletary masses.

Be it our part to disabuse at least the
few thinkers unbiased by personal an-
tibodies, and show that the ballot, how-
ever available as in the past, for salar-
ied privilege and official power, is
worthless as an engine for expropriating
land and other capitals of production
now in the grip of monopolists.

I speak of this country, not of Great
Britain or others, in each of which prob-
lems present faces and conditions pec-
uliar to itself.

Suppose our fragmentary labor parties
consolidated, and contrary to all
experience electing their representatives
in the teeth of capitalist influences, rep-
resentatives faithful to the programme
of expropriation and the governmental
organization of all great industries.
Would capitalists probably be more
submissive to such legislation, than the
South to the rule of abolitionists in
1861? or the republicans to that of democ-
rats on the election of Tilden? In
both cases the republicans triumphed,
in the first constitutionally; in the sec-
ond unconstitutionally. They triumphed
because they were in possession of the
army and arms, though not so com-
pletely as the capitalists are now. What
comparison indeed between the physical
resources of a labor party polling a ma-
jority of votes, and those of the democ-
racy which, in doing the same, allied
with the republicans in wealth pow-
er? Every year has increased the dis-
parity between numerical force and
that of military organization. This the
labor leaders well know, but it suits
their purposes of political ambition to
ignore it and keep the safe side in up-
holding the ballot as the final ultimatum.
It may give them a stage on which to
air their crude nostrums.

Were these writers sincere in their ad-
vocacy of the workmen's cause, how
could they ignore the necessity of arm-
ament?

On the contrary, even while pretending
to sympathize with the Chicago victims,
they refuse to admit articles showing to
their readers the futility of votes unsup-
ported by arms. Our forefathers, how-
ever purblind about personal liberty,
which they confounded with national in-
dependence, were sincere. They instinct-
ively felt that an armed people only
could preserve any sort of liberty and
made the right to carry arms constitu-
tional.

The ballot has advocates among sin-
cere illusionists who admit and deplore
its fallacy in the expression of public
opinion, and would reform it by the
Danish or other systems of "propor-
tional representation." But even when
perfected in this kind, how can it ever
be anything else than a declaration of the
balance of numerical force, supposed to
be a synonym of physical force, which,
if ever true, is now no longer so.

As to rights, should the privileged
classes ever cease to find the ballot a
convenient instrument for imposing
their claims as such, they will forthwith
discover that no majority can have
rights over persons or property, that
did not previously inhere to any of the
individuals composing it, and applying
to their legal rights, what they
have never conceded to ethical
rights, they will defy the iniqui-
tous majority by their organized

EVER FORWARD.
Life before us, not behind, and
when things are done with, it is a man's
duty to go past them and press forward
to new duties.—Mrs. E. Lynn Linton.

WHO ARE THE BRIGANDS?

I wish to live, I have a right to live,
yet society refuses me this right; ah,
well! We will form a new society.
Every society began by violence; the
first human societies were armed associa-
tions. Let us then create a world and
rememence history; our society of
handits will be more just than that old
despotic society where the noblest hearts
are foredoomed to die.—Schiller in
"The Brigands."

THE CAT JUMPS BOTH-WAYS.

The arrival at Zanibar of two mes-
sengers escaped from captivity at the
hands of hostile tribes prompts the as-
sertion in a recent cable dispatch that
"The hopes and fears aroused by the
arrival of these couriers cannot fail to
give great impetus to the idea advanced
by Cardinal Laviege, bishop of Algiers,
at Tuesday's meeting of the Foreign
Anti-Slavery Society, of organizing an
expedition of white men to crush the
slave trade in the Soudan."

On the same date we are refreshed
with the following from the Vienna quar-
ter of the globe: "The governments of
Austria and Hungary have decided to
suspend the trial by jury of anarchists
for one year."

THE STRIKE AT PARIS.

THE DAY LABORERS' REVOLT AT
BEING DENIED THE WAGES
ALLOTTED TO THEM.

STRIKERS IN A STATE OF WAR RECOM-
MENDED TO PACIFIC MEASURES MUST
NECESSARILY FAIL.

Dear Comrade:—At present a strike at
Paris, which broke out six or seven days
ago, is assuming great importance. The
earth workers, well diggers and trench-
ers of the Seine department are on strike,
and the other unions connected with the
building trades are desirous of making
common cause with them. The men en-
gaged in pulling down old houses have
already done so.

The bourgeois have become headless.
They are guarding the highways with
troops, placing soldiers at the bridges
by assistance of the police, but all this
does not hinder the number of strikers
from increasing. Now there are some
nine thousand. The state socialists have
taken hold of the strike and are coun-
selling the men to be quiet and to
make a pacific strike, and to this pur-
pose they have opened subscription lists
through which some money is raised,
but which cannot very long uphold the
strikers, as their numbers are growing
very fast in this peaceful struggle with
capital.

The acts of the municipal council of
Paris should open the eyes of the gov-
ernmentalist socialists.

The council have been asked to vote
10,000 francs assistance money to the
strikers' refused unhesitatingly, show-
ing their bad faith all the more, as the
strike was only undertaken to enforce a
rate of wages fixed by these very same
councillors.

This council very much resembles
those journalists, who continually ex-
hort the exploited to revolutionary
action, and who, when the laborers do
rebel, hasten to disavow them and to
counsel peaceful measures.

Notwithstanding all these things, this
strike may well turn into a revolt, and
from there to the revolution the dis-
tance is not very great.

In the coal basin of St. Etienne an-
other strike has broken out which also
threatens to become a general move-
ment throughout this region.
Up, working men, to your work!
Fraternal greeting to all friends in
America.

ESPQUER.
Montauban, France, Aug. 1, 1888.

HORSE SENSE.

The republicans believe in high tariff.
The democrats believe in a tariff not
quite so high. Over this momentous
question the politicians are already out
trying to drum up a little enthusiasm
among the people who think they elect
the men that hold office. The great dai-
lies, finding that the people have half a
notion to think for themselves, have re-
duced the price of their papers from 5 to
3 cents, and from 3 to 2 cents per copy,
thinking thereby they will be able to
persuade their slaves to jump from the
frying pan into the fire, and again from
the fire into the frying-pan for another
four years. Drum corps are organized
and the clatter of little boys and big
drums, and big boys and little drums,
is heard all over the land to divert, if
possible, the peoples' minds from ques-
tions in which they have real interest.
In the midst of this grand national farce
that is now about to be inaugurated,
working men are contending with dry
weather one summer and wet the next;
high taxes, interest, mortgages, big
steals, sun strokes, prize rattle snakes
and bad whiskey. It is true that the
working men have nominated a candi-
date for the presidency, who is a farmer
and greenbacker, but as they say, that
farmers and greenbackers haven't got
sense enough to hold office, let us many
as think so organize and show to the
world that they have at least got sense
enough to enter a protest against such
a farce by not voting at all.—Pod in
Saughamon Valley Times.

On the same date we are refreshed
with the following from the Vienna quar-
ter of the globe: "The governments of
Austria and Hungary have decided to
suspend the trial by jury of anarchists
for one year."

WHERE CORRUPTION RIOTS.

If corruption seems rolling over us
like a flood, mark, it is not the corrup-
tion of the humbler classes. It is mil-
lionaires who steal banks, mills and
railways; it is defaulters who live in
palaces, and make way with millions;
it is money kings who buy up congress;
it is demagogues and editors, in purple
and fine linen, who bid fifty thousand
dollars for the presidency itself, it is
greedy wealth which invests its thou-
sands and millions in ruin, to coin money out
of the weakness of its neighbor. These
are the spots where corruption nestles,
and gangrenes the state. If humble
men are corrupted, these furnish the
overwhelming temptation. It is not the
common people in the streets, but the
money changers who have intruded into
the temple, that we most sorely need
some one to scourge.—Wendell Phillips.

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sengers escaped from captivity at the
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sertion in a recent cable dispatch that
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INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

WOMAN'S ONLY HOPE IN THE
FIERCE INDUSTRIAL "STRUG-
GLE FOR EXISTENCE."

EXTRACTS FROM AN ABLE ARTICLE
RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN THE "CAN-
ADIAN LABOR REFORMER."

The wages of women, in whichever way you consider the position—be it at advantage through organizations and strikes, or at disadvantage through convict and scab labor—are utterly insufficient for their livelihood. To advocate measures to render a system one thousandth part less unjust and rotten than it is now, is nothing short of advocating a slight reducing in the lashes we receive daily.

Now, Mr. Editor, let us look at the situation in all its ugly and murderous aspects. Its complexity and corruption are so appalling as to thrill with horror those who seek to analyze and judge it. But there are no other means to remove the evil than to search deep in to its crying injustice.

First of all, as we are treating of female wages, let us see what are the daily needs of a woman and what is her condition relatively to the human family.

Christians and monopolists will tell me that she is, now-a-days, in a far better condition than she was before the christian era; that her chances of happiness are far greater than the chances of her sisters of "non-christian countries."

It is true that, in not very remote times, woman was looked upon as a mere beast of burden, in perfect fellowship with the other beasts of the earth, for she had no soul. Therefore, being only a beast, and nothing more, she had no aspiration of the soul to gratify; no mentality to nourish and expend. Eat, drink, sleep, a smile and a sign of approbation from her "souled" master, was the whole sum of her most sanguine expectations. Having no moral sensitiveness, she was as happy as a brute can be under such circumstances.

But christianity, urged on by the rapid march of civilization, soon discovered that the "souled" males, created in the image of god, were getting reckless and unreliable as a source of existence and revenue to the "New Church." Such being the melancholy case, ecclesiasticism had no other alternative but to endow woman with a soul—a soul fallen from grace and damned by the "predestination" of a just god, but redeemable by the sacrifice of an incarnate, loving son of god!

Endowed with a soul, woman rose a few steps on the social ladder. As her mental faculties developed, her needs increased in proportion. Eat, drink, and sleep were not any more all-sufficient to her happiness.

In our time of enlightenment and science, she has followed suit in the progressive march of man. In accordance with the laws of inertia, she has moved when acted upon by environments, and, today, we behold

her not only with a soul but with the consciousness of possessing such a principle as well as all the requirements and longings thereof.

Now that she has eaten of the modern "fruit of knowledge," she must needs work for her sustenance. In by-gone times, women and male slaves were fed and provided for by their masters; in our time, women and male slaves are no longer fed by their masters. They have to compete in the great "struggle for existence" which our industrial system has brought about.

Now, what do we find the condition of woman's wages to be? In Canada, her wages range from \$2 to \$5 per week, the greatest number getting \$3 and below that sum. This rate stands when and where no convict labor comes in to depreciate the value of their labor.

It follows from such statistics that women do not earn one-half of what is necessary to their livelihood or physical needs. Can she live on that half ration? Can she keep soul and body together by eating only fifty per cent of the food required by the human body? Can she fare without washing her linen? Can she walk barefooted? Can she go half naked? Where four cents are necessary, no two cents will fill the want; the balance of two cents will have to be got somewhere.

Horrible as this picture and the truths of its details appear to us, the time has come to face it. It is of no use to advocate the removal of one of its deadly parts. To make it a little "less bad" (for the absence of positive "good" excludes the relative "better") or, a little worse, is like throwing a bit of straw to swim on the sea.

Nothing short of woman's entire emancipation and recognition of her rights to enjoy the full product of her labor will ever heal the deadly sore. Whether or not society at large think her fit to enjoy the privileges of a free-born child of humanity is of no consideration. She is gradually more and more feeling her dependent position. She realizes, clearer and clearer, that the lessons on obedience and resignation to our lot in order to gain heaven, do not do when her stomach craves for food. Hunger is nearer than heaven. "First come, first served;" bread now, heavenly bliss hereafter.

"Laws and legislation" are inadequate to better a system which is entirely rotten. It will not stand patching any longer unless it be to benefit some more politicians and drain deeper still the scanty resources of the producing classes.

Laws and legislation have been framed and enacted from the remotest time under pretence of securing justice to the honest, the weak and the poor. What benefit have we derived from them? The working classes are on the verge of starvation. Large monopolies, trusts, machinery, division of labor under the patronage of laws and governments, have placed the toiler in the dilemma of either steal or starve. When one situation is vacant,

scores of applicants rush forth. There are hundreds of thousands, men and women, out of employment, consuming their energy in silent sufferings and wrath. In countries like Canada and the United States of America, where protection has brought forth high prices, what is to become of the unemployed? No legislation can give them work because no legislation and no government can take away the aggregated wealth of the monopolists and give a rightful chance to every man and woman to live honestly and happily. So long as a weapon is at hand to protect the engrosser of wealth in forestalling the market and accumulating endless values, so long will chances be with the few and irremediable misery with the many. Accumulations of millions of dollars into one human hand, and accumulations of millions of human beings into one abyss of forced idleness and crime! Governments will never chastise the grabber of wealth. They will protect his property and even compel the toiling masses to pay taxes for such protection. But the starving wretch who steals a piece of bread from the man he has enriched with his labor, and protected with taxes out of his scanty earnings, will be punished mercilessly for having taken to himself the thousandth part of that which naturally belongs to him.

Woman, like her male fellow worker, must work out her own deliverance. She must develop into being-consciousness of her individuality, her intellect, her unstained birth purity. She must free herself from superstition and the influence of the teachers of the "original sin" theory. She has too long lent a willing ear to professional theologians who have robbed her of her intellect, her reason, and her money. When she permitted her individuality to be crushed, oppressors were ready at hand to harness and bridle her. By lowering herself to acknowledge her supposed inferiority, she has deserved the numberless misfortunes and agonies which have been her share during tens of centuries. The law of compensation is an inevitable force in nature. Whenever an individual shows signs of weakness or lack of energy, some better balanced mind steps out on the spot and engrosses the sum of energy blindly thrown away by that individual. Nothing is lost or wasted. All in nature is full and complete. Chances overlooked or thrown away by one person are immediately transferred into appreciated and beneficial chances for another.

When woman can realize the importance and inevitability of the laws of nature, she will then be able to emerge from the conditions of shame which society has prescribed for her. As she now stands, only two avenues are open to her, i.e., marriage—prostitution or starvation. If married to a good husband who keeps her in ease and comfort, well and good, at least as far as her physical needs are concerned. The mental ones

had better be passed in silence. If not married, she can toiled earn her scanty wages which will cover expenses for mediocre food, and at night, she must earn for rent, clothes and washing, or she must starve! She cannot steal. The law would send her to jail for that offence; but prostitution is prosecuted only as a minor offence; an offence against public morality; and, besides, magistrates know but too well that they have no right to throw the first stone. No, she cannot steal; she fears the inevitable punishment. To a poor woman who steals, no mercy would be shown.

Would to heaven woman had preserved enough of her dignity to steal bread rather than earn it by making a traffic of her body! In the wear and tear of struggle and rebellion against laws which lash the needy with inexorable persistency, she would long ago have escaped from subjection and asserted her right to work honorably for her livelihood. In the whirlwind of revolt meeting repression, man would have been dragged along and both would be free from the murderous pressure of monopolists and state taxations.

Yours respectfully,
MARIE LOUISE.
New York, June 1st, 1888

CARLYLE ON MAJORITIES.

The multitude of voices is no authority; a thousand voices may not, strictly examined, amount to one vote. Mankind in this world are divided into flocks, and follow their several bell-wethers. Now, it is well known, let the bell-wether rush through any gap, the rest rush after him, were it into bottomless quagmire. Nay, so conscientious are sheep in this particular, as a quaint naturalist and moralist has noted, "if you hold a stick before the wether, so that he is forced to vault in his passage, the whole flock will do the like when the stick is withdrawn; and the thousandth sheep will be seen vaulting impetuously over air, as the first did over an otherwise impossible barrier?" a further peculiarity which, in consulting acts of parliament, and other authentic records with many other matters, you will find curiously verified in the human species also!

STATE INTERFERENCE.

The strongest of all the arguments against the interference of the public with purely personal conduct is that when it does interfere the odds are that it interferes wrongly and in the wrong place.—J. S. Mill.

"JUDGE NOT."

When I think that there are men who dare judge others, I am frightened and terror seizes me.—Lamennais.

"WHO WOULD BE FREE," ETC.
We pass our lives in forging chains for ourselves and then complain of wearing them.—Aron.

TRUST NO FUTURE.

Trust no future however pleasant.—Longfellow.

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THE AUTHOR.
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THE ALARM.

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UNCLESAM AND HIS WIFE

GOVERNMENT IS EVER ONE
IN SPIRIT WITH ITS BRIDE—
TARIFF TAXATION.

TARIFF IMITATES THE VAMPIRE'S ENTICEMENT
IN FANNING THE SLEEPER
WHILE IT SUCKS HIS BLOOD.

Emerson, subtly combatting the god-dion, makes his "oversoul" say, "Of thee, I am eye-beam," a loose translation from Jesus' "I and my father are one." So is government of one spirit with its bride taxation.

The treasury is the clock weight that keeps the machine running. Capitalism worships and manipulates government, as the Jew and Moses Yahveh, with economic eye to landgrabbing and other plunder. It is creditable to our modern deity, that he shows no childish jealousy of golden calves, and does not bewilder his chosen people forty years.

Corporations A. B. C., or Huntington, Crocker and Leland, buy of congress—due etiquette observed, as every branch of commerce has its own—A hundred million acres land-grant; D. E. F., some tariff market private monopolies; G. H. I., national bank privileges, i. e. a share by usury in tax plunder, itself exempt from taxes—all these cheapen, as it is the property of its constituents only that our disinterested congress sells or donates.

Suppose taxes abated, grants forfeited, national banks broken up, and speculations going out at the little end of the horn. Col. Ingersoll's sympathies will bleed for his friends, yet the soil may be tilled, mills run and money circulated, with twice as many people living well by their work. Let the liberal patron of American workmen with the American idea be consoled.

Protection is the republican shibboleth; tariff for revenue only, the democratic; while free trade is a pure abstraction, an immaculate conception of the virgin Polly-Comony, to whose birth neither England nor Belgium can found a claim—perhaps Guatemala, whose revenue is all from its mines.

Could any other reason of existence than class privilege be found for government, it would not need the custom house dodge. But all party leaders want to feed at the tax trough, a far less the tax-collector's stand and deliver should provoke the withdrawal of the taxing power, not to mention Judas, Lynch and his coats of tar and feathers.

Modern governments, in reversing the former prohibition of exports, as of arms from England to Scotland, have treated as a venial offense the presumption of profit seeking vessels bringing foreign goods to our ports. Would it not be worthy a wisdom inspired by the axiom, vendentes et latrones, to declare such cargoes contraband and confiscate them? If a declaration with the hoisting of a flag constitutes proprietary right over an island, why not over a vessel and its contents? This method is suggested by the root word of Tariff, Tarifa, a blackmailing pirates' nest on the Barbary coast, and Tari, the Hindoo Khond goddess, wife of Bhava, as tariff is of Uncle Sam, and whose malice was propitiated by sacrifices of the comeliest youths.

An idle navy might be thus utilized, but not too actively, for that, like a prohibitory tariff, would spoil the game. Even the custom house know how and when to wink. This is the fair and softly style of tax, flowing in with the tide. It attaches to government a large corps of office holders; its adjustment to the market affords perennial topics of congressional discussions at several thousand dollars per diem. Over this marrow bone party orators amiably agree to disagree. This, with the card table and national assignation house, amuses the tedium of law making between drinks.

Tariff imitates the vampire's etiquette in fanning the sleeper while it sucks his blood. Avoiding the protest of the sheep against the shears or the goose to being

plucked, it decks the shop window, sets a pretty girl or sprightly youth behind the counter and then—"Will you walk into my parlor, said the spider to the fly."

The merchant who pays the duties in view of recouping himself on the customer, is a free agent of government and defence is shown the real taxpayer in choice of goods, time and place of purchase. How many realize that they are taxed, or know to what amount? Should I cite figures, it might give gentle readers the nightmare. The most distressing to the truly loyal work-shippers of goddess Tari is not to be able to buy, so as to pay her homage. This lack of purchasing power is the only check government need heed with indirect taxation. Danger there is none, for that would imply anarchic rationality in the sheep and geese.

The merchant is the lightning rod of government. By intermediary ownership of goods he levies such profits on sales and such premiums on credits as hides the tariff in the folds of his ledger. Such also are collected upon goods with which there is no foreign competition possible, such as corn and bacon.

Would such tribute be paid were there not sheriffs to enforce it? This regards the county, the autonomy, but it is the same superstition of representative authority that elects the lesser and greater executives, the sheriff of a county and the president of the U. S., that provides alienation of the soil from settlers to speculators, that consents to national debts and multiplies their sum by usury and that enables private creditors to do the same, doubling back by the contraction of the currency. Thus in each local precinct are reproduced the secular trinity, rent, interest and profits, by the unearned increments of other's labor.

A legal question that may require a distinct answer in each of the states is whether the governor is constitutionally authorized to appoint a sheriff or equivalent officer for a county refusing to elect one. In case he can and should there would remain the resource of the boycott or the lynx court. The sheriff's absence hinders no one from piling charges on goods, or for the use of land or other capital of production, hinders no one from paying, and provokes no strife with government; but then common sense and amiability would have control.

Oppressions the most general, are on property through money. Here taxation, combined with legal tender, operates like an hydraulic press in equalizing all taxable property with whatever sum of currency government allows, so that an arbitrary contraction by the treasury department increases debts and taxes proportionally.

The more numerous small proprietors and users of money suffer most from tribute in form of rent, interest and profits of trade. If then, this greater evil than taxation is abatable by autonomous agreement among the people of any township, can it be expected that men who neglect the relief within their tether and who every year vote into office the executives of their greater oppression, will rise spontaneously by millions to shake off the lesser burden in a general revolution?

EDGEMORTH.

NOT FOR MISS NANCIES.

Why should an organic function, the most important of all by far, because its purpose is the perpetuation of the species, why should it be less decent than others whose purpose is only the preservation of the individual? Why should eating and sleeping be legitimate actions which are openly practiced, spoken of and acknowledged, while generation is a sin and disgrace which cannot be sufficiently concealed and denied? Is not puberty the crowning point of the development of the individual, and its own reproduction its highest triumph and most glorious manifestation?—Nordau, Conventional Lies of Our Civilization.

MODERN SERFDOM.

Marriage is at the present day the only actual form of serfdom recognized by law.—John Stuart Mill.

THAT DYNAMITE BOMB!

ANOTHER CONTESTANT ENTERS
THE ARENA TO DISCUSS THE
QUESTION OF FORCE.

AN INDIGNANT PROTEST FROM MRS. PARSONS RELATIVE TO SOME RECENT CRITICISMS.

I am rusticated away out here among the beautiful hills in the state of Wisconsin, at the home of the whole-souled "Dan" Hoan, of Waukesha, who says (and one has but to see him to believe him) he wouldn't exchange places with Jay Gould, I can, therefore, view with equanimity the deluge of criticisms being poured upon the devoted head of the editor of THE ALARM. And were I not personally acquainted with the mild-mannered, genial editor I should feel sorry for him. But being thus acquainted I shall save my stock of pity for more deserving subjects.

Nor do I wish to be understood as "gallantly" rushing to the editor's assistance. Neither do I care to be entered as one regularly in the lists in the discussion of force. The question may then be asked—Well, what are you coming into it for? The only explanation I can give is that of the boy who, seeing his companion slugged by a bigger boy, just rushed into the fray to see if he couldn't hit about as hard.

Well, to the subject, namely, the bomb in particular. If we wish to appreciate the grandeur of a mountain, we must view it from a certain distance. If we would understand the effect of such and such an effect upon historical development we must read not contemporary history only, but that of succeeding centuries. If these premises are correct, then it seems to me that a good deal that is being said about what that little bomb did or did not do for the cause is just a little previous. Still there is one view which might be taken of that dreadful bomb. Was it not a new factor in modern warfare? Did it, or did not, give a practical test of what science has done for man, including the poorest? I am not discussing whether that bomb should, or should not, have been thrown at the Haymarket meeting. But did it or not demonstrate that a powerful weapon of warfare had been forged? And that, if used, would make present methods of war practically useless? Did it, or did it not, demonstrate that the "horrible bomb" is a defender of peace?

Let us take as an illustration the Haymarket meeting. There were the tactics of the old and the new methods brought into direct contest. The police marched upon a peaceable meeting at the Haymarket in the order of the latest "street drill." Result: Some unknown person hurled a bomb at the invaders. One man was killed on the spot. Six policemen subsequently died, and over fifty were reported as wounded. A large number of innocent citizens were killed and wounded by police revolvers, but their number is not known owing to the fact that the "authorities" saw fit to keep it hid in order that they might work up public feeling regarding "the awful massacre of the police!"

And it was indeed awful, horrible. No one with a spark of humanity will deny it. Still the question arises did that bomb demonstrate that a powerful weapon could be placed in the hands of the people at small expense? And it also raises the further question: Did the tragedy at the Haymarket, awful as it was, save many fold more persons than were actually killed? Were the 180 police who marched upon that peaceable meeting of unarmed citizens coming for fun or for murder?

And the further inquiry arises: Would the "police," militia, Pinkertons, etc., be as willing tools of "the powers that be" in future if they knew, or even thought probable that there was a likelihood of their running against loaded twenty-cent bombs instead of empty dinner pails, hungry bellies and rags? And if this should be the case would not the mur-

ders of La Motte, in this state, Chicago, East St. Louis, Jersey City, and innumerable other points become more rare? and human lives saved?

There is no attempt on my part of painting a "beautiful picture of purely Edenic simplicity;" no "casting of guns and providing all sorts of munitions of war." On the contrary, it is only claiming the right of the citizen to "keep and bear arms."

Mr. Kelly, getting fairly warmed up to his subject, says: "But suppose the men had been fairly proven guilty of organizing to massacre the police and the board of trade how much indignation would there be?" Does Mr. Kelly bring in the board of trade to give a lurid background to this picture? Or is it a patent process of making the cold shivers come up and down one's spinal column these hot days? The wildest imagination of Gary, Grinnell & Co., never hooked on to the board of trade massacre as part of the alleged programme. And the ratification meeting afterwards held by the supreme court never started they (the defendants) were "organizing a social revolution."

I feel considerable timidity in having to mention Mr. Kelly's name, because I am sure that I will be regarded as a midge who should enter the arena where John L. Sullivan was having a contest. Why, the great man would want to know why I "should try to take part in this controversy?" Precisely what Mr. Kelly has already asked Mr. Holmes.

Mr. Perrine says: "When that bomb exploded I heard a cry of horror!" From whom did the cry come? From those who have had occasion to feel the presence of "the guardians of law and order" by a cracked skull or blackened bruises? Or from the "law and order" crowd who value human lives at so much per hundred heads? But, exclaims Mr. P.: "Were it an act of war I should consider myself a fool to ask for a remission of the penalty." More egoism it is impossible to conceive of in the same number of words. What, do you mean by "an act of war?" Mr. P. Do you place on the same plane the man who commits an "act of war" in self defence with one who commits an "act of war" for the sake of depriving his fellows of their lives, liberties and happiness? Yet you who are so prone for peace in one sentence, prove yourself as blood-thirsty in the next as an inquisitor of the fifteenth century. Are you aware that the penalty, which you would have considered yourself a fool to have asked the remission of, was death upon that blot upon nineteenth century civilization—the gallows? Do you admit, then, that the state has the right to commit murder? And your position, sir, becomes all the more damnable when it is remembered that it has never been denied that the Haymarket meeting was perfectly peaceable until the police rushed in upon it, some flourishing their revolvers as was proven in evidence. You seem to say that all you would have wanted to know whether Mr. Spies and his comrades committed an "act of war" to hand them over to the state murderer with all the complicity of a middle-age monk.

Consistency, thou art a jewel! and all the more so because so few find you!

MRS. A. R. PARSONS.

THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR.

Money has become the executioner of all things. Finance is the alembic in which a frightful quantity of goods and provisions are made to evaporate into useless luxury. Money, in the hands of a few, declares war against all the rest of mankind.—Boisguillebert.

PLEASE, THROW A BOMB.

Want some one please throw a bomb at Merinda Sissies? Her humor is ex-cruciating. A man in the last stages of cholera morbus would simply die after reading one of her funny contributions to the "Journal of United Labor."—Ex.

THE TRUE RELIGION.

The world is my country, to do good my religion.—Thomas Paine.

OUR PARISIAN COMRADES

ANOTHER LETTER FROM PARIS
DESCRIBING RECENT EVENTS
IN THAT TURBULENT CITY.

HUNGRY STOMACHS ATTEMPTING TO SOLVE
THE SOCIAL PROBLEM BY FACING
DRAWN SABBERS.

The money question!—The great earthworkers' strike is still on, though the end cannot be very far; the strike will not have that success which it appeared to be gaining. The fight of the empty stomachs of the many headed mass with the well-fed, law-protected, organized capitalists will ever result in victory for the capitalist. "Wealth against want."—The social question cannot be solved on this line. The great strike has spread with marvelous speed throughout the environs of Paris and many exciting scenes have occurred within the last week.

What did they strike for? They earned less than 2 francs, or not quite 37 cents a day! They asked for 40 centimes or 12 cents per hour, they tried to persuade others working as they did to strike with them. The bosses did not wish to pay more nor did they wish their quiet slaves to be aroused, and consequently called on the police and army to help keep down the wages; this of course the government of stock brokers and shrewy lawyers was only too glad to do, and conflict naturally occurred.

On July 25th several hundred men at St. Denis struck and then marched toward Paris, and the smaller towns like Aubervilliers, Jumeuville, where the large sewage farms of Paris are located, Charenton, Noisy, etc. From that time until now the movement has grown in intensity but it is hardly any longer simply a strike, that is as good as broken; it has assumed the appearance of a revolt, but it cannot last, the whole city is now under arms and society is saved for once again. Even on this line the social question cannot be solved.

Soldiers are prohibiting the men calling for those still at work at Noisy, the same at Aubervilliers, where there was a riot on the 28th of July, and 62 strikers were arrested.

At La Villette in Paris several thousand strikers had driven the military police into a corner when the latter cut their way out with drawn sabres, 50 strikers and 10 policemen were wounded. On the 3d and 4th of August the rioting continued.

Next day the mason's helpers went out. And now came what might have become very serious for the bourgeoisie. On Sunday, the 5th, while speaking to the strikers, Gen. Eudes, one of the old commune heroes, suddenly died and his funeral on last Wednesday was the occasion of a great demonstration, such as few have been held over since the memorable one at the burial of Victor Noir, who was killed by Pierre Bonaparte in January 1870. The military occupied the whole line of march to the cemetery and all stores were closed as indeed were all houses in the rich quarters of St. Germain and about the Elysian Fields. The Labor Exchange was closed by the government. In the procession were all kinds of elements, those who fought with Eudes on the barricades, radicals, weathercocks like Rochefort, deputies, strikers en masse and socialists.

Red flags were carried and caused the police to make attempts at taking them. The gendarmes made charges with their sabres and carbines, and a few of the red flags were captured. A bomb was reported thrown in a police line of attack, but as usual it did not explode and maybe was only a police fabricated bomb, but it gave the authorities an opportunity of showing their patriotism in attacking the people and making arrests just as they do in Chicago. The air was fairly alive with the cries of "Vive la commune" and "Vive la revolution sociale." Boulanger's name was the object of deprecating remarks. The scurrilous lasted quite a while and resulted in several dozen arrests and a number of wounded persons. A number of stores were sacked, and late in the evening smaller affairs took place in Belleville. Eudes was buried in the Pere la Chaise cemetery, which has become a Mecca for the revolutionists of France, for here are buried the heroes of 1848 and 1871 as well as those who have one by one been carried there.

Yours fraternally,
Les Batignolles, Paris, Aug. 13, 1888.

EXILE.

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To whom all communications should be addressed.

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FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

Equality of Opportunities for All—Hence, extinction of privilege and restriction, protection and oppression, cherished rights and vested wrongs.

Free Land, Mutual Credit, and Equitable Commerce—Hence, abolition of rent, interest and profit.

Severalty of the Individual—Hence, liberty, the cessation of authority, or industrial emancipation and social co-operation.

MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE.

Prison Cell 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1897. The Alarm has, as you know, after long and arduous struggle, the duty that it has undertaken. To other men in the world and duty as editor of this paper. Though fallen, wounded perhaps unto death, in the battle for liberty, the standard—the press—my hands bore aloft in the midst of the struggle is caught up by other hands, and will be again and again, if needs be, the crimson banner waves in triumph over the enemies of peace, brotherhood, and happiness. Our comrade, Dyer D. Lum, is my editorial successor. To most, or many of you, he is well known. His steadfastness, courage, and ability in the great work of labor's economic emancipation is recognized by all. Therefore, ever to him in his work your hearty support—he is worthy and able. Forewell. A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1898.

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field battling for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation soliciting support for the publication fund, will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Send all donations to the treasurer of The Alarm Club, A. Tewes, 350 Grove street, Jersey City, N. J.

LOCAL NOTICE.

THE ALARM picnic on Labor Day will be held at Hill's Park, Fort Wadsworth, instead of at Arrochar Station. This is the last stop but one, the fifth station on the road, and is a far more desirable location. Members of the committee will be at the station to indicate the direction of the grounds. Bring your friends with you, and put in an afternoon and evening in an enjoyable time. Singing, dancing, fireworks and lots of fun. Bear it in mind.

THE SCHOOLMASTER IS ABROAD.

Sir Terence has appointed his educators. The new gospel of education, which he has so long ignored, is to go at once before gaping hayseeds. That it will be the old gospel there is no reason to believe. Look at the list of official pedagogues: A. W. Wright, editor of the Labor Reformer, Toronto; Canada; Morris L. Wheat, of Colfax, Iowa; C. A. Hall, of Marshall, Texas; James A. Wright, of Philadelphia, Pa.; William Walls, of Pittsburgh, Pa.; and John O'Keefe, of Providence, R. I. Of the first named gentleman naught but creditable mention can be made; of the others it is doubtful if voluntary co-operation as a social ideal has ever penetrated their skulls.

Will they discuss fundamental principles? They undoubtedly think so. But in all probability their conception of the fundamental policy of the labor movement is derived from that bastard excrement upon the order known as the "preamble." In the whole history of anomalous bed-fellows nothing is more ridiculous than to witness Powderly trying to make the order stand upon Joe Buchanan's declaration of state-socialism. They are willing to knife its father, but

hug the spurious child to their breasts.

Yet serious reflections arise which may as well have an airing. Unless I am greatly mistaken the new pedagogues will omit several of the following points which are now graciously recalled, even if they serve no other purpose than to excite their scholastic derision. And yet I believe they have a bearing and, with much other matter, would not be inappropriate in a local assembly at Squeedunk.

I. Let them lay down the proposition that land is not property; that the source of production is not subject to man's monopoly. Knights are familiar with the proposition and it will form a good starting point. It needs but little argument to convince thinking people that standing room upon earth is not a matter where one man can tax another for the privilege. Henry George, following a long line of predecessors, has made the thought a familiar one. But is free land sufficient? Will that alone clear the way to voluntary co-operation to which knighthood was once pledged as the goal of industrial emancipation?

II. Land and labor must be united to render the first of service. It, therefore, follows that the second consideration is the freedom of labor. Free land does not involve free labor. There are other considerations which any analytic discussion of the polity of the great modern movement must consider. To arrive at these we must proceed seriatim. As use of land involves labor, we must look to their union for our third factor.

III. The moment labor is applied to land production ensues and wealth results. The product held for use is wealth, but as soon as it is converted into reproductive use it becomes capital. Every producer uses capital. Does it not follow that the same logic which proclaims freedom for land and labor must also assert it for capital. Wherever there are "conditions" which hamper labor in capitalizing its own products, there labor is at a disadvantage, and must become subservient to capital? If this cannot be overcome the emancipation of labor will remain a delusion, the goal of unattainable hope. Following our analysis step by step we must look at the next factor following the possession of capital.

IV. Production being the application of capital by labor to land there necessarily first results the need for exchange. If our premises be correct, if voluntary co-operation be the goal of industrial emancipation, freedom must be as resolutely asserted here. And right here is where the preamble and the ideal goal diverge. Freedom in exchange involves the right of the social co-operators to regulate their own method of exchange, whether it be in a tangible medium or by a state of mutual confidence where such was not needed. Today we find money a creation by government. It is a monopoly. To obtain capital we must purchase it in terms this monopoly dictates. Exchange is shut out from the domain of voluntary co-operation. Man cannot capitalize products save under its terms. It is an artificial arrangement by which, as land ownership gives rent, this ownership gives interest, and profits form their legitimate sequence. Freedom to exchange means opportunity to voluntary co-operation to base the medium of exchange upon all products. Under such freedom society, as in all other matters, would arrange its own details, and the opportunity to invest thus open to all would eliminate interest. Thus cost would become the limit

of price, and profits melt away as a factor.

V. Freedom attained in these four factors—land, labor, capital and exchange, there remains but one other consideration. Freedom having forced co-operation as a social necessity, the one consideration left is insurance or security. Voluntary co-operation cannot involve involuntary subjection. Emancipation is not submission to enforced control. To use a gallicism, this goes without saving. Society is not incapable of self-guidance, nor is it a natural law that the only way to secure this guidance is to call upon ignorance to elect competency. Yet this is just what our present system involves.

Knighthood proposes to secure "the abolishment of the wage-system" and to inaugurate voluntary co-operation. Let them then raise this five-sided shield against ignorance and monopoly, and they will become worthy educators. In the words of one who has given this subject much thought, and the Nestor of the movement:

But let it not be supposed that I desire to call in the aid of government or to ask any favors. I believe any aid the government could or might give to the workers would be rather a drawback than an assistance. I hope to see the people do it themselves in defiance of the government; they will then be able to appreciate what a nest of fossilized putridity is that conglomeration of imbecility called "the government."

Here is an ideal of solidarity worthy of serious consideration even by the official pedagogues appointed to "educate." But how little likely that such a brief skeleton for an opening address from them will ever be adopted and enlarged upon. In the meantime it is not for us to grow weary, but by every means in our power endeavor to extend a helping hand to labor in its blind search for its ideal—Solidarity.

The picnic at Fort Wadsworth on next Monday promises to be a great success.

CONCERNING VIRTUE.

I exceedingly regret that THE ALARM has even the appearance of having fallen from virtue. The indictment at the conclusion of an excellent article from the pen of Miss Kelly does not specify when and where the disreputable act occurred. As to the implication that space has been or is to be denied, I can only say that Miss Kelly never had an intimation that anything she wrote would be rejected, nor have I intimated any such thing. The appearance of her present article is evidence of that fact.

Webster gives seven senses in which the word "virtue" is used. I am at a loss to recognize which sense Miss Kelly alludes to when she rebukes THE ALARM. The reason alleged is so enigmatical that I must leave it to my readers to solve the riddle, as well as to what is meant by "virtue" in this connection. I congratulate my two anarchist exchanges—"Liberty" and "Lucifer"—on not being included in the indictment; and trust neither will fall from virtue.

HEIL'S PARK is one of the best picnic grounds upon Staten Island and most frequented.

LABOR DAY.

Labor is to have a holiday. One day in the working year has been released from the ceaseless grind. Generous legislators! May we accept the boon with thankful hearts. Let us be content to toil for others. Let us be satisfied with recompense at subsistence rates. In your festive hilarity think that but for your

master's generosity you would not have the money to enjoy the holiday.

Dreamers, theorists, utopists will still remain. Every age has had them. In their brains have arisen those bright visions of more equitable relations which later generations have realized. The carpenter's son was a dreamer; practical men had market stalls in the temple.

So, too, a voice has gone out and has been heard by millions of toilers. Socialism is no longer an exotic. The great, beating heart of the proletariat pulses with its life. The vision of a labor day which shall not be an exceptional holiday; when labor shall own all which it produces, and be the master of its own capital, will yet be realized. The true dreamers are they who believe present conditions eternal. They are the theorists who believe that iniquitous social relations are ever lasting.

ONLY union beer at THE ALARM picnic.

ANARCHY AMONG FARMERS.

The land question is assuming a practical form in Stonewall, Colo. Settlers on the Maxwell land company deny the right of the company to control the source of its production. They are wearied of the assumed ownership which makes them pay tribute for the privilege of toiling and living. In short they have audaciously, in defiance of monopolistic law, resorted to arson and shotguns. The settlers had expended wind for some time in what might be done, but last week they visited one Randolph, who had leased land from the company, and burned his house. An agent of the company was visited by a hundred men, most of whom were masked, and politely invited to vacate the country. He did. The settlers say they will hold the land against any company which seeks to make them pay tribute for the privilege of keeping soul and body together.

Here is "a state of things," indeed. Instead of trying passive resistance to law-indorsed claims, they resort to shotguns and even make their threats realities. Oppressed by force they use force for self-protection. They hold that resistance to tyrants is a human virtue and do not shrink from the logical conclusion. Against that greater monopoly, the source of all others—the government, men are not yet ready to adopt a similar course. And yet how slight might be the cause which would unite wage-workers in an angry and fierce conflict?

The friends of THE ALARM are bracing up to let themselves out full length next Monday.

I HAVE had frequent occasion to call attention to the Humboldt Library, in which have appeared the works of Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley, Ribot, and other distinguished scientists. These are published in pamphlet form at fifteen cents a single number. In presenting the leading works of our great scientific thinkers easy of access for the toiler the series is unequalled. No. 101 has just been issued and contains essays on "Aesthetics" and "Dreams" by James Sully, and "Association of Ideas" by Prof. Geo. Groom Robertson. J. Fitzgerald, publisher, 24 East Fourth street, New York.

In the strike now going on in Wisconsin upon the Wisconsin Central Railroad telegraph reports indicate that the strikers are making trouble. They actually pull pins and set brakes in defiance of all property laws and our glorious institutions. It is strange that men

will not suffer peaceably and spend their idle and hungry moments in studying economics! Yet such seems to be their habit.

CIPRIANI, the Italian revolutionist, has been released from prison and is coming soon to America. It will be remembered that he was first sentenced to death, and then had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment. This shows a striking contrast between King Humbert and Hangman Oglesby. The kingdom is more considerate of life than the republic.

ANARCHY—ITS DEFINITION.

From the Radical. Anarchy is that philosophy which teaches that the happiness and advancement of society is possible only where the principle of individual sovereignty is recognized as the only firm base upon which society can exist.

The anarchist takes his name from the form of society which he seeks to realize. Anarchy is that form of society where rule does not exist, where the individual units are free to perform their individual functions, and the chief or ruler is unknown. The term is derived from the Greek word "arche" (the first, the chief) or "archon" (a magistrate) and the prefix "a" or "an" (not). Hence a society without a chief, without a ruler, and where the individuals are free to regulate their own affairs without the intervention of external authority, is what is understood by a system of anarchy. It is a society which is not governed, but is free.

It is frequently asserted that the word "anarchy" implies tumult, disorder, conflict for supremacy; but this definition, though very commonly used is a very loose way of using the term and is really the result of ignorance. When two governments—two "archys"— contend for supremacy, that is in no sense anarchy, or no-rule, but anarchy, or all-rule. The confusion in the popular use of the word arises from the ignorant superstition that rule is essential to order, and that freedom is certain to be productive of disorder. Thus it is that conventional phraseology has tried to rob the word anarchy of its etymologic meaning, and to couple with it an idea which it is not only inconsistent with but to which it is diametrically opposed. It is in its etymologic sense of no-rule, or liberty, and not in its cruder sense of conflicting rule, or chaos, that the anarchist uses the term; and he claims the right to define for himself the name which he has chosen to express his opinions.

DAVID A. ANDRADE.
South Yarra, Melbourne, Victoria.

Cross the ferry with a ticket for Fort Wadsworth next Monday afternoon. Fare only 10 cents.

ECONOMY AND WAGES.

The capitalist comes home with his specific. He tells the working man that he must be economical—and yet, under the present system, economy would only lessen wages. Under the great law of supply and demand every saving frugal, self-denying workman is unconsciously doing what little he can to reduce the compensation of himself and fellows. The slaves who did not run away helped fasten chains on those who did. So the saving, mechanic is a certificate that wages are high enough. Does the great law demand that every worker should live on the least possible amount of bread? Is it his fate to work one day that he may get enough food to be able to work another? Is that to be his only hope—that and death?—R. G. Ingersoll.

PRIMER OF ANARCHY.

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHISM EXPLAINED TO THE PRIMARY CLASS.

FIRST LESSONS FOR THE STUDENT IN THE NEW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS—WHAT GOVERNMENT IS AND WHY IT SHOULD CEASE.

BY G. C. CLEMENS.

VI. GOVERNMENT BUT A MORE CUNNING AND MORE IMPOSING FORM OF SLAVERY.

O my honest friends! Have ye not felt the rage, indignant throb of justice in your bosom, to bandage the lovely harp of freedom on your spalls? Have ye not in your hearts arraigned the lot

That gave him on the couch of luxury To pillow his head, and pass the festive day in sportive feasts, and ease and revelry? Have ye not often in your conscience asked, Why is the difference? Wherefore should that man— So worthless than myself, thus lord it over me, And bid me labor, and he enjoy the fruits. —Southey's "Wat Tyler."

We are slaves. The bright sun rises to his course and lights a race of slaves. He sets, and his last beam falls on a slave. Not such as, swept along by the full tide of power, the conqueror leads to crimson glory and undying fame. But base, ignoble slaves—blaves to a horde of petty tyrants. —Rienzi's Address to the Romans.

In this chapter I propose to show that government is but a cunning and imposing scheme by means of which the common people are kept in poverty and forced to be the slaves of the privileged few. In another chapter I shall reveal the means employed to make efficient this deep-seated conspiracy against the rights of man; after which I shall portray, as well as my abilities will permit, what a veritable Eden this world would be were government no more; and having shown these things to the reader's satisfaction, and having thus presented ample reasons why government should be abolished, it will then remain to be shown that government can readily be abolished whenever the common people so determine; that it is likely to be abolished soon; and that no consequences whatever but universal peace and joy, would follow its immediate abolition; and finally, for the benefit of those who, by the perusal of this primer, maybe led to wish for further or more elaborate discussions of the themes treated but in outline here, I mean to append a chapter giving the bibliography of anarchism, the leading works, not of anarchists alone, but of generally recognized standard writers, which treat of anarchism, or of special themes, or which demonstrate particular important facts germane to the principal subject. This will be the task I have felt impelled to undertake. I have digressed to give this outline here, to the end that the reader may see that every objection which, as he goes along, may arise in his mind, must necessarily be encountered somewhere during the further progress of the work; and I promise him, knowing well what it is I promise, that every such objection where encountered shall, if he be of honest mind, be answered to his entire satisfaction. And now let us proceed at once to the subject with which this chapter is to deal.

To constitute slavery there must be slaves, masters, and the means by which the former are kept in subjection to the latter. It is my purpose to prove that the common people are the slaves of a privileged few, who are the masters, and that government is the means by which this slavery is maintained. By the "common people" I mean laborers, mechanics and the ordinary class of farmers—the people who do all the world's hard work—who toil with their own hands; and among the laborers I include factory and railroad hands, miners; and, in short, all male and all female workers, adults or children, who work with their hands for others; clerks, and all others who are dependent upon "hiring out" for their means of subsistence. I do not include railroad managers, prosperous authors, nor any other class, whether "brain-workers" or not, who are able to dictate the amount of compensation they shall receive, and are actually free to insist upon terms in making their contracts of employment. In short, I have little patience with the attempts sometimes made to induce the common day laborer to believe that the president of a bank is a laborer, in the same sense as is a section hand on a railroad.

It has always been a favorite notion with the privileged and the rich, that nature itself classified society and made the few rich to be the governors, the many poor to be governed. John Adams, of Massachusetts, one of the men who made the constitution of the United States, thus set forth the theory of his class:

"The people in all nations are naturally divided into two sorts, the gentlemen and the simple men, a word which is here chosen to signify the common people. By the common people we mean laborers, mechanics, husbandmen, and merchants in general, who pursue their occupations in liberal arts and sciences, or in anything but their own trades and pursuits. . . . The distinctions of poor and rich are as necessary in states of considerable extent (such as the United States) as labor and government; the poor are destined to labor, and the rich, by the advantages of education, independence, and leisure, are qualified for superior stations.—John Adams, "Defence of the Constitution," Vol. 3, p. 360, 458.

That things have actually got into this situation; that those who labor are the poor while the rich and the "superior" are those who do not labor; cannot be denied. It has been so ever since the beginning of history.

A friend of the common people has pictured it as even worse than Adams painted it; and even the truthfulness of the sadder picture cannot be denied. Thus wrote Thomas Paine:

"The life of an Indian is a continual holiday compared with the poor of Europe, and on the other hand it appears abject when compared to the rich. Civilization, therefore, or that which is so called, has operated two ways; to make one part of society more affluent, and the other more wretched, than would have been the lot of either in a natural state. . . . The most affluent and the most miserable of the human race are to be found in the countries that are called civilized. . . . To understand what the state of society ought to be, it is necessary to have some idea of the natural and primitive state of man; such as it is at this day among the Indians of North America. There is no man in that state, any of those spectacles of human misery which poverty and want present to our eyes in all the towns and streets of Europe. Poverty, therefore, is a thing created by that which is called civilized life. It exists not in the natural state.—Paine's Agrarian Justice."

These two quotations fairly present the two opposing theories concerning the division of mankind into rich and poor, toilers and "gentlemen." The old theory was that such division is natural; while according to the theory of the anarchists and of all thinkers for centuries, all men are by nature equal, and in the natural state no class could shift upon another the burden of all the labor to be done for all. But let us get firmer hold of the fact itself before testing the theories attempting to explain it. The common people are always poor. Were you looking for rich or prosperous people in any places in the civilized world you would never pause at a laborer's door; it would never occur to you to go out among the common farmers, you would not think of searching among practical mechanics. In all the cities of the world is not the line between wealth and poverty so clearly drawn that the officers of government, the professional men, the bankers, and all of the rich and prosperous live in a particular portion of the town, while another portion is assigned to the poor? And do not the people who work always live in the poorer quarters? Is there not a marked difference even in the very style of the houses? Do they not dress so differently that it is well-nigh impossible to mistake a bondholder, or a railway president, for a carpenter, or a common day-laborer? Aye, were not toiling poverty a veritable uniform that at once bespeaks his calling and position, so that detectives constantly speak of disguising themselves in "working men's clothes" so as not to be suspected by their intended prey? All this is equally true of the farmer. So we have in the common people a definite class, entirely distinguished from all other people in the community. And is it not true of the laborer that, at best, but a bare living, such as he gets, would be some even in time of famine? Does any laborer, mechanic, or common farmer get anything but a slim living in return for the hard work he does? Does he live more comfortably than a slave? Actual statistics show the laborers live on less than convicts in state prisons! Why is this? Is the work the common people do worth only enough to keep them alive while they are doing it? Does not the "contractor" grow rich? And what is there to enrich him but the pay he receives for the work his hired mechanics have done? Can you think of anything else that makes him rich? So of the laborer everywhere; the people who hire him grow prosperous, not wealthy, while the laborer he does. The railroad owners, the proprietors of mills and ele-

vators, the speculators in grain, the exporters, the steamship owners, and every person that has to do with the products of the farmer's field or pastures, on through to the retail dealer who sells at last to the actual consumer—all prosper and live well, and most of them grow rich on the products with which they deal; only the farmer that raised those products is still poor and gets for all his labor but a bare and slender subsistence. Again, all the others can fix their prices for themselves; but the laborer, mechanic and the farmer find their compensation fixed for them, and they must take that or take nothing. They are not permitted to contract; they find their contracts ready made, to be accepted or rejected, but not to be debated nor changed. When railroad or factory laborers, or miners, or the like, insist upon higher wages and strike to enforce their terms, they are at once charged with trying to ruin the business of their employers; for it is considered to be none of the business of the workers what wages shall be paid them. "The wages, the price of farm products, are so much. If you can't live on them; so much the worse for you. You can accept what is offered, or starve!" This is, in effect, the kind of "contract" or "bargain" laborers and farmers are free to make with those they enrich.

THE DUTY OF SOCIALISTS.

CONCERNING VIRTUE AND OUR INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY.

I have a thing to say. But how to say it?

I have a cause to plead. But to what cause?

It is with unutterable pain that I notice a growing tendency among men in the ranks of the reformers—whose devotion to our cause I do not for a moment doubt—to neglect, and in many cases even to deride the duties which life in society imposes upon us all. In my eyes, not only is a man not excused for being a dishonest workman, a bad father, a worthless husband, a libertine or a profligate by his being an ardent socialist, but the very fact of his being a socialist intensifies these vices and crimes a thousand-fold, for having caught sight of the "blazing star" of truth and justice, his life and all its actions should be so illuminated by its rays, as to make men involuntarily turn their eyes to behold whence the light comes. What effect do you suppose our words can have upon men's minds, if every act of our lives is so ordered as to deny our own faith? When a man tells us that he wishes to inaugurate the era of free contract, as men's faith and trust in one another are a sufficient social bond, that there is no need of any external compulsion whatever—and then turns around, and himself breaks almost every contract, whether stated or implied, into which he has entered, how much weight do you suppose his words will have with his hearers? Or again, when he preaches of the equality of the sexes, of the respect due to "woman," when he rails against our present marriage laws because they do not in every way grant woman's entire equality with man, when he dilates on the necessity of the careful education of children, etc., etc., and we look to his own life to get an object lesson in virtue, we behold him, in some cases, living as in a harem, in others, making use of those unfortunate, whom poverty sacrifices by the thousand every year as victims to men's lust, or in still others, severing at the dictate of a mere whim, those relations to wife and children, which can never be lightly broken without society rushing on to destruction,—and we are impressed with the influence which his words must have upon changing the present order of things.

I might go on indefinitely in this way pointing out how society may be shown the uselessness of prohibition by seeing anarchists, even in the most solemn hour of their lives, when most depends upon their calmness and steadiness, unable to control their appetite for strong drink, how it may be shown the beauty of liberty by the entering of others' houses and the appropriation of their property, how it may be shown the blessings of peace by making war upon it, etc., etc., but I think I have already given enough to impress upon all those who are capable of receiving any impression whatever, that the old motto which used to serve as a headline for our copies when we were children at school—actions speak louder than words—has lost none of its force. What is it that attracts the admiration of almost every young student of the French revolution to Robespierre despite his narrow theories, while the Mirabeaus and the Dantons, notwithstanding their mighty genius, almost invariably repel him? The purity and incorruptibility of his private life.

Leaving aside for a moment the bad effects which the evil lives of the expounders of our cause must have upon its propaganda, we will turn our attention to a plea put forward by some revolutionists to excuse their mode of life. "We owe no duties to the present society," they solemnly inform us. "The plea is so absurd in itself, that did I not know it to have been put forth by men of intelligence and education, not by crazy, fanatical advocates of the present order of society, and the erection of a new one upon its ruins, I should feel obliged to apologize to my readers for giving to it a second's consideration. The present society is the only society that we know anything about, and we owe it the duty of trying to make it better, and this we can never do, we may rest assured, by being ourselves worse than the ordinary members of that society. We owe society the duty of passing on at least undiminished the legacy which the ages have handed down to us. Apart from the absurdity of the belief implied in the statement that we owe no duties to the present society—that we shall have one state of society today, and a totally different one tomorrow, by some magic change over night (a belief which I had thought the pretty general acceptance of the theory of evolution had almost wholly eradicated from men's minds) there is another fallacy implied in this statement which calls loudly for explosion. Our ideas and our sentiments not being simply our "furniture" changeable at will, as one able writer would have us believe, but growths, modifiable undoubtedly, but slowly and painfully, we must take care of the ideas and the sentiments which we nourish today and tomorrow and next week and next year, if we would make sure that on the "morning of the revolution" our ideas and our sentiments accord with the better order of things, as otherwise we will inevitably find that we have made no revolution at all, and that "liberty overtly obtained in name will be unobtrusively taken away in fact."

It is because I feel every day more strongly, that anarchistic ends can be subserved only by anarchistic means; in other words, because I feel that the cause of virtue can be served only by virtuous actions, that I am gradually being constrained to feel that my ways and the ways of THE ALARM must for the future lie apart! As the editor informed us in the last issue that the space of the paper was too limited to have any of it devoted to the discussion of the ends we wish to attain; and as I have already given, to the best of my ability, my reason for disagreeing with the editor in his choice of means, there is nothing further to be gained by my continuing to take up his valuable space. It is with sorrow, however, that I go.

I had a thing to say, and it is said. GERTHAUD B. KELLY.

Our Chicago "Labor Enquirer" has succumbed to the inevitable. After an uncertain career of eighteen months it has at last been forced out of existence. With all its shortcomings it was one of the few educators in the labor cause, and even those who condemn most strongly Buchanan's recent policy in favor of Cleveland and the democracy, feel that the cause of radical reform has suffered a severe loss. There are but very few people here, notwithstanding the charges that have recently appeared in certain state socialist organs in the East concerning the dishonesty of the Enquirer management, that are not grieved at the loss of the paper.

One great fault with the Enquirer was that it never took a square stand on any great principle. While at heart its editor was a revolutionary socialist, the Enquirer never could be called a socialist paper. It advocated radical reform in a vague sort of ways that left the reader in considerable doubt as to the drift of the editor's intentions. Buchanan's idea being that it was better to cater to the needs of a semi-conservative class, and gradually imbue them with radical ideas, than to announce himself and the policy of his paper as socialist. In this policy I believe now, as I have always believed, he was mistaken. I have little doubt that he had founded the Chicago Enquirer on the radical and revolutionary basis on which he had conducted his Denver paper, the outcome would have been different. Radicals do not care to sacrifice for a journal that but feebly advocates their principles. Conservatives never sacrifice anything; and no really educational labor paper can exist without sacrifices both on the part of its management and its readers.

Buchanan's support of Cleveland has caused quite a serious split in the state-socialist ranks. On Monday evening last the American League, S. L. P., undertook to rule him out of the party, but his friends were too numerous and powerful, and he was allowed to retain his membership on a vote of 15 to 10.

The last meeting of the Trade and Labor Assembly was devoted almost exclusively to discussions on the "City Slaves Girls" exposures by the "Times." Resolutions endorsing the action of the "Times" were passed, although some of the speakers objected to thanking the "Times" for joining at a late hour in a crusade that has been carried on by radicals for years.

After three weeks of apparently honest and earnest investigation into the facts of female slavery, the "Times" now calls for remedies. To this end it has appealed, by circular and editorially, to the "practical, common-sense philanthropists" men and women of Chicago, and declaring that the opinions of several millionaire merchants and manufacturers, and two or three physicians have been published, and the usual quality of educational and moral shall be offered. Revise the health ordinances, says one; organize training schools, ventures another; "a third would legislate the evils out of existence; a fourth finds an adequate remedy in tariff reform; a fifth declares for more protection, and so on ad nauseam. Only one of the "doctors" seems to even know the cause of such conditions. He says, and truly, that society is responsible, and the cure lies in the reconstruction of society.

I expect during the coming week several radicals will venture an opinion, though the "Times" may refuse to do justice in this regard.

AN HONEST CONFESSION.

Society is an assemblage of oppressors and oppressed where some who are rich, idle and voluptuous have their enjoyment at the expense of the multitude.—H. Heine.

SHEPHERDS OF MEN.

The shepherd always lives at the expense of his flock, and governments at the expense of the governed.—M. C. Rosetti.

SPOILIATION AND LAW.

When spoliation has once become the recognized means of existence of a body of men, united and held by social ties, they soon proceed to form a law which sustains it, and to adopt a system of morals which sanctifies it.—Bastiat.

TITLE TO LAND.

Did you bring your land from a neighboring planet? No; you enjoy it from the effect of a convention.—Necker.

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

FAILURE OF THE LABOR ENQUIRER. EVEN DEMOCRACY DID NOT SAVE IT.

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The shepherd always lives at the expense of his flock, and governments at the expense of the governed.—M. C. Ros

"THE PARIS COMMUNE."

LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE L.
A. 2,022, K. OF L., NEW YORK,
ON JULY 18, 1888.

AN ABLE AND PHILOSOPHIC DESCRIPTION
OF THE CAUSES OF THE PROLETARIAN
REVOLT AND ITS INCIDENTS.

BY MARIE LOUISE DAVID.

Brothers and Sisters.—By standing before you to night, to lecture on the "Paris Commune," I clearly acknowledge that I am addressing an assemblage of intelligent men and women—for it is impossible to treat that subject on a neutral ground. Leaning for or against is inevitably connected with it. I shall be as impartial as my judgment permits, but I shall fearlessly expose my views, derived, as they are, from a careful study of the actions of the commune and a knowledge of the history and temperament of the French people.

The Franco-German war of 1870 was the political event which brought about the outbreak of the revolution, called the "revolution of the commune."

After the surrender of Napoleon III. at Sedan, the proclamation of the republic and the unsuccessful attempt of Leon Gambetta to drive the Germans out of France, Paris found herself surrounded by the invading armies.

Within Paris, the government had organized the people into a national guard. This body numbered 300,000. They were supported by a corps of regular troops numbering 40,000. To these two armed bodies was entrusted the defense of the French metropolis.

When the provincial government, sitting at Versailles, signed the treaty of peace, Paris received the news with anger and distrust. The people knew that France could still command an enormous army and an immense amount of war material. Paris, alone, possessed 600 field pieces; small arms and ammunition in still greater quantity. Why did the government capitulate in the face of such ample means of defense? Paris had heroically borne her long siege, sufferings, hunger and death. She was ready to face the enemy, and conquer or die. Why were they ordered to give up their arms to the enemy without an attempt to drive them away? Such were the questions which were agitating the mind of the Parisians and awakening their anger and distrust. They knew that the provisional government was composed of Bonapartists whose fortunes were linked with the empire, and who would shrink before nothing to destroy the republic and re-instate the imperial government; also of monarchists, Adolphe Thiers as their leader, who were watching for a chance to proclaim a Bourbon or Orleans as King of France; also of men of the bourgeoisie or moneyed class who would accept anything and everything in order to crush the toiling masses in their attempt to emancipate themselves. They remembered how, in 1815, the

bourgeoisie compromised with Great Britain and received, with open arms, a Bourbon king which that neighboring country set on the throne of France as one would set a dummy on a box. By destroying the great warrior, Napoleon I, they were destroying the last prestige and spirit of the great French revolution, and establishing a bourgeoisie rule. The Parisians remembered all that, and determined never to lay down their arms until the republic be secured from the encroachments of the monopolizers of power.

Accordingly, when the government sent orders to the national guard to surrender their arms, they received from the people a blank refusal. The 40,000 regular troops marched out of Paris and laid at the feet of the Germans 1,800 cannons; all the mitrailleuses and 200,000 chassepots.

When the national guard beheld those disarmed soldiers re-entering Paris with slow, humiliated steps and down-cast looks, they clung to their own arms with frenzy. They took their cannons and, being short of horses, they dragged them themselves up to the heights of Montmartre and other secure places wherefrom they could be used to advantage. The national guard bought nearly all those cannons with their own private money.

A central committee was then appointed to manage the movement of the rebellion.

On the 17th of March, the government ordered some regular troops located in Paris to capture the cannons of the national guard. Upon attempting to do so, the regulars were surrounded by the populace in which women and children were very conspicuous and they were unable to effect their capture.

The soldiers, being children of the people, were seized with the contagious fire of the revolution, and instantly reversed their arms. They fraternized with the people amid repeated cries of "Vive la ligne"—"Vive la garde nationale"—"Vive la republique."

General Lecomte in command of the troops having remonstrated, was taken into custody by his own soldiers, to whom in the past he had been cruel and on the same day was shot by them.

Such was the revolution which brought about the election of municipal officers for Paris. Those elections took place on the 26th of March. On one side stood the retiring mayors of Paris as government candidates. On the other side stood the candidates of the people.

The platform of these latter was equalization of the communes or "parishes," as the English call them, and the perfect autonomy for each with a system of federation for the whole; just as is the position of the states in this republic. That platform was a system of decentralization. Paris is divided into 20 "arrondissements," having one mayor and other municipal officers for each arrondissement.

The result of the ballot showed that 250,000 electors had cast their vote; that four arrondissements had returned government candidates, and sixteen had returned candidates of the people—a majority of four to one in favor of decentralization.

On the next day, the newly elected assembled to take the oath of allegiance to the republic and their constituents. In that sitting they adopted the name of "Commune of Paris."

Such was the formation of that remarkable assembly, the memory of which is bitterly assailed by the reactionists and conservatives all over the world, and which is blessed with the devoted love of all free-minded men and women.

The government of Versailles, seeing the success of the Parisians regarding their organization, now set to attack them and destroy the spirit which seemed to engross all the metropolis.

It seems surprising that the mere demand of the Parisians for equalization of communes in a geographical point of view, with a perfect autonomy for each and a federation for them all, should raise on the side of the government such outpouring of wrath and fury as they displayed in their contest with the commune. But, surprising as it appears, they were perfectly consistent with the principle of self-preservation. They saw danger assuming the magnitude of a giant and their intellectual foresight did not deceive them either. Dangerous breakers were ahead. They could not sit idle and look at them. In the principle of autonomy for each commune of France, they saw clearly the hand tracing below: Autonomy for each individual, or, in other terms, self-government.

The question was complex. It resembled the crisis of the war of secession in America. The right to secede was not the only question at issue. Apart from that political difficulty stood a social one ten-fold more serious in its results than the political one.

The declaration that no man has a right to hold another man in slavery, even though that man be a negro, involved the downfall of all kind of oppression; it is the sacredness of the individual.

To understand well the spirit that animated the Commune of Paris, we must take a retrospective glance at French history. The very first important outburst of revolt in favor of individual rights originated among an intelligent and well-to-do portion of the French people, as it always happens in the case of all legitimate rebellion. It was a revolt against religious intolerance. It occurred in 1520 when Luther proclaimed the right of each individual to think for himself on religious matters.

Supporters of the new faith sprang out all over the French territory. These were called "Huguenots." Although, on the night of St. Bartholomew, 70,000 followers of the reformation were slaughtered, nevertheless the spirit of liberty survived. It filled the air with contagious longing to rebel against all imposed tyranny. The agitation and uneasiness in the mind of the people grew stronger and stronger as it clashed against the increasing efforts of despots warring fiercely against them.

Two hundred and fifty years after the rising of Luther, the thinking and oppressed portions of the French people realized that if the pope was not infallible, the king was certainly very fallible. At that time, we find that only two classes of the nation were represented in parliament, viz., the nobility and clergy. Those two sections, with a king by divine right, or infallible and sacred, covered their tyranny and crimes under the folds of the immaculate white flag spangled with lilies.

The masses of the people—industrial, laborers, soldiers, bondmen, etc., were not represented and had no voice in the country. The arbitrary way in which the two governing classes used their power was most revolting. Carlyle, in his "History of the French Revolution," mentions that noblemen going to court coming from hunting had a right to, and were in the habit of shooting at men of the people to try their aim or empty the barrel of their guns. It seems that those noblemen had agreed to human game, for Carlyle relates that a short time previous to the outbreak of the revolution of 1789, a law was passed limiting at two the number of men of the people whom a nobleman might legally shoot when returning from hunting.

Carlyle also states another instance of the cruelty and depravity of the government of king, noblemen and priests. "These rulers had a notion that it was beneficial to their health to bathe their worn out and decrepit bodies in the warm blood of young children. The poor, enslaved and brutalized people had to supply the materials for such medicinal purposes. One of those instances occurred a short time before the revolt of 1789. This time forty children of the people were carried away and slaughtered to supply the bath of young and warm blood."

Carlyle remarks that on this occasion the mothers of the forty slaughtered children cried, wept and behaved in a disorderly way. Accordingly, as they had not submitted silently to the wish of their masters, the forty mothers were hanged on the public place in order to set to the other women of the people, an example of the penalty which the crime of disobedience deserves. These two historical illustrations are sufficient to enable intelligent persons to fully comprehend why a faint consciousness of their individual birthright was all it required to drive the French people to despair and throw them into an open and bloody rebellion.

Animated by the spirit of such men as Mirabeau and Danton, they fought like lions and would see no other alternative but "conquer or die."

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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R. Parsons while in the shadow of the
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beliefs, is unquestionably the most complete
and comprehensive of the principles and
views of those who call themselves anarchists
that has yet been put in print.—Chicago
Express.

In his preface Mr. Parsons says: "I
omit 25, Cook Co. Jail, Chicago, Ill., Oct.
27, 1887.—This book has been written
and compiled in response to the public demand
for information upon the subject of
anarchy. The circumstances under which
the work has been performed, in my opinion,
should, if not could, tend to add interest
and importance to the subject presented
therein. If the public shall be furnished
with information, or assisted in reaching
a clearer and more intelligent understanding
of the principles and views of those who
call themselves anarchists, I shall deem
that a sufficient reward for my humble effort
to supply it."

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Social Problems

OF
TO-DAY,

OR THE
MORMON QUESTION

IN ITS
Economic Aspect.

A study of co-operation and arbitration
in Mormonism, from the standpoint
of a wage-worker. By DYER LAM.
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elsewhere carefully suppressed. 30
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"THE ALARM" CLUB
HAS ARRANGED FOR A GRAND

EXCURSION,
IN AID OF THE ALARM

PUBLISHING FUND,
MONDAY, SEPT. 3, 1888.

LABOR DAY

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Albert R. Parsons
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Subject of Discussion:
CLEMENS' PRIMER OF ANARCHY.
All are invited.

THE ALARM.

VOL. I. No. 26.

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

THE QUESTION OF FORCE. A FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE METHOD OF RESISTANCE TO EXPLOITATION.

AS IN THE PAST LEGALIZED INJUSTICE
CAN ONLY BE REMOVED BY FORCEFUL
REVOLUTIONARY MEANS.

I am exceedingly sorry to notice that
Mr. John F. Kelly's answer to the argu-
ments made use of by the editor of the
ALARM and myself in the discussion on
the advisability of using force is framed
in a spirit of hostility, bitterness and
even of reproach. Now I am perfectly
convinced that Mr. John F. Kelly as
well as Miss Gertrude Kelly or Mr. Per-
rie hold their opinions as sincere as we
the advocates of judicially using force
and vice versa, and I see not the slight-
est reason for revolutionists to discuss
any question in an unfriendly spirit. We
are all concerned about one thing and
that is: The emancipation of the work-
ers and we only disagree as regards the
ways and means to bring about a bet-
ter state of society. To realize our ob-
ject, to find out the nearest way to the
end, we have in view, to clear our own
minds on a good many points; a fair,
candid and calm discussion is necessary.
Why on earth then should we approach
this question of the use of force in a
manner which must surely lead to
estrangement and animosity?

If I had my way, if I could play out
one hour the role usually assigned by
goodly-goody people to God Almighty's
son there would be no necessity for a
forcible revolution. However, as I have
been very ill-advised in the selection of
my parents, who are but poor mortals,
I must make the best of it and take so-
ciety and human kind as they are.

To me it seems perfectly clear and in-
disputable that society has not yet
evolved out of that barbaric state
which makes it an unavoidable necessity
to use force to make any sweeping
change.
In looking around I see most distinct-
ly two classes: an exploiting and an ex-
ploited class. The one class well pro-
tected, possessing all the riches of this
world and well served by learned men,
by men versed in the art of warfare, in
the use of a brilliant pen and a silvery
tongue, and on the other side I see, jelly-
fish-like, large quantities of human be-
ings, uneducated, possessing nothing
but their labor power which they have
to sell without choice to the first bidder
like any slave, badly clad and fed, living
from day to day without knowing what
tomorrow will bring, deceived by their
own leaders, struggling in ruin and in
the dark to be happy without being
able to think of the how, the where, and
the when. Such a contrast presents so-
ciety to me today. And then I con-
sider—are those unhappy, miserable
mortals going to be enslaved for ever?
Are they always to be the footstool, the
spittoon of King Cash? and history
tells me clearly: No, and economics
show me the way to help them out of
their misery.

They are unhappy, enslaved and un-
able to improve their position as slaves
in society because the means of produc-
tion and distribution are in the hands
of a gang of marauders, who live like
leeches on the blood of the purest, the
most healthy and least spoiled by civil-
ization members of mankind. And these
exploiters are protected by another
gang of vampires, commonly called
civil servants, makers and executors of
the law, by an army and navy, a police
and a detective department, and last
but not least this whole system is bol-
stered up by demagogues, corruption
and general suspicion.

How is it now possible to alter all
this? Only by expropriating the thief,
by restoring to the rightful owner, the
people, the stolen property, and this can
only be achieved either legally or il-
legally. Can't be done legally? What
are legal means? I suppose the legal
means most thought of is utilizing the
parliamentary system, sending men to

parliament, to congress and the state
legislatures to do wonders. But does
any person possessing a well-balanced
mind ever believe that a man, however
honest he may be, can pass one session in
any legislative assembly without be-
coming corrupt to the backbone? What
fools ye mortals be who but dream of
such a possibility!

No, it cannot be done that way. Par-
liaments are the inventions of some hell-
ish fiend, who invented them specially
to cheat the workers through talk. How
deliciously sweet and innocent is the
idea that the capitalist class will permit
laws to be made, by their own hirelings,
the politicians, and in their own assem-
bly too; verdicts in accord with these
laws to be rendered by judges of their
creation and the verdicts to be carried
into effect faithfully and up to the letter
by the police and suchlike lambs of
brutality.

Let us pass on from this heavenly
vision.
I believe in using all means. First, let
us educate the best elements, the most
able members of the working class, turn
these new made converts into agitators
to increase the discontent of the people,
to inculcate the masses at large with
the belief that a radical change in the
economic basis of society must be
brought about. Secondly, attack the
citadels of the bourgeoisie, where ever
there is a chance by so doing to further
the cause of the revolution.

Yes, I for one am a "crazy and fanat-
ical" revolutionist who wants to alter
completely the whole system of society,
to leave no stone unturned. As the
stomach is the basis of the construction
of the human body, so economics are
the foundation of social systems and an
alteration of the economics necessitates
a radical change of every institution in
society. But, says Mr. Kelly, just think
of us "casting guns and providing all
sorts of munitions of war in order to
compel the satiating, enemy fully armed
and equipped, standing quietly by and
waiting for us to get ready." Because
a robbery happens to meet in a forest is
armed with all sorts of deadly weapons,
is that an inducement for me, not to
use my revolver? I think not, just on
the contrary. If the bourgeois had no
arms at their disposal perhaps we might
be able to settle our disputes peacefully,
but they being armed forces us to fol-
low the given example.

And here is Mr. Perrine telling us
"that the war was for the preservation
of the union and tomorrow I can hear
some republican orator telling how they
saved the government." Obviously the
war was for the preservation of the
union, but why did the southerners de-
sire to secede? Because they feared that
the election of Lincoln and the appoint-
ment of Seward to a place in the cabinet
was plainly a stepping stone to the aboli-
tion of slavery. If I remember rightly,
during the election campaign Seward
used and Lincoln endorsed the phrase:
"The point at issue is not raised by agi-
tators but is the fight of two economic
systems: whether free labor or slave
labor shall be the ruling system." And
what originated the war? Nothing but
the indecision of the republican party,
who shrink, eye, quaver like if you like,
Mr. Kelly, from advocating force as a
means to abolishing black slavery. This
indecision inspired the southerners with
a sincere contempt for the fighting abil-
ity of the north, and as true as the feudal
system, black slavery could only be
abolished by force, so wage slavery can
only be done away with by the same
means.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

OUR LAW MAKERS.

An exchange says: "The Standard
Oil Company has three of its number in
the United States senate. The Central
Pacific has its president and two or
three others there. The Georgia Central
railroad president is a senator. National
bank president is a senator. The Penn-
sylvania Central railroad has two. A
majority of United States senators
hold their seats by purchase, and all
who do not approve of all these actions
of these senators, and all the laws
passed by them, are called anarchists."
—Southern Industry.

There is, however, providential analogy.

FARMERS BOAST THEIR LIVE
STOCK, WHY NOT THE MILL-
OWNER HIS OPERATIVES?

A SHORT AND CAUSTIC CRITICISM OF SOME
RECENT CAMPAIGN REMARKS BY
COLONEL INGERSOLL.

Col. R. B. Ingersoll, by press report,
solders a splendid man and woman-
hood on his protected factories, by a
capitalist generosity characteristically
American. Due allowance made for bun-
combe, what remains of this boasted
prosperity was most evident during the
period of low tariff. The American of
today is the European of yesterday;
Saxon or Norman, a little crossed with
Celt, Indian and Negro distinct in the
back ground. A more trying climate,
new dangers, and needs in the past gen-
eration, with more varied opportunities,
have developed adaptiveness, invention
and the sentiment of individuality,
rather than of class; but these distinc-
tions lessen, with a more restricted field
of action, and especially with that sub-
division of functions in factory works
which renders the operative a part of
the machine.

The tailor has been rated as the one
ninth of a man, what fraction then is he
who spends his life in making the one-
ninth of the tailor's needles?
Wages, they say, have risen, are
higher now than when the literary
Lowell girls published their "offering"
to ideal labor. What wages I wonder,
would induce Col. Ingersoll to place his
daughters in one of these mills that
weave the warp of splendid woman-
hood—a sphere congenial! surely. In
this free country, where there are no
classes, but all masses, especially by
them, asses, it could not be considered
infra dig.

Facultative adaptiveness and person-
al initiative salient from routine, are
attributed rather of youth than of any
local sphere, even that of American fac-
tories.
To verify the Colonel's boast, we need
industrial education eliciting vocations
not exclusive but varied; meanwhile
feeding and clothing the pupil. Let the
mill be at least as providential as the
old plantation used to be for Cuffy.

I have so often scanned the crowd re-
turning from the factory to whatever
rented rooms may serve them, by cour-
tesy, as homes, without ideal splendors
having dawned upon my vision, that I
must regard Col. Ingersoll as prophet-
ic of that "good time coming" boys
by ulterior attitudes of wages. Couple
these prophetic splendors with the axi-
om—As the sphere, such the life that
comes to fill it. Inspired, doubtless by
the goddess Tari of protection, Godin
builds a palace for his iron founders
from the profits of their stoves; what
genii must then obey the talisman of
the American idea!

Farmers boast their live stock; why
not the mill owner his operatives? It
is unlucky that his title to their persons
is defective in law; let our legislators
look to this and so abolish strikes, that
it may be fulfilled what was written by
the G. M. W. Terence of Scranton.

"LIBERAL" TARIFF VIEW. FARMERS BOAST THEIR LIVE STOCK, WHY NOT THE MILL- OWNER HIS OPERATIVES?

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But Col. Ingersoll is no sordid mat-
erialist; he does not limit by wages the
enviable lot of his operatives, but adds
the transcendent fact of defense from
demagogues based on the fact of equal-
ity at the polls between them and the
millionaires, and the other fact that
votes are a saleable commodity. Why
bother about economic reforms when
"the intelligent working man can get all
he wants by the ballot?" Our colonel,
like King Henry IV., literally wishes the
hiring a chicken in the pot, not mean-
ing a trifled turkey with champagne
the less for Uncle Sam's elect of grace.

Jehovah promised land to his petrace.
Col. Ingersoll, who is wiser than all
Yahveh, alias Moses, Prophets & Co.,
and is not on speaking terms with these
Elohim, avoids plagiarism in assigning
the factory to his favored Americans.
There is, however, providential analogy.

As Yahveh afflicted the Egyptians and
other enemies of Israel with divers
plagues, so Col. Ingersoll afflicts for-
eigners with land-hunger in additional
protection of his elect operatives from
competition of numbers.

Considerate for their ingenuity in labor
saving methods, he shows his own in
bringing the starvelings of European
skinfrits across the frog pond, to culti-
vate the illusion of their own vines and
fig trees, where the native clodhopper
is sinking in the quicksand of his debts
and mortgages.

Blessed be this foreign land-hunger
which shelters the American child from
sun and wind, within factory walls, with
a protective tariff roof, able to buy with
its own penny a stick of glucose candy
at the pluck-me store. Let him thus
growing up to republican manhood, find
himself equal with liberal Bob who will
never call him mudsill, but treat him
with political politeness, and may be
something stronger on election day.

The liberal heart is tender for the
Philitine, the Hittite and the Jebusite,
robbed and slain of old by authority of
Yahveh, alias Moses, alias Joshua & Co.
The apophysis of misery under political
concentrations of capital in the mill
owner or landlord, sanctioned by Vox
Dei of the box, is O. K. Parasite plato-
crats and tax fed officials inhale incense
withhold from bankrupt deities. In
authority only the myth offends "lib-
eralism." Only call Yahveh Uncle Sam,
and he inherits the mantle falling from
the shoulders of the clerical Elijah.

Is it possible that Col. Ingersoll may
have contemplated only the results of
protection in this higher sphere? I dare
say the mill owners families are splendid.
He was then speaking of the fruit, and I
of its manna.

Under a "free government," besides,
why should not an employe add an "r"
and graduate capitalist? There is no
legal penalty attached to good luck,
unless by one of the few thousand laws
passed this year, and which to the shame
of my loyalty I have not learned by
heart, though represented as having a
hand in them.

Liberalism, of old, emptied pockets in
behalf of the needy. Modern liberalism
discredits old oriental idioms, and con-
secrates accumulations. It finds Jesus
only a tramp.

ENGELWORTH.

ENGLAND AND IRELAND. THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDI- TION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. FACTS FOR THE STUDENT.

INSTRUCTIVE STATISTICS RELATIVE TO
THE GREAT "INDUSTRIAL DEVELOP-
MENT" OF ENGLAND.

In dealing with the economical con-
dition of England, or more properly
speaking, of the united kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland, and of the
various classes in relation to each other,
I shall go back to 1829, though most
writers on the subject go back only to
1840. I shall refer to none but recog-
nized authorities and official statistics.
It will be necessary in dealing with the
increase of wealth to deal also with the
increase of population, and to some ex-
tent with the rise and fall of values.

It is often said that England is the
richest country in the world, that is, in
proportion to her population. It is also
said that during the last fifty years her
wealth has increased sixfold than that of
any other country either in ancient or
modern times. Taking into account her
rapid increase of population, we find
that her wealth has increased in a still
greater ratio. Notwithstanding that
England is the richest country in the
world, by the side of her extremes of
wealth we have the extremes of poverty.
By the side of her riches we have the
direst want and misery.

Taking the sixty years ending 1882,
while her population increased 73 per
cent. In other words, her wealth in-
creased more than 6 to 1 in proportion
to her increase of population. In 1822
her wealth was 2,050 million pounds
sterling, equal to 82 pounds sterling 13s. 4d.
per head of population. In 1840, 4,030
million pounds sterling, equal to
150 pounds sterling per head; in
1860, 5,560 million pounds sterling,
equal to 191 pounds sterling per head; in
1878, 7,960 million pounds sterling, equal
to 233 pounds sterling 10s. per head; in
1882 her wealth had increased to 8,720
million pounds sterling, equal to 249
pounds sterling per head, and in 1885 to
9,410 million pounds sterling, equal to
261 pounds sterling per head. Undoubt-
edly such an enormous increase of
wealth over and above the increase of
population is without a parallel in the
history of the world.

But let us take the years 1840, 1860,
and 1882, and see the contrast:

	1820	1860	1882
Popul.	11,000,000	18,000,000	24,000,000
Wealth	2,050,000,000	5,560,000,000	8,720,000,000
Per Head	186s. 4d.	310s. 0d.	363s. 4d.

Let us take the years 1840, 1860,
and 1882, and see the contrast:

	1840	1860	1882
Popul.	18,000,000	24,000,000	28,000,000
Wealth	4,030,000,000	5,560,000,000	8,720,000,000
Per Head	223s. 4d.	231s.	

THE ALARM.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

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DYER D. LUM, Editor,
To whom all communications should be addressed.
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NEW YORK CITY.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

Equality of Opportunities for All—Hence, extinction of privilege and restriction, protection and oppression, privileged rights and vested wrongs.
Free Land, Natural Credit, and Equitable Commerce—Hence, abolition of rent, interest and profit.
Sovereignty of the Individual—Hence, liberty, the cessation of authority, or industrial emancipation and social co-operation.

MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE

PRISON CELL 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1897.
The Alarm has, as you know, over rung out strong and clear the danger that threatened the people. To other hands is now committed that task which was mine in the work and duty as editor of this paper. Though fallen, wounded perhaps unto death, in the battle for liberty, the standard—the press—which my hands bore aloft in the midst of the struggle is caught up by other hands, and will be again and again, I needs, till the crimson banner waves in triumph over the enemies of reason, brotherhood, and happiness. Our country, Dyer D. Lum, is my editorial successor. To the great, or many of you, he is well known. His strictness, courage, and ability in the most arduous work of a newspaper editor, I am proud to recognize by all. Therefore, try to him in his work your hearty support—he is worthy and able. Farewell. A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1898.

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field battling for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation, soliciting support for the publication fund will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Send all donations to the treasurer of The Alarm Club, A. Tewes, 350 Grove street, Jersey City, N. J.

CONCERNING VIRTUE.

One of the many disadvantages connected with being a man, is that one is always suspected of being a stranger to virtue. It would seem to be a bad metaphor to say that Miss Kelly hits from the shoulder, yet I cannot help thinking she is hitting the air instead of any tangible object.

When a boy draws a picture of a horse, and writes beneath it "This is a horse," we know what the boy meant to describe, even though the delineation more resembles a cockroach. But Miss Kelly's explanatory legend, "This is virtue," is an inexplicable explanation, so to speak.

Let us recall the origin of the dispute. A controversy arose in these columns over the right to forcibly resist injustice and invasion of individual rights. While I have been careful to make my own position clear, I ventured to disagree with Miss Kelly. In fact, I confess to a liking for the spirit of the maxim my ancestors loved to repeat, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." Quakerism would find in me a poor advocate. But let us see wherein I have sinned. There is one passage undoubtedly meant to be indubitably strong which is even less plain than the boy's first effort to draw a picture of a horse, she says:

You say, I advocate such and such theories of social adjustment—the object of my answer, the acceptance of those ideas would tend to destroy society—you are the only one that I know that holds those theories, and behold the incontinence of your life—if all other men act as you do, society would instantly go to pieces.

As Miss Kelly subsequently takes especial pains to exempt me from attack as being the object of her un-motivated picture, and as she has no knowledge of my acts save as displayed in print, I am bound to accept the somewhat ambiguous remark as referring to my audacity

in differing from her upon the question of force.

As the word "virtue" was not accompanied with an explanatory diagram, or legend underneath, so the words "incontinence of my life" might easily have several meanings. Taking the expression in the sense evidently intended, incapacity to hold, want of restraint, I am again sorely puzzled. I have simply held that as a social, or, if you will, moral, right men may and ought, either singly or collectively, to forcibly resist invasion, or infringements upon personal liberty, lo! I cease to be a "virtuous," and display the "incontinence of my life." But THE ALARM is a revolutionary journal! Why not say so and not masquerade behind words of various meanings? Some other dear friends have made the same astonishing discovery. In this they have not discovered their unique perspicacity. All Chicago knew as much last November when THE ALARM was resurrected. In fact, I am led to believe that I have ceased to love this mythical "virtue," and displayed my "incontinence" by refusing to switch Albert E. Parsons' paper from the course Albert E. Parsons loved. To make his paper a mere economic encyclopedia after being selected as his "editorial successor" might be consistent with mythical "virtue," but in my mind would be damnable dishonesty. THE ALARM has taken no new course. Lack of space and type has compelled the exclusion of much matter I would be glad to still publish, but the editorial columns breathe the same spirit now as when I first assumed control. However short of virtue's path this may be, however much my theoretical views may prove the incontinence of my life, I leave it to my readers if it is not thoroughly consistent—with manly—honesty. With a schoolroom virtue learned from books, or by frequent consultation with Mrs. Grundy, or worn as a badge to be observed by all men, I am deficient. To that indictment I would plead guilty. I do not deny virtue, or morality, yet I cannot help thinking she is hitting the air instead of any tangible object.

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and at the G. A. held at Cincinnati, Sept., 1883, made his first report in which it appears (page 424) that it cost him \$402.15 to collect \$520. The fraud was so transparent that "the little tycoon" was defeated for re-election by a large majority. Further, the finance committee unanimously submitted a report in which Litchman was declared a defaulter to the amount of \$537.15, and his successor, Homer L. McGaw moved that the G. A. hold him responsible for that amount, which with an unimportant amendment was adopted (pages 486 to 488).

In the following year, upon the first day's session of the G. A. at Philadelphia, the first page of the report shows upon Litchman rising to make a motion James E. Quinn objected "on the ground of being a defaulter." The report fails to add, probably through politeness, the words "and a thief." Later (page 568) Litchman was again branded as a thief by Victor Drury of D. A. 49.

By a peculiar combination of circumstances Litchman was elected secretary of the order two years ago at Richmond. True to his record he has again trailed the name of the order in the dirt. His past gives no countenance to even a suspicion that his present course is dictated by any other motive than "boodle." Proven short on the defence fund, convicted of defalcation on the insurance fund, and repeatedly branded as a thief on the floor of the general assembly, Chairman Quay is welcome to his purchase and the order entitled to congratulation that "the little tycoon" did not wait for the application of the boot in November next to the bosom of his pants.

In the last issue of "United Irishman" my friend Rossa concludes an article in these words: "The case of Ireland looks today a hopeless case. God give us a change!" Hello, Jerry! How is this? Have "the resources of civilization" failed? Do you advise the "Volunteers" to take to their knees and beads? Wouldn't we both look well on a "Prie-Dieu" soliciting the freedom of Ireland?

An esteemed correspondent writes me: "I have a little if not less sympathy with the revolutionists as I have with the orthodox politicians. A neutral ground does not suit me." Now, I submit that is a little hard. After being rejected as destitute of virtue, I am told that a revolutionary attitude is neutrality. Inferentially, anarchistic quakerism is aggressive if not "orthodox." Well! Well!

CRITICAL SYMPATHY.
This is an effective series, and G. C. Clemens merits the most cordial recognition; but it is regrettable that in the issue of Aug. 25, he should have allowed himself an optimism unsustained by facts, and at which sceptics will smile, saying—so anarchy like Christ's second coming and the "single tax reform," is to bring in the millennium right away. Not even a Darwinian optimism required for the evolution of spontaneous animabilities among civilizes, who have hitherto been giving points to the cannibals in all manner of helpfulness. Mr. C. does not exaggerate the evils of government, but can we reasonably reproach it with the tribal woes of savages? With the miseries resulting from their ignorance and oppression of women? The Arab of the desert is very little governed, yet prone to cruelty and slave making. Doubtless the governmental spirit is not foreign to such abuses, but it behooves us to discriminate between the psychic taint, or disease of the social constitution, and the external organizations

of empires, monarchies, republics, etc. These may fall and crumble into anonomies; then the more interior and radical work of anarchic culture may commence. Its evolution must however be unequal, as well as very gradual, among such populations as we know. Between the external forms and the essential facts of government, anarchism stands the autonomy with its county court, its analogous mechanism of authority. I witness very grievous oppressions by their mechanism, with its sheriff execution, which accuse a lack or perversion of ethical culture in local populations. Such culture, with corresponding results, such as the surcease of the sheriff and reference of difficulties to the ethical sentiment and personal action of neighbors, is the first feasible step in the pacific evolution of anarchism. Anarchists must prove to general society the superiority of their principles. To effect this, of course they must constitute strong local majorities, capable of suppressing by the boycott the election of sheriff and all pernicious governmentalism. EDGEWORTH.

LETTER FROM A WORKING GIRL.
To the Editor of Lake Superior Sentinel:
I have been thinking for some time to write a few words in your paper to show how some girls are treated now-a-days in several places I know of. They have to get up at three and four o'clock in the morning and wash, and then work all day. They often have to work twelve to fifteen hours a day, and if they say they are tired, there are very few mistresses that will even answer them. Just as if girls had no right to be tired, and if they are not able to do all the work they are not wanted. The ladies say that they are more trouble than they are worth. It is even worse with girls that don't know how to talk English. I have heard the ladies say that the girls ought to pay them for the privilege of working for them until they understand the work and the language. I think this is terrible. Some girls are brighter than others, and will pick up quicker, but some it would take probably a year or more to understand it all. Now who will dress them if they are not to have any pay for their work? Then some of the foreigners, Scandinavians especially, will send to the old countries for girls and tell them that they will have some nice time if they will only come to this country and work for them. They come on tickets sent them; they are then told that the fare is ten or fifteen dollars more than it really is and that they must work it out. They go to work when they get here, from morning to night; they are afraid to talk to outsiders for fear they will have a blowing up. They are afraid to go as far as their next-door-neighbor's for fear they will get a scolding, just as if they were little girls. Then some of the girls will have to stay a year or two to work-out the amount of their passage money. Girls that work in the kitchen are talked about always. It don't make any difference what they are doing when the door-bell rings, go to the door at once they must. Perhaps you are on the floor scrubbing, or black-leading the stove, leave everything and go. Then the callers whoever they may be, will say, "what a dirty girl you have" and so on.

Oh, girls, I wish you all were my sisters and that we could stick up for our rights. Who will for us if we don't? There are lots of girls that when their mistresses come out into the kitchen they will wait on her as if she was the queen; they will tremble as long as she is there. What is there to tremble about,

girls? This is a free country, we aren't slaves if we don't want to be. As this is my first letter I must cut it short for fear you won't let me write any more.

Very respectfully,
AMY WERKER.
The best practical remedy for the evils spoken of in our fair correspondent's letter is organization. Girls, if you would better your condition you must organize for mutual protection; for education; or, gauge to break down this terrible ostracism that surrounds the life of the hired girl. All honest labor is noble and holy and because a girl is a working girl she is none the less a lady. True nobility is in the heart and mind, not in the dress, or in the purse. Housework above all other work is best fitted for the hands of women and is her special sphere. Foolish indeed is the man who would in any degree despise a woman because she was engaged in housework.—Lake Superior Sentinel.

THINGHOOD AGAINST MANHOOD.
I urge that the power to make money, like any other power, is a trust bestowed on the possessor for humanity. The preacher who preaches for his salary, not for the spiritual well-being of his parishioners, is a mercenary; the physician who practices for his fees, not to cure the sick, is a mercenary; the lawyer who pleads for his honorarium, not for justice, is a mercenary; the politician who enacts laws for what he can make, not for the community, is a mercenary; no less the manufacturer, the merchant, the trader, the man on 'change, who transacts business to make money, not to give the community its meat in due season, is a mercenary. In the history of the nineteenth century the doctrine that wealth is a trust must stand by the side of the doctrine that labor is an honor and liberty is an obedience. The materialism that threatens the American church is not the materialism of Herbert Spencer. It is the materialism of the railroad, the factory, the shop; the materialism that puts thinghood above manhood; that does not know that things were made for man, not man for things.—Dr. Lyman Abbott.

CO-OPERATION VS. COMBINATION.
If the products of machinery were sold at cost, it would then be for the interest of every one to afford any facilities in his power toward its construction and its operation, and in thus reducing cost for his own advantage, he would be equally promoting the interest of every one who used the products of the machine. Thus, then, upon the principle of cost being made the limit of price, is the interest of all made to co-operate, but not to combine, with the interest of each. Thus is solved the great problem of the individual good harmonized with the public good! This does simple equity outstrip the sagacity and genius of man, and work out for him the great problem of society, without the destruction of liberty.—Josiah Warren.

STATE-SOCIALISTIC METHODS.
If there is any one man in Chicago to whom the socialists are indebted more than another for all the prestige they have had for the past year and a half, it is Joe Buchanan. The socialists themselves realized this and acknowledged their debt by chipping in their weekly quarters, holding beer picnics and otherwise contributing to the support of his paper. But, alas! for poor human aspirations! As soon as the roar of the rockies chose to assert his individuality, the socialists rise "en masse" and fire him bodily from their organization. Socialists have no use for anyone with opinions of his own.—Chicago Knights of Labor.

PRIMER OF ANARCHY.
ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHISM EXPLAINED TO THE PRIMARY CLASS.
FIRST LESSONS FOR THE STUDENT IN THE NEW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS—WHAT GOVERNMENT IS AND WHY IT SHOULD CEASE.
BY G. C. CLEMENS.
VI.
GOVERNMENT BUT A MORE CUNNING AND MORE IMPOSING FORM OF SLAVERY.
(Continued.)
And the farmer—is he free? If he grows too loud as a radical reformer, is not his credit likely to grow bad? Will not he find the banker unwilling to renew his notes? May not Shylock foreclose at once his chattel mortgage? Where is the common farmer who has honestly endeavored to vote out of power politicians who are destroying him, but has suffered for his audacity? Yet corporations are little how the farmer votes; for they control the voters of the cities, and the states have been so cunningly divided into districts that scarce any where can the farmers elect a judge, a majority of a legislature, a member of congress, a governor or state officer of any consequence to corporations. The farmers have been so shrewdly parcelled out into separate districts that if they were all to vote the same ticket, they would not be likely to elect any officer who would be dangerous to corporations or to the rich. If they were otherwise—if his vote were to become dangerous to great wealth—the farmer who insisted on being free, on voting as he chose, and on attending labor-party or anarchist meetings, would be boycotted till he could not live.

We have now briefly examined the condition of the common people, and we see that they are forced to work and to give all the profits of their labor to others who grow rich in this way, while the workers receive in return a bare subsistence, and are kept in subjection all the time, whether working or not. Now, if instead of receiving for their work or products the money with which to buy subsistence, and which must go for that purpose as soon as received, they were to get the food and clothing direct as the reward of their toil, who would deny that the common people are slaves? And is there any real difference? In a debate with slave-holding members of the Federal Constitution Convention a hundred years ago, John Adams demanded:—"What matters it whether you give the food and clothes to the slave directly, or whether you just give him enough in wages to purchase the same?" But why debate the question? As a matter of actual history, the farmers and laborers of today are the real successors of the slaves of Europe a few centuries ago, advanced a little in some particulars with the growth of civilization. The matter is thus summed up in Chamber's Encyclopedia—by no means an anarchist book—under the title "Combination," which treats of labor organizations:

"The oppressive laws to which the working classes, even in this country (England), were subjected, fully justified them in combining for their own protection. The nature of those laws (fixed, though not justified, by the fact that they were less oppressive than the institutions of other countries where the working classes were in actual serfdom; and that they mark, in reality, the steps of progress onward from the state of slavery or serfdom in which all the working classes were of old involved, even in this country (England). The boasted freedom of our Saxon ancestors was, indeed, very similar to that of the South-eastern states of North America before the late civil war, since it was alloyed by the upper class, to whom the inferior persons were slaves; and the term freedom still used in certain municipalities, of old distinguished those who were not slaves. The statutes of labor still retained a portion of this servitude, laying heavy penalties on workers in the various trades who refused to work at a regular fixed remuneration—often, of course, below the market value, other-wise it would not require to be protected by penalties. By the poor-law, too, those who would not work might be virtually enslaved by being compelled to labor in the service of any household. It may be said, indeed, to be the last stage of the emancipation of the working classes from slavery when the combination (conspiracy) act was repealed in 1825. This act, which, after all, was a mild relic of the old laws for coercing workmen, subjected those who were verbally or in writing, entered into combination for keeping up the wages of their labor, or limiting the hours of work, to be punished by imprisonment as criminals."

In this country, United States courts forbid railroad engineers and firemen, under penalty of imprisonment, from ceasing to work as a means of enforcing their demands for fairer treatment; to agree to quit work in a body is a criminal conspiracy; and as fast as it is discovered that by a particular plan laborers can compel better wages or better treatment, the courts, without waiting for legislation, at once declare that plan criminally illegal. There is not a state in the Union under whose vagrancy laws men cannot be punished for being out of work; and who that knows anything of police courts can doubt that, if, upon the hearing of a charge against a man as a tramp, it should be proved that work was offered him and he refused it because of the small wages offered, this refusal would be deemed conclusive proof of his guilt? But I shall have occasion elsewhere to examine more fully the relation of the laws to the common people; I have mentioned so much here only by way of completing the proof of my present proposition, that the common people are slaves, their slavery being only more disguised than that of the ordinary chattel slave.

If the common people are slaves, their masters are not hard to find. Only where what men must have or use is monopolized, so that none may obtain it but by consent of the monopolists, can onerous terms be imposed as a condition of its consumption or use. Were vacant land all free to whoever chose to cultivate it, would any man pay rent for a farm? If money could be had for the asking, would interest ever be paid? If mechanics and laborers were not, by the requirement of impossible means and inability to subsist in the meantime, prevented from undertaking on their own account the erection of buildings and the construction of public works, would they ever enrich a contractor by the profits of their labor while they received only their bare subsistence? If men, women and children and raw materials could be had on credit for a time, would factory hands give all the profits of their labor to "factory lords," receiving as the toilers a share scarce enough to sustain vigorous life while at work? Were the factories free, would women or children work in them at all? If whomsoever would might work the mines on his own account, think you the coal miners would drudge as they do only to let others receive all the rewards of toil but the mere means of prolonging starvation? Everywhere, that upon which, and the means by which, labor, to be productive must be done, an "owner" claims; and to him whomsoever would work must surrender for the privilege all the proceeds of his labor but barely enough to keep him alive while he works. The earth, the quarries, the forests, the lime, the salt, the iron, the copper, the coal, the gold, the silver, the natural gas, the water power, the inventions genius has contrived, the machinery past labor has constructed, the seeds past labor has preserved, all the things upon or in the earth, all the facilities, the opportunities for efficient labor; everything which men must use or depart the world, all are "owned," and whosoever would dwell at all upon this planet must do so upon such terms as its "owners" see fit to prescribe. No man may mine coal but upon the "mine owners' terms; the laborer cannot convert trees in the pine forests into needed lumber without consenting to the owner's conditions; the factories were built by laborers alone; from the first taking of their ore from the earth to the arrangement of the cunning machinery where it is, not a single part of the weary work has been done by the "owners"—all has been done by workers half-starved while they worked; yet may no hand set a wheel in motion but upon submitting to such avaricious terms as the "owners" may see fit to propose. The farmer, skilled in husbandry, strong, hearty and young, would go to work to stir the soil, and, by agriculture sustain in comfort him and his; but there is not a spot of earth that he may till without paying an "owner" for the privilege, either by annual rents or by rent all paid at once as purchase money for the land; leaving the would-be husbandman, perhaps, in either event, without means of subsistence while raising a crop. If there is no other owner, the government owns or controls every inch of land. Nowhere is there free earth to be found. Gold and silver are the only real money, and in some countries only gold; paper money, and all other things that serve the use of money, as checks, and drafts, and the like, are measured by the metal standard. Gold exists in the earth, and silver too, and were the earth not

"owned," any man, with no other work to do, could dig his money direct from the mines; but the mines have owners, and hence, all the money to be had must come from the mine-owners; or be obtained from the banks who have under control the money already in circulation, or it must be furnished by the government. The government pays its laborers their meagre wages, like other employers—to its useful servants it gives but a bare subsistence—its larger rewards are reserved for those who raise or make any single thing that mankind will need, so that their larger compensation shall enable them to live at ease upon the fruits of the toil of other men. Thus is money monopolized, as is everything else in the world; and those who control the money, the earth, the forests, the mines, the inventions, the machinery, and all else, are the masters of the common people. By thinking of Robinson Crusoe and his gun; what could he do but submit to be Crusoe's slave precisely as he did? Just so with the earth. A comparative few own it, and control all right to use it; government—courts, sheriffs, soldiers, jails and jailors, scaffolds and hangmen—is to them what Crusoe's rifle was to him, and is to all other inhabitants of the earth what that rifle was to Friday. Thus people are born upon the earth already dispossessed of all right to remain upon it; elsewhere than upon this earth they cannot live; their fear of government, like Friday's fear of Crusoe's rifle, and a superstitious awe of government like his awe of the mysterious weapon that slew its victim without contact and apparently by mere detonation, disables them from overthrowing their masters, as Friday was unable to overcome Crusoe; hence, what remains but that disinherited generations shall either die, or live upon this earth on such terms as its "owners" see fit to impose? This is one secret of the slavery of the many to the few.

ED. THE ALARM:—Mr. Clemens in his "Primer of Anarchy" has discovered a great truth that coincides with my conclusions made some years ago, namely that the state and not the church has murdered the world's great reformers. H. J. PARKER.

VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION.
The philosophers of last century went to look forward to the time in which we are now living, and prophesied were plentiful enough that with the vast improvements in machinery poverty would be almost unknown, yet here we are with our land, inventions and improved processes of production in the hands of a comparatively small portion, and the rest enslaved, working to enrich their owners, with barren sessions of legislation and things going from bad to worse. We are as far off as ever from the era, when poverty will be unknown, and it seems to be entirely owing to our adoption of wrong methods. Legislators have been weighed and found wanting, and we must try to do for ourselves what we have so long been expecting them to do for us. While politicians are squabbling over locomotive contracts, lines of railway, contracts for war material, banking, brokering and speculative privileges, the people are losers and they alone are interested in reform. If the future is to be better than the past, legislation, as a great French sage has said, must consist of repealing and abolishing old acts of parliament and ancient class privileges, but in even this, perhaps legislation will refuse to act, or will prove a failure. Thousands of privileges conferred in the days gone by, on their favorites, by politicians, are now accumulated like a heavy load on the back of the worker, and instead of legislators seeking to remove the load, they are ever seeking to increase it. The cry has long since gone forth that there is no more room on the back of the laborer, but parliament will even place its burden on the backs of those who themselves have only standing room on the great taxpayer, till at last we see in every nation a tendency to get amongst those on the back of labor, and who do no other work than grind him down. Will the laborer then ever arouse himself and make an effort to get rid of himself of poverty he must stand on guard and allow no middle-man to come between him and his wages? And that to accomplish this voluntary co-operation must be studied. Political methods have broken down, and the laborers of the world must try something else, and the new method which is already commanding attention for itself is non-political or voluntary co-operation.—The Australian Radical.

ED. THE ALARM:—In my issue of September 1st, I was pained to see in a communication from Gertrude B. Kelly that she withdraws her support from THE ALARM.

It is not sorrow for the loss of one soldier in a vast army engaged in a great conflict; but because it is one more instance in evidence of the frailty of humanity. It is one more evidence that the leaders in the cause of liberty are not yet thoroughly imbued with the gravity of the present hour. It is one more evidence that a very small thing is sufficient to produce disaffection in the ranks of freedom's army.

This is not an isolated case. We see it on every hand. The various liberty and labor papers all over the country in almost every issue attack each other with the most vindictive virulence. And why? Because each one, with almost theo-

logical bigotry, assumes and asserts that it and it only has grasped the truth. And when a paper dies, few tears are shed by its contemporaries; some even rejoicing at its demise.

The speakers and advocates of liberty attack each other with equal or greater violence than those working in the interests of capital, monopoly and oppression.

The socialists, the communists and the anarchists are warring with each other continually. The various labor societies are all pulling in different directions.

The farmers think the laboring men in the cities are miserable tramps and strife-breeding foreigners; while the city laborer regards the farmer as a poor ignorant imbecile with whom the world could well dispense.

Each of these divisions of labor and slavery nominates a ticket in the vain hope that it may be elected, while the old parties of wealth and aristocracy, walk leisurely to the goal and take the prize, as they turn and laugh contemptuously at the slaves left at the starting post fighting fiercely among themselves.

Friends of freedom, let us forget all childish piques. Let us bury all animosities. Let us see that the interests of the laborer in city and country are identical. Let us work for one end—the emancipation of the human race. M. J. MARTIN.

ED. THE ALARM:—I am so glad that THE ALARM appears again and continues the good fight. It is always with the greatest interest that we read it as well as your letters to Mrs. Wilson.

It was easy to foresee that the hunting down of the anarchists which was begun at Chicago would momentarily disorganize the party. But I am sure that the circumstances themselves will give the party a new form soon. When people see how those whom they trusted most easily abandon their socialist programs, as soon as they have in view any slightest possibility of taking place amidst our middle-class governors—when people see a few more examples like those given by Henry George, they will better understand why we do not meddle with all that rotten world.

I see that THE ALARM most earnestly tries to find out its right way amidst the different solutions proposed by various socialist schools, and that is the best guarantee that it will find it out.

Mrs. W. must have written you about our Freedom meeting's discussions. In connection with them I have re-read again what Tucker writes and re-read again Proudhon, the writer whom I like best of all those who wrote about the social question. I think that it is a very great mistake to give the name of anarchy to Proudhon's mutualism. Proudhon, at least, was never guilty of such a mistake. He knew that anarchy is anarchy and mutualism is mutualism, and he considered his mutualism only as a stepping stone towards the abolition of the state. Surely, when he proposed "a revolution by decrees"—such as was asked by his friends in '48—he never christened that with the name of anarchy.

I give hearty applause to Tucker's translation of Proudhon. When the Americans know Proudhon better, they will like him much more—as a critic of present condition, as a writer whose writings are more suggestive than those of any other writers. But they will judge also at their real value his compromises. Like most compromises they were valueless, and bad moreover as such compromises were, and are, they are quite irretrievable.

I should very much like also that somebody went through his eight volumes of Correspondence and wrote an article upon them like I saw in a Russian review. His writings would be much better understood then, as also the three phases of "evolution" he went through. But enough. My hastily note grows to be a letter. I propose one day or the other to treat the whole in an article for Freedom. But there are so many things much more necessary. And as a rule, the best way to oppose the critics is not to polemicise, but to put down our own ideas. The more they are elaborated, the better can they be compared with others' ideas.

My heartiest wishes for your success, and best greetings to friend Most,

Yours sincerely,
P. KROPOTKIN.
Harrow, England.

KROPOTKIN ON PROUDHON.
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To the treasurer: Labor Day picnic, profit on sales, \$65.62; raffle, \$53.97; shooting stand, \$18.25; card of membership, 50.

HAVES AND HAVENOTS.
There are but two families in the world, as my grandmother used to say: the Haves and the Havenots, and she always stuck to the former.—Don Quixote.

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THE ALARM.

"Men Die, But Principles Live."

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PRICE FIVE CENTS.

"THE PARIS COMMUNE."

LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE L. A. 2,022, K. OF L., NEW YORK, ON JULY 18, 1888.

AN ABLE AND PHILOSOPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE CAUSES OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLT AND ITS INCIDENTS.

BY MARIE LOUISE DAVID.

(CONTINUED.)

Why should the landlords be permitted to seize whatever few articles of furniture were left to them? Why should property owners be exempt from sharing the costs of a war which was brought on by capitalists and rulers?

Upon learning of the measures, in regard to landlords, voted by the commune, the government immediately brought out a project of law by which tenants were ordered to pay the full amount due for their rent and, what is more, which guaranteed landlords against all risks and losses inflicted by the bombardment of the city and suspension of trade; and, what is still more, they made the city of Paris responsible for all rents due which tenants might be unable to pay.

That law would have burdened the municipality of Paris with a debt of several hundred millions of francs.

This single instance proves clearly that the government was purely capitalistic, while the commune was purely humanitarian. In the near future, progressive minds will see in the commune a Cromwell evolved and qualified with all the attributes of 239 years of a speedy march of development.

Next in order we find a decree which shows that the communist did not look upon their delegated powers as means to enrich themselves at the expense of the nation. It reads as follows:

"Considering that until this day, superior offices in the public service, on account of their high salaries, have been sought after and bestowed as offices of favor;

"Considering that, in a really democratic republic, there can be no sinecure nor exaggerated salaries, resolved:

"The maximum salaries of officers in divers communalistic services be fixed at 6,000 francs (\$1,200) per annum."

You will easily understand how low was that rate of remuneration when I tell you that the archbishop of Paris received from the government 200,000 francs (\$40,000) as his salary.

Another of their decrees is very striking. It was as follows:

"Considering that, during the days of revolution, the people, inspired by the instinct of justice and morality have always proclaimed the principle 'death to thieves';

"Resolved, 1st. Until the end of the war, all functionaries accused of extortion, depredations or theft shall be brought before a court martial. The only penalty for those found guilty shall be 'death'.

"2nd. As soon as the Versailles troops shall have been defeated, an inquiry shall be

instituted on all those who, be it far or near, have had a handling of the public money."

The next decree in order is also remarkable. It runs as follows:

"Considering that, under the communal regime, a sufficient salary has to be paid to public functionaries to afford them a respectable livelihood;

"Resolved, all cumulation of offices is prohibited. Any functionary of the commune called upon to fill any office outside of his regularly employment shall have no right to any extra remuneration."

After the fall of the commune, it was found that although that body had under their control the numerous millions deposited in the bank of France, they did not draw out a single cent but that which was absolutely necessary for the payment of the troops and the provisions required to keep alive two million people. For all those items they expended only 4,000,000 francs, or \$8,000,000.

It is contrasting favorably with the fact that the members of the government were accumulating for themselves millions upon millions, free from any danger of the battlefield, while the poor, calumniated communists were night and day going around and about Paris, organizing the people and cheering their sometimes despondent spirit. Their duty left them no respite, and their soul was wrapped in the one object for which they were prepared to die; if necessary. Money was nothing to them. They were no jobbers; they were no hirelings. When the government troops entered Paris, the members of the commune could be found all over and around the city with their red sashes and rosettes leading on the revolution against the enemy, stepping forward to the most dangerous positions and fighting in the thickest of the melee.

Picture to yourself the great leader Delecluze retreating from barricade to barricade under a rain of balls and missiles, refusing to listen to his comrades, who begged of him to save his life, as all hope for the commune was lost! Behold him standing erect and unmoved behind the tumbling barricade and sink and be buried beneath the rolling masses of stone. He would not survive the commune, of which he was the soul!

Many of them were wealthy men and had sacrificed their wealth for the success of the commune. The example of their honesty seems to have reflected and reacted upon the people, for no criminal offences can be recorded in Paris during that memorable administration.

It is a significant historical fact that in all cases of interregnum where all established laws are suspended, the people give evidences of honesty and fraternal devotion for which they could hardly have been credited in ordinary times of order. All instances of spontaneous devotion are divine to behold! They are volcanic eruptions of our best human nature breaking out through the pressure of the established

customs which mold our minds to suit a conventional system of morality and justice.

There are three other decrees of the commune which I wish to bring to your attention and which have been qualified by the conservative press as "vandalism." One was concerning M. A. Thiers, and ordered his property to be confiscated to the benefit of the nation, and his house to be levelled to the ground. Of course, to us in America, that measure seems both unjust and ridiculous, and so it is, but European democrats and radicals cannot shake off at once the spirit of intolerance with which they have been surrounded for tens of centuries. The harshness of absolutism has clad their minds with a rugged coat. Compulsion and coercion have been inculcated in every drop of their blood. A brutal people is but the reflection of a brutal government. Show me a humane people, well balanced in their mind, and I will show you a liberal government of Jeffersonian principles. European, more so than North American races, are but in the childhood of development. Their very efforts toward progress are stamped with the senseless instincts of infancy.

Monsieur Thiers was the "evil genius" of France. From 1830 his political life has been a series of opposition to the progress of the toiling masses. Royalist to the core, he never ceased to conspire for the restoration of his pets, the family of Orleans. His hostility to socialism made him notorious in the revolution of June, 1848, and in the massacres perpetrated upon the people by the middle class government. In 1848 he was also the instigator of the occupation of Rome by 20,000 French troops whose mission was to destroy the Roman republic, to reinstate the pope on his throne and exterminate Garibaldi and his volunteers. He provoked maliciously the conflict between the government, of which he was premier, and the commune of Paris. He would listen to no request of mediation between the contending parties. He scorned a deputation of 2,000 free masons who, with regalia and banners, waited upon him to treat him to do justice to Paris. He slighted a request from the archbishop of Paris to exchange him (as he was a prisoner of the commune) for Blanqui, who was a prisoner of Versailles. In his hatred for the Parisians and for socialism, he planned the destruction of the city and the people who stood foremost in the way of his ambition. But in spite of all his perfidy the decree of the commune against his property was unwise.

The next action of "vandalism" by the commune was the arrest of the archbishop of Paris and several priests whom the people desired to keep as hostages. The law on hostages is perfectly legitimate. In times of war, all nations recognize it and use it as a shield. The commune had this in view to put a stop to the butchery which the government practiced on their prisoners. They offered to exchange the arch-

bishop of Paris for one of their leaders, Blanqui, who was a prisoner at Versailles, and six other priests for a relative number of their prisoners. Lord Lyons and Mr. Washburn, American Minister to France, strongly pointed out to Mr. Thiers the necessity and humanity of that measure. The archbishop wrote two letters to the premier, one of which, by the permission of the commune, was carried to Versailles by the "vicar-general" of the archbishop. The vicar-general, being himself a prisoner, never returned.

On several occasions the archbishop testified to the respect and kind treatment he received at the hands of the commune, and said once: "They are not as bad as they appear." No violence was ever entertained against the priests who were prisoners. Had it been otherwise they would have been executed a long while before the fall of the insurrection. The priests were shot in those three days during which the government troops and the people were fighting hand to hand inside Paris. The commune existed no more. The delegates were scattered all over the city trying to redeem, by their courage and their devotion, the disasters which their political and military inexperience had brought upon the people. Through a great and fatal mistake General Cluseret had been removed from the war office. That mistake cost Paris dear. It was the death-blow to the commune.

During those three days of fighting the Versailles troops murdered 40,000 men, 10,000 children and several thousand women. It was in the midst of that carnage that the priests were shot. The commune had nothing to do with their execution. Somebody shot them, but they did it on their own responsibility. Was it some persons maddened by the loss of some loved ones butchered by the government and seeking for revenge? Was it some desperately wicked and cruel men thirsting for blood? or was the deed done by the Versaillesists themselves to stain in the eyes of the world the name of the Paris commune? The future may reveal the truth.

Not a single murder was committed by the commune. Monsieur Thiers and his satellites have proclaimed that they had shot the generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas. The former was shot by his own soldiers, and the latter was shot by the mob as a spy (which he was) for he had been detected in civilian clothes and taking the plan of a barricade. He was shot along with General Lecomte. At that time—March 18—the commune was not yet elected, and the central committee, which was provisionally ruling Paris, did all in their power to save the lives of the two generals.

The last edict which I shall bring to your notice is the famous one relating to the pulling down of the column Vendome. Here is the text:

"Considering that the imperial column of the Place Vendome is a monument of barbarous recollections, a symbol of brute force and mock glory; an affirmation of chauvinism; a negation of international rights; a permanent insult

from the conquerors to the conquered; a perpetual attempt to destroy one of the three principles of the great revolution, viz, fraternity; resolved: The column of Vendome shall be demolished."

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"I, Albert R. Parsons, of Cook County, Ill., October 27, 1887. This book has been written and compiled in response to the public demand for information upon the principles and views of those who call themselves anarchists. The circumstances under which the work has been performed, in my dream, beneath the shadow of the gallows, should, I might add, lend additional interest and importance to the subjects presented therein. If the public shall be furnished information, or assisted in reaching a clearer and more rational view of the great question of Capital and Labor by a perusal of these pages, I shall deem that a sufficient reward for my humble effort to supply it."
THE AUTHOR.

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A TEXT AND A SERMON.

AN EARNEST APPEAL TO THROTTLE THE LAW AND CLAIM HUMAN RIGHTS.

WAR TO THE DEATH TO ALL LAWS. ONLY MORE LIBERTY CAN CURE THE ABUSES OF LIBERTY.

Hear a word, a word in season, for the day is drawing nigh. When the cause shall call upon us, some to live and some to die. —Wm. Morris.

These words addressed to you, the toiling masses, by the poet of the coming revolution, I propose to make the text for an earnest appeal to you.

Down with the anarchists, down with the people who want to destroy our government, the government to whom we owe everything, liberty, security to life and property, which has made this land of the free and home of the brave, the first country in the world, which has insured, to use Andrew Carnegie's words, the triumph of democracy, and which is a protection to every free inhabitant of the grand United States—such has been the passionate advice given to you by a hiring press, a press which is paid to deceive you, instructed to carry disunion into your own ranks, to enable your master to exploit you all the easier.

And you, the toiling masses, you, the workers, are you really so unappealingly happy? Do you indeed enjoy all the blessings of which the press-slaves talk so nicely? Nay, I dare say you are aware as well as I or any other man of the wretchedness of your position, and yet, strange to say, you seemingly have granted belief to these lies, indeed you have lied to yourselves, and you permitted your masters to sneer at you, to treat you like fools and nincompoops by erecting among yourselves, age, even aided by the applause of some of the class you belong to, the gallows where they strangled the noblest, the truest and most unselfish friends of labor, men, whose whole life and soul was devoted to your life, to your happiness. But they, the pioneers of liberty, the martyrs of the proletariat, died gladly, firmly trusting, that their misfortune would be your opportunity, that their death was necessary to awaken you from your senseless slumber.

Are you going to heed the message, sent to you from the modern Golgotha, from the cross erected in Cook county jail? Or are you going to sleep on forever?

But, you say, we are organizing; we are trying to better our condition; we join K. of L. assemblies, trades unions, brotherhoods and such like. Yes, verily we are organizing—but with a vengeance. You are endeavoring to make the impossible possible—fighting to gain a fair wage for a fair day's work.

The time has passed to wage war on your antagonists with this battle cry. The tocsin of danger has been sounded. The failure of the strike on the Burlington system, of the fight of the brewers for unionism show in no unmistakable signs, that capitalists are more powerful than you and your present organizations.

Is unionism able to advance wages or even only able to keep up the present standard? In the very innermost of your heart you know well it is not. However, you dare not admit, not even to yourselves, its impotence, not knowing what to put in its place. Helplessly, foolishly, you continue to stick to tactics, which in the early times of the labor movement have been of advantage, but which long ago have lost, irretrievably lost their value.

What is a fair wage? The fairest wage is no wage. Cease to be clamoring for, to be demanding high wages but claim what is your own: the result of your labor. Even supposing for one moment, you might be able to advance a point—to receive high wages for short hours. The wages would have to be paid by somebody and this somebody would make it his business under the pretext of organizing you to rob you as at

present of over three-fourth of your rightful earnings.

You must go to the root of the evil. And the evil is that you will not be your own masters. But is that ever possible? There must be employers and employed—some will say. If you ask a cannibal, he will maintain that he cannot exist without feeding on human flesh; slaveholders always argued that it was not for them society would immediately go to pieces; and a warrior as a rule makes believe that he indeed is a true philanthropist. And so it is in this case. Your masters have taught you so long, that there must be masters and men, that you cannot think of a state of society where all are free, all are independent, all are the free agents of their will and where all can shape out their existence according to their desire.

There is but one thing for you to do: Throttle the law, crush authority. The law is the protection of the rich, it gives opportunity and power to the strong to fleece the weak. It is the law which keeps you down and forces you to work under circumstances which surely would drive you off to any slave's fate. It is the law which enables your oppressors to play at cat and mouse with you, to pursue in their dealings with the toilers a policy of brimstone and treacle, to grow rich at your expense.

Concentrate all your energy on this one, this single point: War to the death to all laws. Let us give liberty to all and cure the abuses of liberty by giving more liberty. This is the only true solution of the social problem. Take away from property the legalization and there will be an opportunity for all to join in harmonious work—social co-operation.

Do not say my reasoning may be correct but that you will first try some of the old fashioned methods to obtain reform, you have no time to lose. Your enemies lose none. Some of you may perhaps as yet make what is considered to be amongst people of their own class a comfortable living. Let them pause and think: The employed of today are the unemployed of tomorrow. No one is secure. In the capitalist system all are machines and every one can be easily dispensed with.

A worker may live today in a relatively happy home. He may be surrounded by a happy and contented family, strong and healthy. Has he any security that this will last but one short year? Before twelve months have come and gone he may be out of employment, supplanted by a newly-invented machine or by cheaper labor. And what will be the result? His small savings soon are gone and he will have to join the great army of the unwashed and unkempt, as they are cynically called by a reptile press, now numbering in these blessed United States over one million. He has become a tramp, an outcast, a beggar, sneered at, jeered at by his former friends because he "will not work," tossed about from town to village, from village to the farmhouse, to the barn, to the highway, like flotsam and jetsam from the north to the south, from the west to the east, dependent on the cold, cruel charity of selfishness.

Therefore think in season, ye workers, and argue in your minds whether we, the anarchists, the best-hated people in two worlds, hated because we love you too much, are not right. We promise you nothing. We have nothing to give. We are not demagogues flattering your vanities. You must do all the work yourselves. No savior ever will help you and only you can be the creators of your millennium.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE INDUSTRIAL COMBAT.

It is a combat obscure and terrible, where the strong oppress the weak, where property overwhelms labor by the weight of its prerogatives. The proprietors have the power of giving in exchange for labor only the least possible wage. The other side always dictate the law; the one side is always constrained to receive it.—Necker.

FOOLS AND STATESMEN.

Any fool can govern with bayonets.—Herbert Spencer.

THE DUTY OF SOCIALISTS.

LIZZIE M. SWANK HAS A THING TO SAY AND KNOWS HOW TO SAY IT PLAINLY.

A FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION OF VIRTUE NOT FROM THE MRS. GRUNDY STANDPOINT.

It is not often I enter into a controversy with an anarchist or socialist—one who hopes and works for the same object with me, even if there are shades of difference in opinions between us; it is a waste of time, energy and good feeling to expend them upon one another, when at our best we are too few and weak for the common enemy. But Miss Kelly astonishes me out of my friendly reserve and compels me to speak out because, "I have a thing to say."

It seems to me Miss Kelly has been unfortunate in her surroundings; she must have fallen in with a "hard lot" or else has built, in a manner not at all anarchistic, a peculiarly straitlaced standard of morals, which she cannot make all her acquaintances walk up to, and so cruelly cuts them. I cannot understand why, since she believes "the cause of virtue can only be served by virtuous actions," that necessarily "for ways and the ways of THE ALARM must for the future lie apart?" What very, very naughty thing has THE ALARM been doing? Now, I never dreamed it was disgracing itself in any way. Here I have been planning and hoping to have more time to write and walk in the same path with the dear old ALARM, innocently trusting that I should walk in very good company indeed; I find I must look about me or I will be doing something unconventionally wicked, just as I used in the old days when I went to church and courted "good society," even while I entertain the very best intentions.

But I am really shocked that Miss Kelly has discovered such a bad set among anarchists. Seriously, if she thinks so, her experience must have been far different from mine. One of the first things that attracted me to the socialists some ten years ago, was their purity, intelligence, unselfishness and devotedness. I have worked with some of those comrades through all these years and seen daily proofs of their disinterestedness. I have seen them endure drudgery, privation and poverty with patience. I have seen their love and faithfulness to their families, and their devotion to the cause. I have known men and women who worked hard every day, walk miles in the evening to speak at a meeting for propaganda, and often take their last dime from their pockets to help pay expenses. I have seen them quietly bear the slings and persecutions of a conventionally "virtuous" society, calm in their own consciousness of right. I have seen men throw aside every consideration of wealth and position that they might devote all their noble talents to the cause of humanity. I have seen them bear imprisonment, persecution and abuse with a brave and cheerful endurance never excelled in any land or time. I have seen them through many weary months encourage and inspire their loving, faithful wives and children with as much fidelity as the most "respectable" member of the most "respectable" class could do. (And here could you pick eight men at random more happy and true in their domestic relations than our eight martyrs?) I have known men to meet death for principle's sake with a lofty courage that will light up their memories with a grandeur unfading for centuries to come! These are the kind of anarchists I have associated with and I feel as though my dearest friends had received a stab in the back by one they loved and trusted, or else that Miss Kelly must have been singularly unfortunate in her choice of friends.

I know no anarchists who "own to no duties to society as it exists;" those I am acquainted with owe certain duties to their associates and friends, and gladly, as is perfectly natural, pay those

debts. How they live up to an old, narrow, artificial code, formed in the first place by priest and ruler to keep the masses of the people in deeper subjection, is another question. They break few natural laws—they commit no crimes against nature; the few faults some may possess are but the results of surroundings, temperament, or education; but take them altogether, I know no class of people I would sooner trust for genuine kindness of heart, justice and truthfulness, than intelligent, well-read, well-balanced anarchists or socialists. For courage and self-sacrifice I can find their equals no where.

Your departing correspondent appears to join the ruling classes in forming a standard for the conduct of all men. They dislike certain actions in the common people, because their own privileges are endangered perhaps, and straightway a law is passed which declares those actions criminal; the transgressor, who just before the passing of the law was an innocent and well-meaning man, is now a criminal; and is treated, considered, spoken, written and thought of as something entirely different from ordinary folks, something low and apart from all things good.

What right has any human being to build a code of morals for other human beings to follow? Since men are imperfect I am not sure that another imperfect man can formulate a rule that will guide my imperfect self better than I can do it myself. We can only draw the line at infringing on personal rights; surely THE ALARM has not intruded upon Miss Kelly's virtue with its own virtuous tendencies. If even it, sometimes suggested that active rebellion was grander and better than apathetic slavery, it does not hide bombs on her premises; has she a right to pronounce upon its virtue so decidedly?

After all I am only sorry she has not known a different circle of anarchists, and does not know our large-hearted editor better; she might have had a different "thing to say." But it seems strange to me that the most we ever hear of some of our eastern comrades is harsh criticism of other comrades. Men who have spent their lives and all they ever owned working for the cause are lightly dubbed "ignoramus," "fools," "rogues" or something of the sort with never a word of encouragement or appreciation. Some of the grandest agitation work ever done in this country has been done by some of those same "fools," "ignoramus" and "rogues," and the most sublime sacrifice for freedom of the century have been made by their comrades. Can the immaculate intellectual giants of the east make a better showing?

I am simply so much ashamed of G. A. S. from Chicago, Miss Kelly's defender and admirer, that I have no answer to make. When an intelligent socialist can stoop to ally doggerel in which those grand names Engel, Spies, Parsons, Fischer and Lingg are flippantly tossed about, he sinks beneath my criticism.
LIZZIE M. SWANK.

MASTERS AND WORKMEN.

Between masters and workmen there is a state of permanent war, with its skirmishes, its victories, and its defeats; a civil war, intense and bitter, where triumphs who can longest subsist without doing anything—a struggle much more cruel and more poignant than any decided at the barricades by musketry.—Emile de Laveleye.

PRIVILEGE BREEDS LIES.

Lies and the burden of evil they bring are passed on—shifted from back to back, and from rank to rank, and so land ultimately on the dumb lowest rank, who with spade and mattock, with sore heart, and empty wallet daily come in contact with reality and can pass the cheat no further.—Carlyle.

THE GOAL OF PROGRESS.

The progress from an absolute to a limited monarchy, from a limited monarchy to a democracy is a progress toward a true respect for the individual.—Thoreau.

THE COMING STORM.

ANARCHY, BEING THE ASSERTION OF LIBERTY, NEGATIVES THE PERMANENCE OF FORCE.

EVERY GREAT MOVE OF MANKIND TOWARD FREEDOM HAS BEEN ANTAGONISTIC TO LAW.

"My thoughts are murder to the state and voluntarily go plotting against her."—Thoreau.

Anarchy has been strangely, thinks the superficial mind. No, indeed, it has just had its infancy. It's Pentecost will follow. Its disciples have been baptized with the blood of martyred heroes. The fiercest struggle the world has ever witnessed is now certain. The positive of oppression attracts the negative of slavish misery; the crush will be cyclonic and the clouds mingling will rain blood.

The loss of life will be appalling but the sum of suffering will not equal the long drawn agony of the proletariat under the present conditions. After the tempest the calm! Anarchy without confusion! Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!

Anarchy, of which the literal meaning is without chief or rulers, negative force and is the affirmation of liberty. It is the natural progression from the sovereignty of the people to the sovereignty of the individual. It is a protest against the tyranny of the majority. Majorities never inaugurate reforms. The individual leads, minority follows, growing ultimately into majority which in turn oppresses the new and individual-led minority. "Give us Barabbas," says the majority and the chiefs of the minority are led to cross, stake and scaffold. Majority-made laws say amen to each murder. Freedom's road leads over states and state laws. It is like John Bunyan's road to the eternal city, there are giants and the castles of giants in the way, and there is also the dark valley of the shadow of death.

Every great move of mankind toward freedom has been antagonistic to law. "Your religion teaches sedition, you disturb society," cry the powers that be and the majesty of the law is invoked to suppress the invader of conservative corruption. "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

Anarchy is the only logical refuge of an honest man and a lover of freedom, in these times. The anarchist divides society into two parts, socialists and anarchists. One or other each of us must be. The socialist believes in multiplying the powers of the state. State police service, state railroads, state schools, state machinery, state factories, state everything. State socialism exists today in a modified degree. The anarchist on the other hand regards the state as the great father of economic wrongs. Abolish the state: what follows? Land monopoly; money monopoly;—two of the greatest evils of the age—are killed. Corrupt politics become impossible, and the tax-gatherer disappears. Morality escapes from the clutches of the law to be sustained by its own merits. The true and the false soon appear, the true to survive, the false to die. The club of the policeman vanishes. Society ceases to be a manufactured article and becomes an ever progressive growth. Each individual becomes a factor in the evolution of the whole. Each solving for himself the riddle of life, the solution becomes in itself beautiful, various and interesting. Co-operative intelligence replaces the competition of state ignorance, public spirit actively supports great public enterprises and scientific adjustment succeeds the payments of corrupt and illogical judges. The pursuit of happiness banishes the servile asceticism of christianity, adjusts sexual relations in harmony with natural law, and gives woman the possession of herself, rescues hundreds of thousands of "unfortunates" from the perils that a false system of morality has placed.

[CONTINUED ON THIRD PAGE.]

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MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE.

PRISON CELL 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1887.

The Alarm has, as you know, ever rung out strong and clear the dangers that threatened the people. To other hands is now committed that task which was mine in the work of this paper. Though fallen, wounded, perhaps unto death in the battle for liberty, the standard—the cause—which my hands were aloft in the midst of the struggle is caught up by other hands, and will be again and again, if need be, till the crimson banner waves in triumph over the enemies of peace, brotherhood, and humanity. Our comrades, Dyer D. Lum, in my editorial successor. To most, or many of you, he is well known. His steadfastness, courage, and ability in the great work of labor's economic emancipation is recognized by all. Therefore, give to him in his work your hearty support—he is worthy and able. Farewell. A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1888.

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field battling for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation soliciting support for the publication fund will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Send all donations to the treasurer of The Alarm Club, A. Tones, 350 Grove street, Jersey City, N. J.

THE FREETHINKER'S GLORY.

No one who has once entered the freethinker ranks need aspire to anything higher—there is nothing higher: none who enters the service of humanity need wish a grander distinction—he can find none grander though acclaimed by a thousand multitudes and shining and splendid with all the insignia in the gift of kings.—Truthseeker.

If the word freethinker had not become the badge of a sect the above words would cause no comment. But when arrogantly asserted as a battle cry by a sect of assiduous threshers of last century religious straw, it loses half its significance. Less than a year ago this sect held a convention at Chicago. Not far distant one of their members lay imprisoned for freethought—he had asserted the right of freethought—and for this "crime" against "society" had been condemned to the gallows. Every effort made to introduce a resolution of sympathy was suppressed, and the enthusiastic "freethinkers" indorsed "the powers that be" in effect, as religiously as Paul himself could have desired.

While busily engaged in using rhetorical hairs upon old straw their former friend aid brother was for gotten. While bitterly denouncing the folly of worshipping at shrines, they fawningly bent the knee to offer incense at the shrine of the commonplace. More, they bridled speakers by cautioning them not to allude to the case of the social heretics whose sole crime was freely speaking out their freethought. While loud in their purpose of shocking the religious convictions of others by bluntly denouncing their object of reverence as a bastard, they proved themselves bastards of the cause they so ostentatiously professed to champion. Strong in profession, and weak in performance, they swing their tails and in the dust they raised be-

lieved they were doing active work. In fighting ghosts they forgot the sense of duty. In their blind hatred of a dead Moses they ignored the claims of a living Samuel. Policy prevailed; the pockets of the bourgeoisie had to be appealed to; salaries were to be raised, and freethought was slain in the house of its professed friends.

I AGAIN present another letter from THE ALARM's distinguished correspondent, Benj. R. Tucker. This philosophical writer on this occasion treats a philosophical subject—himself. For those of my readers who do not know him I may say he is an editor of a paper in Boston named Liberty. Half of my readers know nothing of the alleged slander he desires to refute; most of the rest have forgotten it. Hence, a diagram is necessary; therefore I must explain by saying that in THE ALARM of March 24 last appeared an article written by Henry Appleton to which Mr. Tucker now desires to reply.

LIFE OF ALBERT R. PARSONS.

Mrs. Parsons has issued a circular announcing that

"The absorbing interest centering in the lives, work and heroic death of the martyrs to liberty, make a still further review of them not only desirable but necessary; with this end in view I have undertaken the preparation for publication the life of Albert R. Parsons, together with a brief history of the eight-hour movement in America, covering a period of twenty years previous to the close of his life, showing his position upon this measure of economic reform. Also the posthumous papers of Albert R. Parsons, his numerous missionary journeys, with letters to his wife and friends while on agitation trips among the miners of Pennsylvania and Ohio, the townspeople of the West, and the workmen of cities. These letters have been written from personal observation, with names of persons given and dates of occurrences, are reliable history in themselves as regards the condition of "free" labor in America, and must be read to be appreciated.

It will contain illustrations, presenting views of Lake Front meetings; pictures of Mr. Parsons' two children; Mr. Parsons in his cell; Mr. Parsons in his carpenter suit at Waukesha, and a view of the Haymarket meeting. It will be a book of between three and four hundred pages. Space does not permit giving full details. Send to her for copies of the circular. In an appeal to friends she says:

The importance of the work I am undertaking will be readily appreciated by all who love justice and humanity. Future generations will prize every detail in the history of these fast-moving years; the movement toward a higher civilization needs a correct presentation of facts and the veil of prejudice, which an unrelenting ruling class has woven about the events of the past two years, must be torn aside before it shades into tradition. Much of the matter presented is of deepest interest, and can be obtained from no other source.

In order to bring out this work as it should be done, heavy expenses will be entailed, and it is unnecessary to mention that my means are limited. I, therefore, ask all who feel interested in seeing this work carried out, to send in subscriptions, or parts of subscriptions, or contributions from the financially able and willing. It is impossible at the date to give the exact size and price of the book, but subscribers may be sure that besides getting the full worth of their money in interesting information and good reading, they will be aiding a good cause and assisting in the support of two children, made orphans by the state. I have chosen this work rather than to take up any of the ordinary occupations open to women, because I believe I can best finish the labor my beloved husband laid down, and at the same time care for the innocent children he left helpless. The price of the book will probably be about \$1.50. Parties send-

ing in clubs of five or over will obtain wholesale rates. It will be out at the latest by December 1, 1888, if friends will contribute promptly. Without your generous aid it may be impossible for me to accomplish this great task I have undertaken. With fraternal greetings, yours, Mrs. A. R. Parsons, 785 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill.

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

Since writing my last letter to THE ALARM I have been absent from Chicago on a short vacation. Little or nothing has transpired in the city that would interest your readers, except the parade of the various labor unions on "Labor Holiday."

Some time since a few tariff reformers started a series of meetings on Sunday afternoons, calling them "town meetings," but from the first they have been of a very stormy character, and the "reformers" have found themselves much hampered from the fact that the state socialists have generally made it a point to be in attendance in considerable numbers, and have succeeded in so far obstructing the work of the tariff fellows that the latter have so far developed nothing further than a prolonged wrangle pro and con the right to discuss tariff reform in connection with the democratic party.

The outlook for effective agitation here is not promising at this writing. We are hampered in a thousand ways, and chiefly by the very men who should be the ones to come to the front. They have been at the front for a long time, but apparently it is in the front row of discord and strife. Chicago has been cursed by aspiring petty leaders, not one of whom is capable of leading. There was a time when the whole city felt the influence of agitation carried on by a few devoted souls who scorned to accept the position of leaders, but alas, devotion, ability and fearlessness are seldom combined in one individual, and those who possessed these attributes are no longer with us. However, as long as any of the old guard who belonged to the American group remain, the cause will not be forgotten in Chicago.

Lake Geneva, but two hours ride from Chicago, may well be called the Saratoga and Newport of the west. It is a beautiful sheet of water, about ten miles long and from one mile to three miles wide. Its shores are thickly dotted with magnificent palaces, beautiful villas and handsome "cottages;" the summer abodes of our rich masters. Most of the owners of these resorts are Chicagoans, and there they idle the summer months away, resting from their winter "labors." The "labor" of these dainty men and women consists, as we all know, in turning night into day in one grand round of dissipation, and of legal robbery of us their too willing serfs.

I took the steamer at Geneva for a trip round the lake. The form of the latter is such that only a small portion can be seen at one time, but every half mile or so would bring to view new scenes. Many of the houses are entirely hidden from view by the dense foliage, but I counted 52 buildings whose magnificence was royal. When it is remembered that these places are only inhabited by their proud owners about three months out of the twelve, and that the remainder of the year is occupied with trips to Europe, to the mountains, the seaside and in city gayeties, we may have some idea of the immense sum needed to support these nabobs. The poor devil of a coal miner working for 75 cents a day, the toil worn seamstress in her bare, cold garret, the city artisan fash-

ioning all the beautiful things which are needed to adorn these palaces, all these, and all who toil with hand and brain, should know that these money lords and landlords simply regard them as so much dirt beneath their dainty feet, useful to them and to society only as the day horse and pack mule are useful—to draw heavy burdens and uncomplainingly do their bidding.

Will the towns and isolated communities of this country ever receive the gospel of socialism? I am afraid most of them will only be educated in the school of events. For the most part they are densely ignorant of the doings of the world about them. The local newspaper, and occasionally a city daily or weekly furnishes them with the few ideas they possess. I questioned one rather intelligent saloon keeper in Burlington, Wis., what the feeling was in the vicinity on and after November last, and was scarcely surprised to learn that the sentiment that the anarchists were properly disposed of was the only one expressed. After talking with him a short time he admitted to me that the whole thing was wrong, "but then, you see," said he, "we had nothing to go by but the newspapers." This man firmly believed that the anarchists were most villainous cut-throats, and my friends can appreciate his surprise on learning that I was one of them.

However dull and ignorant most of the towns in Wisconsin may be on this subject, the little city of Waukesha is certainly an exception. We have some good workers there, and the leaven is slowly but surely working. Had the matter been properly arranged before my arrival there, a well attended meeting could have been held. As it was I met several radicals, and had a good talk with them. For the most part they are wage-workers and poor, and dare not boldly proclaim their adherence to our principles. However, when the time comes for action, we may count on at least one brave little woman and a dozen comrades of the other sex; and in that day even this little band shall easily prevail against their enemies. I have already sent you the names and money of several subscribers that I picked up there.

The principal business interest in Waukesha is fleeing strangers. The city is largely peopled with the form of parasite we genteelly call boarding house keepers. Nearly every other house is a boarding house, and they contrive, during the summer season when the place is full of strangers to beat enough out of their victims to enable them to live the entire year; for they do nothing else. Some of our friends may think that there is not much to regret in this, as the great number who spend the summer there are themselves engaged in exploiting labor, but the visitors return home and to business so much the stronger and fresher to fleece us in order that their heavy bills may be met: it must be remembered, that the laborer pays for it all in the end.

"Them asses" are now constantly engaged—when not in the slave gang—in booting horses and donning their monkey garb to parade the streets in honor of—what? Can any of them tell? No, they neither know nor care, but the laboring man just now is in high feather, for he is being patted on the back by the wily politicians, and is being told what a great and useful factor he is in the community. It is the same old process. O workers

Ye stand here now like giants as ye are. The strength of brass is in your toughened sinews, but tomorrow some Roman Adonis, breathing sweet perfume from his curly locks, shall with his lily fingers pat your red brown and hot his feet on your blood. Even now as in those old Roman

days you are the hirelings and the playthings of the rich. You toil and sweat and starve and—vote for their amusement, and are ever ready to grovel and lick the hand that smites you if once in two or four years that hand is extended to you in friendship. Would that in this day there might arise a Spartacus to lash you with his vehemence and eloquence into rebellion. Ye are slaves!

WHAT IS SLAVERY?
"The hunger for such diet
As the rich man in his riot
Oats to the fat dogs that lie
Surfeiting beneath his eye."
WHAT ART THOU, FREEDOM?
For the laborer thou art bread
And a comely table spread;
From his daily labor come
To a neat and happy home.

OUR FRENCH LETTER.

SOME INTERESTING DETAILS CONCERNING THE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

Dear Comrade,—Jumping Jack Boulanger has been elected in three departments, which has caused a great terror among the republicans, opportunists, as well as others. For us, these elections show only one thing, that the people is dissatisfied with the government and the governors, and that those who still believe in the efficiency of the ballot, and that those who make use of it, only do it to show their discontent. Boulanger holds himself as the enemy of the actual government and the malcontents vote for him.

Beyond this, however, a large number of people disabused of all sorts of government, do not vote at all. In the Nord Department among 168,000 electors there were 123,000 abstentionists, 23,000 more than on last April 15th, the time of the last election. In the Department of the Charente Inférieure among 143,000 voters, there were 43,000 abstentionists. In the Somme Department there were 38,000 abstentionists among 160,000 voters. The abstentions are still greater in the Rhone Department, where on the 22nd of July, there were 145,000 abstentionists in 182,000 voters.

This shows how vigorously the anarchists agitate the campaign of abstention in France, and that their efforts are not without results, all of which is very puzzling to the bourgeois. The principal strikes have gradually ceased, but they may break out again with greater force than ever when least expected. One noticeable feature connected with them is that they are beginning to lose their former pacific character. The toolers will eventually discover that in holding to legal means alone in conducting a strike they will only end at starvation.

Another pacific strike took place about a week ago among the laborers employed in constructing the railroad from Brives to Limoges. This strike has extended all along the line, and from the department of Corrèze it has spread into that of Haute-Vienne. The strikers number from three to four thousands. The bourgeois journals report them as being very calm but which, nevertheless, does not prevent the government from sending armed policemen and soldiers who are encamped in the several yards. At Anney (Haute-Savoie) there has occurred a strike of masons and hod-carriers. At Pailhades-Pyrenees) a strike is feared among the bakers. On Sept. 1st, there were five persons arrested at Amiens under accusation of having conspired to burn two mills. Our governmental capitalists are anxious to avenge recent events at Amiens. In No. 24 of THE ALARM, Aug. 25, I was made to say that Rochefort had been obliged to leave the Eudes procession by his old friends of Montmartre. My hurried writing, no doubt, led you to read it thus. But I said that Rochefort had been obliged to leave the procession by Les Egaux de Montmartre, an independent anarchist group, who have nothing in common with Weathercock Rochefort. A vous et la revolution anarchique. ESPOURER.

PRIMER OF ANARCHY.

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHISM EXPLAINED TO THE PRIMAERY CLASS.

FIRST LESSONS FOR THE STUDENT IN THE NEW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS—WHAT GOVERNMENT IS AND WHY IT SHOULD CEASE.

BY G. C. CLEMENS.

VI.

GOVERNMENT BUT A MORE CUNNING AND MORE IMPOSING FORM OF SLAVERY.

(Continued.)

That government is the cause of the poverty of the multitude, is their own universal belief. Their actions prove that this is their conviction. When poverty became unendurable in France a hundred years ago, and the people rose in furious rage, they did not fly at the throats of their masters, but assailed the government by destroying the base which stood as the grim symbol of the government's power. When in any land, anywhere in historic times, the poverty of the people has become too sore to be endured, matters have never been righted, even for a time, but by the overthrow of government—of existing laws. And all over the world today, wherever the labor problem has undergone serious discussion, government is menaced. In Russia, in Germany, in England, the monarchs and the ministers and tools of state are conscious that they are in danger, and no emperor, czar nor king dares take a journey without ample armed attendance, and advance guards to keep vigilant watch for deadly explosives. In France, it is the government that dreads the people. So, too, in Germany, France, England and America, the outcast poor and those who champion their rights, seek by political action to get control of government, while the masters of the people, the owners of the earth, strive by every means of repression and fraud to keep control themselves. What mean the labor parties who denounce anarchism as treasonable folly, what mean these platforms and political campaign of the toiling hosts, if there be not a universal belief that government is the means of enslaving the common people—of enriching the few? Why do bankers, railroad, mine and factory owners, and the whole class of the people's masters struggle so hard to retain its control if government be not the means by which their power over the people is maintained? There is organized all over this country today a political party, known as the "Union Labor Party," which is so intensely conservative that it not only denounces the anarchists but considers too revolutionary even the aims of the single land-tax reformers; and in his recently published letter of acceptance, the candidate for president, nominated by even this "law-abiding" party, thus asserts the very proposition we are discussing:

"Unfortunately, it is the government itself that has brought the people to the condition they are in, struggling with poverty and debt. Through laws and their wicked enforcement, corporate monopolies, greedy combinations, and avaricious trusts have become favored classes in the administration of affairs, and these have forced the people into their present and unfortunate condition." (A. J. Streeter's Letter of Acceptance, July 1888.)

In the fall of 1885, the organized working people of the United States resolved that from and after the first day of the following May, they would unanimously refuse to work more than eight hours per day, to the end that the necessity thus produced of hiring additional laborers might give employment to the million or more of idle men in the country who were seeking in vain for work; and also, that the workers might have more leisure to devote to mental and social improvement. A circular stating this resolution, with its objects and reasons fully set forth, and couched in the most friendly and decorous language, was, months in advance of the first of May, sent to the large employers of labor with a respectful request of their co-operation. Almost to a man employers determined to combat the intended movement, and how? What preparations did the employers make? But, personally, did they do, or prepare to do? Nothing! But, in the principal cities of the land thousands of special policemen were sworn in and drilled; for weeks before the first of May, in each of these cities, the National Guards were engaged in nightly drills at

their armories or practicing "street riot" tactics out of doors; artillery companies were constantly practiced in the use of gassing guns; there were frequent drills by troops and police in target-shooting; negotiations with the national war department were carried on with a view to securing for the cities the assistance of the regular army, and, in short, preparations were made for the display and use of military forces precisely as if an anticipated invasion by a foreign foe, rather than so honest a request by overworked toilers, had been the occasion, and all of this preparation was made for no other reason whatever, no other reason was even pretended, than that the laborers of the cities had notified their masters that on the first of May, 1886, the workers would insist that eight hours should constitute a working day, and the masters had determined that it should not be so.

The time arrived, and the streets swarmed with armed policemen, while the National Guards—infantry, cavalry and artillery—rendevoused in readiness for the fray. Now, tell me, on whose behalf was this done? Against whom was all this preparation made? Was it not just such preparation as, at the instance of masters, would have been made in Southern cities before the war, had an uprising of black slaves been feared? Can you honestly deny that had employers had no armed battalions upon which to depend they would have been forced to consult together everywhere, and the eight-hour day would have been adopted by universal consent? What is it, then, that to this day forces the vast multitude of toilers to drudge till manhood is overcome by the strain? What is it that keeps the unemployed million still tramping the highways? In short, what is it that enabled the employers to triumph over the laborers begging the privilege of a few hours in which to live human lives? What answer can you give but the one—government!

Will you concede all this, but still insist that, not government itself, but the abuse of government, causes the outrageous wrongs of which poverty complains? Do you not see that by so insisting you inevitably assert that government itself is the abuse? For open history where you will, you will find the very same condition of things. You cannot find in all history a government which did not oppress the common people; never, under any government known to the historian have those who toiled been other than the poor, and the poor have been always the vast multitude of every nation the world has ever seen. Find me in ancient, in modern, or in contemporary times one single government under which the prosperous were or are the producers, of the prosperity of their country, or else admit that what you call the abuse of government has ever been, and is now the invariable characteristic of government itself. Says Edmund Burke:

"In vain you tell me that artificial government is good, but that I fall out only with the abuse. The thing! The thing itself is the abuse! . . . The most obvious division of society is into rich and poor; and it is no less obvious that the numbers of the former bear a great disproportion to those of the latter. The whole business of the poor is to administer to the idleness, folly, and luxury of the rich; and that of the rich, in return, is to find the best method of confining the slavery and increasing the burdens of the poor. In a state of nature, it is an invariable law, that a man's acquisitions are in proportion to his labor. In a state of artificial society, it is a law as constant and as invariable, that those who labor most enjoy the fewest things, and that those who labor not at all have the greatest number of enjoyments. A constitution of things thus, strange and ridiculous beyond expression. We scarce believe a thing when we are told it, which we actually see before our eyes every day without being in the least surprised." (Burke's "Vindication of Natural Society.")

Where has a government ever existed, where now is one to be found, whence cannot be drawn the fullest practical confirmation of the law thus announced by Burke—"that those who labor most enjoy the fewest things, and that those who labor not at all have the greatest number of enjoyments?" Then this is a law, as fully as that an apple falls to the earth instead of toward the heavens is a law, and if it is an invariable rule, and such you cannot deny it is, then government itself is guilty of all I have laid to its charge. Succeeding chapters will give more complete demonstration of this; I have desired to carry the argument no further here than was requisite for the purposes of this chapter. But upon the evidence already adduced I think most readers will agree with Sir Thomas More, the lord chancellor of Henry VIII., and the greatest philosopher of his time:

"Therefore, I must say, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the governments that I see or know, than that they are a conspiracy of the rich, who on pretence of managing the public only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and means they can find out, first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill-acquired, and then that they may engage the poor to toil and labor for them at as low rates as possible, and oppress them as much as they please." (More's "Utopia.")

TUCKER ON APPLETON.

S. H. MORSE REPUDES HENRY APPLETON'S MISREPRESENTATION OF HIM.

To the editor of The Alarm:—

When you were publishing your paper in Chicago, you printed an article in your issue of March 24, 1888, by Henry Appleton, in which I was subjected to more than a column of criticism which it would be difficult to distinguish from abuse. For what the writer himself had to say about I cared less than nothing, as not a vestige remained of the respect which I had for his character in the days when I thought I knew him. But there was one part of his article for which I cared a great deal—that in which he attributed to my friend Morse words concerning me which I knew he never uttered, and more especially, a spirit concerning me which I knew he never felt. Morse's good opinion is of great value to me, and I was deeply hurt to see it misrepresented to the readers of THE ALARM by one whom they could not suppose to be lying. I reproduce the passage to which I refer:

"It was Sidney H. Morse (formerly 'Philip' of the Irish World) who first gave me the tip concerning the fatalism-poison which infects all reform. After working hard with Tucker to spread the gospel of anarchism, I noticed that the air was gradually thickening up with flying bricks. Tucker was swearing that John Most and his crowd were no anarchists, but rather communists. On the other hand, Most and his confederates swore that Tucker and his Boston crowd were no anarchists, but rather individuals. Over in Chicago THE ALARM was declaring that the Tuckerites were no anarchists, while Tucker retorted that the Chicago fanatics were no anarchists, but rather deluded communists. . . ."

Morse said, who had got out of this shower of anarchistic brickbats in disgust: "This whole childish fight is chargeable to the fundamental error of putting a label on your thought. It is the eternal egotism which, being ashamed to say its best thought today and unsay it tomorrow if never light appears, persists forever in boxing itself up in a creed, and sticking the pompous feather of an ism in its hat it stalks forth declaring: 'I am the lord god of anarchism, and thou shalt have no other gods before me.' He that says these things is not a social salvation agent, but a savior of Jesus Christ Proudhon (with the nasal) is a blasphemer and shall be damned."

"If I have not quoted the words of friend Morse literally, I have at least conveyed their spirit. He asks most rationally: 'Why name your thoughts anything?' Let the receiver of it name it; rather than the dispenser of it, and as it will not appear the same thing to any two individuals, then no stereotyped label belongs to it."

It can scarcely be doubted that every reader of THE ALARM not personally cognizant of the facts took the above to mean that Morse had not only severed the old-time friendship which he and I had enjoyed, but had assumed an attitude of positive hostility and contempt toward myself personally and the work in which I am engaged. Naturally reluctant to have this false impression go forth concerning one of my oldest and dearest friend, I sent the article to Morse, who was living at a distance, and asked him to make some comment on it. I told him that, while I knew we had always differed on the subject of party names, I felt sure he had never spoken of me in the manner attributed to him, either in words or spirit. In answer to my request he prepared a manuscript which

was lost before it reached me, but he has been prevented, by numerous vicissitudes, from replacing it with another until recently. Now, however, I have his second manuscript, which I give below. I regret to ask for so much of your space on a personal matter, but, since you printed the original attack, it is your misfortune, not my fault, if you are found in fairness to make the correction.

Dear T.,—It is sometime since I have seen "H" as a signature to articles in "Liberty." No one but myself can rightly state the reason why. And I shall only use your space to say that it is not because I have in the least lost my interest in the continuous prosperity and significance of your journal. You have made a most brave and successful journey thus far. Your paper has grown in the force of its statements, and advanced well on the line of argument. Whether men will hear or forbear, you have done your part with faithfulness. I doubt if you are likely soon to find yourself in the predicament of that Phocian of old who, on being congratulated in a public debate, because his opinion was received with universal approval, exclaimed: "Have I then inadvertently let some evil thing slip from me?" You come nearer filling the bill prescribed by one Cardinal Richelieu: "Show me six lines written by the most honest man in the world, and I will find enough therein to hang him." But let me not, by anticipation, cast a shadow over your future. It is a satisfaction to read that, though mortals accused before the gods Prometheus, who stole fire from heaven for their great benefit, they afterwards caught up that same torch to light them on to victory. It is even "fire from heaven" that makes "mad and fierce those not in the secret. They will not believe that the 'pit of the dragon' is

"Lit by rays from the blast." All this I can say without feeling obliged to follow you approvingly in every direction your reasoning leads you, or accepting as sound all of your conclusions. I know the argument by which you would defend the naming of this liberating movement as "anarchy." Yet I cannot bring myself to feel comfortable quite inside of any movement that thus gets particularized and labeled. The tendency in doing so is to a majority-reign over individual judgment corresponding with that of which we complain. So it seems to me. But I will not discuss it. I leave it as it is, content that you should work as you must, seeing gladly that none of my misgivings have any lodging in your grand purpose. You have achieved much substantial good, and will continue doing so, as I verily believe. I wish I was more worthy to congratulate you.

As there have been some misstatements set afloat in regard to my feeling toward you, I freely offer you this to see, if you desire to, as correcting them. I shall, as opportunity offers, and perhaps at no distant date, remember your "standing invitation" to contribute to your columns.

Yours sincerely,
Morse.

Sept. 1st, 1888.

I think I can afford to leave Henry Appleton in the light in which this frank statement places him.

BENJ. R. TUCKER.
Boston, Sept. 9th, 1888.

EPISTOLARY ECHOES.

Dear Sir:—It seems to me, Gertrude is mistaken. We—the individual—owe society nothing, but owe ourselves everything. Society, when stripped of authority, is a mere abstraction. It has neither form, nor parts, but is a kind of god set up by some anarchists who cannot yet lay by their swaddling clothes.

In anarchy the individual (whether he drinks water or beer) is everything. He, or she is all, and cannot multiply himself, by trying to be something more. In fact, to be an individual is the head. There can be nothing greater. J. W. COOPER.

... I wish to add that I regret very much the frequency with which the Chicago anarchists are spoken of as violent—as having committed violence themselves. I would like to know what they did. Even John Kelly I thought seemed to fall into that vein. It seems to me anarchists are inclined to be snappish with each other. They ought in my opinion of all people to be charitable. —C. WALTON.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

them in, restores them to homes and empty brothels, while the "pestilence that springs from unenjoying sensualism" shall no more fill all human life with hydra-headed "woe." You, who worship the state and state laws, listen to Thoreau, a pioneer anarchist: "Law never made man a whit more just and by reason of their respect for it even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice."

Buckle says that the majority of laws made by the English parliament have been mischievous. Laws create evils, and evil give birth to new laws—like the starfish, which, when torn in two and thrown back into the sea, develops new rays and so duplicates itself and its capacity for mischief. The anarchist repudiates man-made laws and clings to natural laws. The immutability of natural laws leaves no room for an anthropological god and the anarchist says, with Bakounine, "if there were a god it would be necessary to annihilate him." A startling conclusion to some but absolutely and irreversibly logical. To discover, not to make law he considers the duty of man. To live in harmony with natural law is his desire, but he is handicapped by human law. He would judge a tree by its fruit but finds that prejudice, born of ignorance, is blind, to results and hates the logic of facts.

The anarchist reads history with his eyes open, and wonders that others are so blind to its teachings. Mingled with present glories of immortalized heroes are the wails of anguish—the jeers and insults of persecutors and murderers. He reads of the twenty-nine priests of Cleveland, begging for the hanging of anarchist heroes and he remembers the high priest and the low priests of Jerusalem, who no doubt thought that the execution of Jesus would have a salutary effect upon his seditious followers: Man's happiness is more to him than god's kingdom. He don't believe in kingdoms anyway. What he wants he believes possible and practicable; it is not Utopia to him as god's kingdom is to the christian.

The ballot! well, he despises force, therefore considers the ballot immoral. Does not believe in gambling in morals, and therefore does not as poor Fischer said, "saw the dirt with pieces of paper." "Every ballot is a bullet," he echoes the Philadelphia quaker. He would not suppress one by a thousand, or a thousand by one.

The constitution! The only constitutions he believe in are sound mental and physical ones. Tyrants of the state never fail to so interpret state constitutions as to cover their infamies. The state! he would let the state severally alone, asking no protection and paying nothing to its support. If the state will only let him alone, he is content. But if not—he regards it as a mammoth bully to be killed if possible. He objects to aiding to arm and clothe mobs, who may make him their target. He objects to supporting idle thieves and rascals whom he cannot call to account and who formulate laws which he defests.

He believes it would be better and far more economical to prevent crime than to punish criminals. Cure society, he says, do not punish the disease. Slow murder of a multitude under creaking economies, appeals him more than the swift destruction of the few.

He accepts revolution as a necessity, versus the tyranny, the ferocious tyranny of vested wrongs. Finally, he loves liberty, demands it for himself and concedes it to all mankind.

For always in this even a liberty shines that high light whereby the world is saved: And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee. EGO.

ENGLAND'S WAIL OF DESPAIR.

If our people will emigrate as fast as they become redundant, the grinding wretchedness of gathering redundancy may be avoided. Thus we may escape the worst perils of the coming change. One evil remains the way of escape from which I confess I do not see—in all emigration that is not official, and either assisted or forced, it is the energetic and capable who go, and the lazy and inefficient who remain behind. During the long and weary process, therefore, we shall be losing the best of our artisan, and agricultural population, and keeping the worst.—W. R. GREG.

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"THE PARIS COMMUNE."

LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE L.
A. 2,022, K. OF L., NEW YORK,
ON JULY 18, 1888.

AN ABLE AND PHILOSOPHIC DESCRIPTION
OF THE CAUSES OF THE PROLETARIAN
REVOLT AND ITS INCIDENTS.

BY MARIE LOUISE DAVID.

(CONCLUSION.)

By reading with care the reasons upon which the commune based their decision, it is clear that brotherly love was the motive power under which they acted. That column was composed of cannons taken by Napoleon I. during his numerous wars. Germany had largely contributed to its immense bulk.

Could the people of Paris give to the Germans a better proof of their fraternal regard than by the act of obliterating that monument upon which Germany's sufferings through the great despot were inscribed in characters that time could not blot out?

The incendiary which has been attributed to the commune by the servile press, is nothing but a tissue of falsehoods. They published that twelve monuments, which they named, were a heap of ashes; yet, those twelve monuments stand today untouched by fire. The fires which destroyed several monuments and houses were the result of the bombardment by the Versailles troops who kept up a steady fire on the Hotel de Ville, and also the result of street fighting.

In concluding, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that, while the government shot mercilessly and without the shadow of a trial the Parisians falling into their hands, the commune was passing humane laws for the trial of their prisoners.

I give you the text:—"The jury shall be composed of four sections of twelve jurymen each, elected by the ballot, in a public sitting of the commune called for that purpose. The accused shall have the right to call the witnesses for the defense, the expenses of which shall be defrayed by the commune. The accused shall have the right to choose his lawyer, even outside of the corporation of lawyers. He shall be declared guilty only by a majority of eight votes out of twelve."

The humanity of those laws appears forcibly to our mind when we consider that the communalists were not only shot without trial, but were tortured by their enemies.

I shall not relate to you those instances of barbarism. They are too revolting for the ears of civilized persons. To perpetrate all those atrocities with impunity the government was obliged to fabricate tales of vandalism against the Parisians. Need I mention before an intelligent audience such tales as "women petroleuses" spreading fire all over Paris. I do not feel like denying such absurdities.

Before concluding, I must relate to you an instance which

will illustrate the innate sense of revolution and enthusiasm for which Parisians are famous. On one of the barricades of the commune, a boy twelve years of age was fighting. As the enemy approached he never stirred but kept on pouring on them a steady fire. The barricade was taken by the troops and the boy was told to stand against the wall to be shot. He requested of his captors to let him go to his mother's house to kiss her and give her his gold watch. His request being granted, he went away and returning within ten minutes, told the soldiers that he was ready, stood against the wall and was shot.

What a tremendous force the instinct of self preservation must have driven men to such incomprehensible cruelty! That instinct is so immensely powerful that it is the originator of all evil in society.

The Paris commune was defeated but not conquered.

They represented an idea which no power can destroy. They were the pioneers of the great rising spirit of decentralization, autonomy and individualism or self-government. In the infancy of their development they made their cause the cause of labor against capital. The strife between those two classes had given birth to socialism and defined the outlines of general sociology. But the principles of individual and communal rights are not the special property of the toiling masses. They belong to the developed intellect of mankind, regardless of nationality, class or color. The most intellectual portion of the Parisians proclaimed the individual or communal autonomy; the less intelligent portion followed in the movement, incited to struggle by motives defined in their minds with a clearness proportioned to the sum of their intellectual capacities.

Autonomy or individualistic sociology is not a question of "lowering heads that are too high," but a question of "raising heads that are too low."

It is a question of removing causes so abnormal that they create at once monopolists and paupers, and through such iniquitous results, curse both of them alike.

THE LITTLE TYCOON.

We are inclined to think that Charley Litchman's political somersault won't bring as much hard cash as he expected. It is now clear that he cannot control labor votes anywhere and for this reason he is not worth \$25,000 or \$10,000—no, not worth 25 cents.

VIRTUE HAS ITS OWN REWARD.

We have some patience with people who declare their mission to be that of saving the world; but when they pose as the judges of their fellow men it is time to sit down on them heavily.—Freethought.

MISCHIEF OF LEGISLATION.

The mischief of past legislation justifies the belief that as the presence of legislation is diminished, and the human mind less hampered, the progress will continue with accelerated speed.—Buckle.

SCIENCE OR THEOLOGY?

In this age of practical science and worldly wisdom, the voice of the theologian is being constantly heard calling upon the sons of man to prepare for the "kingdom to come." Theology's cry is no longer accompanied with the stake and thumbscrew; it fangs are drawn, and its votaries resort to such milder weapons as business intimidation and intrigue, or fair and open propaganda. But their influence for evil still exists.

It is the theologian who, when mankind are suffering wrong and oppression, tells them to endure the ills in which it has pleased god to place them, in the hopes of a fictitious heaven in a questionable future. It is the theologian who teaches man that his fellows are naturally sinful and depraved, and cannot be entrusted with that freedom which will alone uplift them, as they are bound to err if left the free choice of their actions. It is they who teach men to renounce the world's comforts, while they enjoy them themselves. It is they who destroy their spirit of self-dependence, by teaching them to rely upon their spiritual advisers and the deities they profess to represent, instead of relying on their own efforts. It is they who teach them to accept poverty as a natural necessity, and to endure the tyranny and robbery of their rulers with humility and reverence. Whatever their professions, they are all more or less conservative and retrogressive; they lead to power and wealth and fawn at the feet of privilege; and millions have learned to mistrust them.

Along with this mental development a new party has sprung up—an atheistic priesthood. These professional leaders of heresy have infused new life into the old orthodoxy. Priest now assails priest, and each forms a profitable theme for the other, and assists in making his business brisker. Sectarianism grows, intolerance succeeds, and priestcraft wins on all sides! All are theologians!

But what makes theology so palatable to the people? The humanitarianism with which it is so cunningly interspersed. It is the humane character of the man Jesus, as of Paine, Voltaire, and others of the world's benefactors, which has won their approbation; take that away, and theology loses its hold upon the affections. It is the love of man, and not of the gods, which binds mankind together in fraternity; it is knowledge, and not the theos, which is man's true savior.

Those who do homage to their deities, fail to do justice to their own manhood. The wretched Hindus, who offer up prayers and sacrifices at the instigation of the priestly Brahmins, and worship their hideous idols, are but a type of the supplicants, so profusely scattered throughout the world. The superstitious Buddhists, with their shaven-headed monks, beads, bells, holy water, confessionals, and relic worship; or the christian sects, who have imitated their strange practices

and learnt to act the same harlequinade before the deities upon whom they want to shuffle their own labors and responsibilities—are equally the victims of theology.

The professional agitators never tire of enumerating the cost to the country of the endowments and emoluments of the clergy, the land grants, tithes, Peter's pence, bazaar proceeds, etc.; but these amount to little. The cost of theology is not measurable by money. The lack of self-reliance—of habits of scientific thought—of toleration: these are the true measures of its cost. Add to these the attention which it causes to be diverted from practical affairs, by orthodox and heterodox theologians alike, and then judge the cost!

Life is too short to waste it upon fruitless theological speculation. Rational men are learning that the boycott is the most effective weapon to employ against the churches and their spokesmen. We must study the scientific, and deduce its morality for the guidance of our conduct, or suffer the consequences. We must learn to study good for good's sake, and not for theology's sake. Theology will stand in the way of progress as long as a lazy living can be made at it; and it will remain a means of livelihood as long as plutocracy exists. Destroy mammon, and neither the clergy, nor their professional opponents will be heard from. Break the political and economic fetters which now enslave us, and our mental fetters will break with them. When men are free in their bodies they will be free in their thoughts; and when they cease to be dreaming about theology, their thoughts will become scientific.—Honesty.

"THE LAND OF THE FREE."

The tramp has become as distinctive an American product as the gipsy is peculiar to continental Europe. Is he not a living protest against the equity, or rather the want of equity, that inheres in our fundamental social adjustments? These pseudo statesmen who float lazily on the surface of the surging tide of current events and who never get deeper than the surface come about as near comprehending the logic of the situation as the mule who forms a part of a street railway system does of comprehending its business management. And yet it is this class of statesmen, who, by their preponderance in state and national councils, have created conditions resulting in the tramp as a product peculiar to American civilization.—New Britain Independent.

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chists that has yet been put in print.—Chicago
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ber 27, 1887.—This book has been written
and compiled in response to the public de-
mand for information upon the subject
treated. The circumstances under which
the work has been performed, in my en-
gaged, beneath the shadow of the gallows,
should, it might be said, lend additional
interest and importance to the subject
presented. If the public shall be fur-
nished with information, or assisted in reaching
a clearer understanding of the exact mean-
ing of Capital and Labor by a perusal of
these pages, I would deem that a sufficient
reward for my humble effort to supply it."
—THE AUTHOR.

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THE ALARM.

"Men Die, But Principles Live."

VOL. I. No. 29. CHICAGO AND NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1888. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

THE ALARM DEFENDED.

A SHARP AND CAUSTIC REPLY TO
TWO RECENT ARTICLES ON
THE USE OF FORCE.

PASSIVENESS UNDER OPPRESSION BUT
UNREMITTING OBEDIENCE TO INJUS-
TICE AND TYRANNY.

Reading No. 18 of THE ALARM I was
forcibly struck with two contributions
on the same subject viz. force and revolu-
tion signed by Gertrude B. Kelly and
John F. Kelly respectively. Not being
acquainted with the writers of those ar-
ticles, I naturally judge them by the im-
pressions which their writings bring to
my mind. I notice that they (the
authors) style themselves "anarchists."

G. B. Kelly, after having endeavored
to show that brute force coming from
the robbed proletarians against the rob-
bing capitalists would only place the
robbed ones before the eyes of the public
as aggressors and criminals, passes on
and pathetically exclaims: "How sim-
ple in its operations, how magnificent in
its results, how much more in keeping
with the spirit of the times and the
cause which we wish to advance is pas-
sive resistance to the oppressor in com-
parison to a violent onslaught on him."

Passive resistance is a paradox. Pas-
siveness means nothing short of un-
resisting obedience and submission to
the force acting on the passive body.
What G. B. K. means to me is simply
passiveness, i. e. submission to the hand
that lashes us in order to be able to
show to the public the ghostly blue
marks that the straps have inflicted on
our backs. What a dignified and inter-
esting exhibition. How noble we should
feel under the horrid and pitying gaze
of the public!

The case of the woman Bohan stand-
ing before the public with her two
eyes gouged out by her villainous hus-
band and her passive attitude toward
him, both before and after he committed
his repeated brutality on her, sets forth
her assailant in all his hideousness and
criminality, just as G. B. K. would have
the position of the toiler and capitalist
respectively: a passive victim and an
unmanned victimizer. But what of that?
Is there a sane minded woman who
would live with such a monster as Bohan
until both her eyes were one after the
other, and at different times, gouged
out? She may enjoy the public pity, I
could envy no such privilege. It would
have been better for herself and for so-
ciety to have in time actively resisted
against the tyranny of her husband
which, however deep rooted it may have
been at first, has been tenfold intensified
by her guilty passiveness.

Yes, comrades editor, the "simplicity
of operations" and "magnificence of re-
sults" attending "passiveness" have
brought about a social and economic
condition which cries out for a speedy
change in the routine of its transactions.
The rich gets ever and ever richer and
more despoiled in his moral sense through
the excessive luxuries with which he sur-
rounds himself;—the poor get ever and
ever poorer and more degraded by his
dependence on the caprice of his master
and the privations which he has to un-
dergo. One more century of that "sim-
plicity of operations" and "magnifi-
cence of results" and humanity must
perish! It must die from the fatal de-
composition which disintegrate all rot-
ten bodies! Nothing can save it! One
more century of arrogant "oppression" and
degraded "passiveness," the meas-
ure of iniquities in our race shall have
been reached and oblivion shall reign.

I wish that your correspondent had
referred to us some kind of passive re-
sistance, as she calls her hobby, by
which the people might induce the mo-
nopolists to lay down their ill gotten
worldly goods.

I, for one, would be thankful to be in-
cluded into such a miraculous expedi-
ent. I can assure G. B. K. that, should
the world to our understanding such a
possibility, every anarchist and revolu-

tionist of whatever shade, from the
darkest red hue to the meek and bluish-
pink, would eagerly rally round the
panacea and, for ever, give up preach-
ing or prophesying a coming revolution
by brute force.

Anarchistic science rests on one broad
and steady foundation, on a rock which
can defy the rolling of ages. It is the
truth that the individual must be in
possession of liberty, in order to be able
to develop the qualities with which na-
ture has endowed him.

Order must come after liberty has
been secured, liberty is the mother, not
the daughter of order. The daughter
has to step back and bow reverently
when the stately form of Liberty, her
mother, ascends the steps of the throne
and firmly grasps the sceptre of power!

That doctrine or principle is the
"Credo in deum" of the anarchist—it is the
primer of his creed.

"The advocates of order "a tout prix"
belong to the schools of Louis Blanc,
Carl Marx, Auguste Comte and others.
They mean to reach liberty through or-
der. Well, I suppose they mean well, but
long must they wait until order is estab-
lished in a society of despots and slaves.

To the monopolizers of nature's boun-
tiful gifts we say: "Give us, give us
liberty or—we will take it!"

To deny the use and even the necessity
of revolution is to deny the principle of
evolution. When evolution is stopped
in its onward progress by some diffi-
culty entangling the wheels of its char-
iot, revolution steps in and free the
wheels. Not only does it free the wheels,
but it gives the chariot an onward start
which is so rapid in its speed that G. B.
K. is fairly awe struck when she contem-
plates it. But mind this: if the over-
speed brings a reaction; it is as in the
case of a ball hitting a solid body and
rebounding toward its starting point—
the force has been so checked by its
striking the solid body that it rebounds
with a comparatively insignificant
power.

After having pleaded for her paradox-
ical chimera "passive resistance," G. B.
K. abruptly starts us by saying:
"Take the blowing up of Trinity church,
for instance, because the corporation
owns the most tenement houses in this
city." Who, in the name of goodness,
has ever contemplated blowing up Trin-
ity church? Even if the corporation
owns the most tenement houses in this
city, the blowing up of that church
could in no way remedy the evil. Such a
contemplation could only emanate from
a fiendly maniac and could not be
charged to the adherents of revolution.

What did G. B. K. intend to do when
she presumed to raise such a horrible
assumption? What was her aim in
coupling such with the name of revolu-
tionists?

Reading further No. 18 of THE ALARM
another article signed J. F. Kelly takes
the argument where G. B. Kelly left it
and starts on with a furious onslaught
on some mysterious personage, and in a
tone of offended dignity he solemnly de-
clares:

"I do most strenuously protest against the
dedication of dynamite, upon this calling
of all faithful to bow down and worship it as
the only living god who will lead them out
of the slavery of Egypt into the enjoyment
of the promised land."

Then, under the growing excitement
of his own fancy, he comes to the paroxysm
of his delirium by uttering:

"The idea seems to be that if there is only
enough force, matters will be all right. The
effect of a bomb is not to be slight, but cer-
tainly a few tons of dynamite exploded in a
heap would make the revolution."

And from the summit of that sublime
raving he descends to the ridiculous
joke: "Gunpowder clears the air."

A French writer has said: "Calommez,
calommez! Il en restera toujours quelque
chose." Impressed with the truth of
that assertion, J. F. K. has taken a
handful of calumnious monstrosities
and has launched them at the face of
revolutionists. But, only ignorant per-
sons or bitter foes of progress will heed
his furious denunciations. Wherever and
however he can have conceived such
ideas as "having a few tons of dynamite
explode in a heap" is more than I can

PRISONS AND PALACES.

A NEW STUDY OF THE CONVEN-
TIONAL LIES OF OUR CHRIS-
TIAN CIVILIZATION.

ARTIFICIAL—MORALITIES AND LEGALIZED
PROPERTY OFFER A PREMIUM FOR
CRIMINAL ACTS.

Close to the border of a beautiful town
where nature herself builds it a nest with
her strong-heated, soft-veined hills,
where skill, labor and intelligence have
fashioned wonderful things for man's
wants and loves, where civilization
corals men and women into a mystical
whole called "society," and where reli-
gion and churches take charge of the
thinking, responsible part of man "for
his own good"—there from the great,
hard, gloomy walls of a penitentiary,
The whole world is beautiful around it,
the sun falls brightly on its grim pres-
ence, and at night the tender moon and
soft stars above look as sweetly, pity-
ingly down as on the homes of youth
and innocence. Yet, oh what a world of
wrong, of misery, of degradation, of
cruelty, injustice, despair, do those great
stones wall in!

Black and deep as the gulf between
heaven and hell is that gun-mounted
wall and on either side the difference is
as great: "Life outside! It is paradise
—it is freedom! Inside! It is hell—
slavery!"

What mighty, awful act of wickedness
can those things have committed
against humanity, that their fate, so
horribly unlike that of their fellow men
—could have been merited?

Is humanity then composed of but
two classes—the good and the free, the
vicious and imprisoned?

To the conventional world this would
seem so. Once let those black iron doors
clang behind a man and he is for the
time being no longer a member of so-
ciety, a being with rights or titles to
consideration. He is a "criminal." He
figures in statistics, reports and illustra-
tions as one either in a miserable whole.
He is no longer a man with feelings,
wants, aspirations, hopes, and longings.
He is a thing; a part of a system, a
slave, a line in a wretched human chain,
without a motion of his own, or a sin-
gle right to his individual faculties or
exertions. Surely, men to be made such
creatures of, must have been so bad, so
unmanageable, so unlike the rest of
mankind that society did not know
what else on earth to do with them.

But is this so? Great gods! If only
people could be made to consider how
and why these poor creatures came
there!

Upon the hillside not many miles from
the penitentiary stands a palatial resi-
dence used by a man and his family only
part of the year. He claims the owner-
ship of those same stony-hearted hills
with which nature, happy in combining
beauty and utility, encircled that lovely
valley. He has hundreds of men toiling
day after day for him and handing him
over great smooth blocks of quarried
stone. He takes from them year after
year the result of their toil to the ex-
tent that he hardly knows what new
luxury to surround himself with, while
they can barely feed and clothe them-
selves and their children; and a few
years ago when a number of his "hands"
protested with some show of demanding
their rights, he called up the govern-
ment's dogs of war and had a few of
them murdered. Yet he is free, respect-
ed, admired, well taken care of, happy!

In the great city adjoining, one man
in a single "operation" "made" ten
million dollars and beggared thousands
of people. He is a great man. No one
tells him how to move, what he may see
or read or eat, or when or to whom he
may speak. He is fairly smothered in
luxuries and surrounded by friends.

In the same city men grow rich, great,
and powerful, out of the hells they make
for women and children; whose lives are
made one long spell of wretchedness un-
til they are turned, flesh, blood, and
souls, into the "stock" upon which

[CONTINUED ON THIRD PAGE.]

these men grow fat; and the men are
not criminals—oh no! they are "our
influential citizens," and the chain-gang
serpent winds far, far from their path-
way.

"Inside the prison gates are weak
minded youths; old men whose strug-
gle with a monopolized world, landed
them bruised and breathless at this
brick of despair; foolish, mistaken,
wretches, who innocently thought hu-
man needs were above property rights;
a few vicious people to whom gen-
erations of wrong and injustice have be-
queathed depraved natures; a few as
innocent and good as any petted child
at its mother's knee; and some are
there only for

"Scolding their bright far-seeing souls
Three centuries in the van."

An article in the Times showed that
one is as apt to get behind the bars for
being helpless, unfortunate, friendless,
poor or persecuted as for doing a really
wicked act. But once behind—what a
life! What dragging moments! What
inexorable slavery! What degradation!

It is as though one were set apart for
the curse of an outraged world.

There is perhaps but little physical
torture used as punishment in these
days but the life of silence, obedience,
discipline, dullness, drudgery and de-
privation of all that makes life worth
living, is torture enough to any man
with a heart and brain. And out in
"society" a few "chosen" men are sent
to luxuriate at some law-center, while
they accept bribes from the wealthy
classes to make laws for their interests—
laws that turn a decent man into a
convict, and protect big thieves in
their thievery. Learn from any politi-
cian who will be frank enough to tell
the truth; how laws are "made," then
think upon the sacred reverence we are
taught to feel for them! The very en-
trenchment which costs some corporation
ten thousand dollars, fits a "people's
representative" out for an expensive
trip to Europe, legalizes a gigantic
wrong, pauperizes a thousand people
and sends a hundred or so to prison as
"criminals."

This is what "law" does. This is how
society protects itself; this is as far as
civilization has advanced in learning to
dispose of its own victims. The govern-
ments we boast of enable a few to rob
the many, the church, teaches the many
it is wicked to take any of it back again,
and the state builds penitentiaries to
get rid of the miserable results of such a
system. Do governments with all their
machinery for punishment and penalties,
prevent crime? And the number of
"criminals" increasing every year, the
walls growing larger and higher and
stronger while the biggest kind of thievery
goes respectably on under their pro-
tection. What wonder that sensible
people learn to feel no respect whatever
for an established code of morals, old as
property itself, which has only brought
woe and suffering to an otherwise beau-
tiful world.

LIZZIE M. SWANK.

LABOR LEGISLATION IN INDIANA.
Whoever, by threats, intimidation, or
force, prevents or seeks to prevent any
person from doing work for or furnish-
ing materials to any other person, firm,
or corporation engaged in any lawful
business shall be liable to a fine of from
\$20 to \$100, to which may be added
imprisonment in the county jail from
ten days to six months.

Whoever unlawfully, by threats, in-
timidation, or force, prevents, or at-
tempts to prevent any railroad com-
pany or its agents, servants, and em-
ployes from moving, running, and
operating locomotives, cars, or trains
on its line of road, or attempts to or does
prevent any express company, common
carrier, or person engaged in transport-
ing or carrying passengers or freight
for hire, from so transporting or carry-
ing either passengers or freight shall be
fined from \$50 to \$1,000, to which may
be added imprisonment in the state's
prison from two to twenty-one years,
and such offender shall be disfranchised
and rendered incapable of any office of
trust or profit for any determinate pe-
riod.

INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.
Now, a manufacturer can do what no
feudal lord could achieve, he can convert
the sweat drop of the workman into a
fountain of fresh sweat for the man, and
into a thaler for himself.—Ferdinand
Lassalle.

FELIX PYAT ON FORCE.

THE AUTHOR OF "THE RAG PICK-
ER OF PARIS" AND REVOLU-
TIONIST SPEAKS OUT.

THE BASTILES OF THE MASTER AND OF
THE POOR MUST BE REMOVED
AT ALL HAZARD.

To the editors of Le Coup de Feu.
Citizens—I am with you because you
wish revolutionary concentration.
Why? To cause the revolution.

It does not concern merely the repub-
lic, consequently not of republican con-
centration.

The republic, res publica, public thing,
has become so closely held in opportu-
nists' hands, that there is as much need
of a revolution as under the monarchy.
What is, in fact, the revolution?

The word explains itself. It is a move-
ment of rotation, a reversal of high and
low and of low and high. It is the lower
taking place of the upper; the inferior
becoming the superior; it is, finally, the
revenge of the oppressed upon the op-
pressor, of the exploited upon the ex-
ploiter, of the conquered against the
conqueror—it is force, no more restrict-
ing but serving equity.

The French revolution has no other
sense, yet some of its greatest actors
have scarcely comprehended it. The
Titans of '93 pleaded like attorneys on
the hyd of the king. The regicides tried
to make a legitimate defense. One dis-
cusses not the enemy, he fights him.
"La mort sans phrases!"

It was so, much a case of revenge,
reprises, that the revolution declared
the "rights" of man and not the "duti-
es;" for the third estate their pos-
sessed only duties and no rights.

Again, in declaring "the rights of
man" it ceased to be the French revolu-
tion, it was the revolution. It called all
men and all peoples

THE ALARM.

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DYER D. LUM, Editor.

To whom all communications should be addressed.

POST-OFFICE BOX, 1656,
NEW YORK CITY.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

Equality of Opportunities for All—Hence, extinction of privilege and restriction, protection and oppression, chartered rights and vested wrongs.

Free Land, Material Credit, and Equitable Commerce—Hence, abolition of rent, interest and profit.

Sovereignty of the Individual—Hence, liberty, the cessation of authority, or industrial emancipation and social co-operation.

MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE

PRISON CELL 29, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25,

1887. The Alarm has, as you know, ever rang out strong and clear the dangers that threaten the people. To other hands is now committed that task which was mine in the work and duty as editor of this paper. Though fallen, wounded perhaps unto death, in the battle for liberty, the standard of the struggle is caught up by other hands, and will be again and again, if needs be, the crimson banner will triumph over the enemies of peace, brotherhood, and happiness. Our comrades, Dyer D. Lum, is my editorial successor. To most, or many of you, he is well known. His steadfastness, courage, and ability in the great work of labor's economic emancipation is recognized by all. Therefore, give to him in his work your hearty support—he is worthy and able. Farewell. A. R. PARSONS.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1888

NOTICE.

THE ALARM is again in the field battling for our cause. Will you support it? Any subscriber desiring a list for circulation, soliciting support for the publication fund will be supplied by addressing this office. Let not the burden fall on a few.

Said all donations to the treasurer of The Alarm Club, A. Tewes, 350 Grove street, Jersey City, N. J.

"THROTTLE THE LAW."

25,000 persons are on strike in Havana, Cuba. The strike originated with the cigar-makers, but the cigar-makers, packers, carriage-makers, laundry men, and other trades have turned out to aid them. The authorities grew alarmed and called out the troops. Four guards stand at every factory to protect the sacred rights of property. Hungry men might get desperate, they might claim their own, and then the bottom of society would drop out.

So it goes the civilized world round. Whether on Spanish, Belgian, French, or American soil, the troops are called out when the toiler stops their weary tread-mill round of unrequited toil. When they dare stop being exploited and dare to ask a few pence more a day, force, the essence and foundation of government, is called in to coerce them. Fear makes cowards of us all and no where is this more strikingly displayed than in strikes. The government fears that property, privileges, will be endangered by restless men. The strikers try to keep within the law and make a fight as idle as Don Quixote's assault on the wind mill. And the great mass of the exploited under the lead of such adroit tricksters as are represented in that eminent chevalier of industry, Sir Terence de Seranton, sing songs of praise to their exploiters.

Examples are not wanting, not to cite the unforgotten one of Chicago.

To incite to riot, to incite to murder are terrible "crimes." To incite to riot, in other words to demand what is justly due, merits long years of imprisonment. To smile approvingly over an attempt, or to even advise the removal of those foul incubi of civilization, kings and queens, merits death. Society has so decreed and commonplace morality smugly acquiesces.

To grow more definite and express the pious wish that the festering carcass of William III. might be utilized in fertilizing the soil; that Alexander III. might die the death of a dog; that Victoria Guelph, paramour of her lamented lackey, John Brown, might be furnished with a free ticket over the shorted route to hell—is criminal. Yet I dare say nearly every reader of THE ALARM would rejoice with me over such a happy consummation of their pestiferous lives.

It is time to have done with nonsense and to refuse obedience to the modern Gessler's hat—law. It is law that stands in the way of liberty; that dooms men, women and children to a fate as fearful as ever Moloch exacted; that forbids voluntary co-operation to perfect such social administration as we may desire. Law is the new Frankenstein our own hands have created to dominate us and only by our own hands can it be destroyed. This may not be "legal," not "virtuous," may be dubbed "incendiary," but it is the essence of anarchy and THE ALARM stands by this gospel.

THE OSCAR FALLEUR CASE.

My readers will remember that in the spring of 1886 there was an extended strike in the neighborhood of Charleroi, Belgium. They may also recollect seeing it stated that the glass-workers, miners, glove-makers and some others were connected with the Knights of Labor. During that strike the military were called out and intensified the feeling of the strikers. The strikers were finally suppressed and government looked for a victim. The organizer of the Belgian district assembly was a man named Oscar Falleur. A glass worker by trade, he had had the audacity to organize the miners. An example had to be made and Falleur was arrested for inciting to riot, tried, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment. But the authorities reckoned without their host: the organization remained. Behind prison bars, Oscar Falleur was not forgotten.

Time passed and the authorities deemed victory won. But one bright day 10,000 people came trooping into town from different places, each with three days' rations. They demanded Falleur's release. It was a peaceful demonstration and their request was taken into "respectful consideration." Late'y he was given an unconditional pardon and returned home to be welcomed with joy and delight by his fellow workmen. The glass-workers' congress convened with delegates from America, Belgium, France, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal. Falleur went as a delegate. His imprisonment had not quenched his interest in organization. A new problem arose; his popularity would render him dangerous. The law gives no authority to banish. He had his pardon for the "crime" charged against him. The ministry were convened and an underling was deputized to inform him that he must leave the country. Although banishment is not a legal penalty, and he had been pardoned, his presence was feared.

He went to France for a fortnight to visit friends at Trelon. The secret political spies of Belgium at once notified the French government and the minister of the interior sent the following letter to the prefect of the department in which Falleur was residing:

Republique Française. Monsieur le Prefet. I think it my duty to forward to you the following details, which may be useful: Oscar Falleur, the Belgian anarchist, sentenced to hard labor and

imprisonment for life in consequence of the riots of 1886, conditionally set free by the minister of justice, and authorized to provisionally remain in Belgium, provided he should not make socialist propaganda, has just been expelled from his native land because he has mixed himself up with the socialist glass-blowers' union. He has been ordered to leave Belgium or return to prison. He left Lodelinsart on the 15th inst. in order to go to Trelon (France), a small town near Maubeuge, where big glass-blowers' establishments happen to exist. He will stay there for three weeks, and is likely to put himself in communication with his confederates. I have the honor to be, etc., General Controller of the Police.

The prefect transmitted the letter through the regular course till it reached the mayor of Trelon, who, realizing his tremendous responsibility, carefully watched the glass-blower. His report reads as follows:

I, the undersigned, mayor of Trelon (Nord) hereby declare that M. Oscar Falleur has sojourned in this town from the 15th of August to the 2nd of September, and that his presence has not caused any disorder. M. Falleur's behavior always has been a good and regular one.

While there is no evidence that he was an anarchist, beyond the fact that he was a Knight of Labor and a glass-blower, his activity as an organizer rendered him dangerous. Ordered to leave the country, and in violation of plighted faith, his thoughts turned to America, "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Here he knew that L. A. 300 would find him employment. Industrious, intelligent and expert he sought America as a haven for the oppressed, where by honest labor he might find rest.

But no. The American consul cabled to the department of state and by order of the administration he was, and is, detained at Castle Garden as a "convict." They refuse to recognize in him what the law excepts from exclusion—a "political offender." Although he visited England and was un molested; although he came here precisely as Carl Schurz, Louis Kossuth, and a host of other "convicts" came; although his imaginary offense was condoned by pardon—yet Secretary Bayard and Collector Magone insist on his return.

His sole offense was organizing labor. His native land refuses him a residence. The republic of France suspects him. The republic of the United States rejects him. Time was when the democracy boasted of its loyalty to the oppressed of other nations. But time changes all things.

This is a question of vital importance and into which politics should not enter: Where can Falleur go if sent back? But one "home" remains open for him—his old cell. Watch the result before you halloo yourself hoarse over political parties and ask yourselves the question: Whither are we drifting?

FREE LAND AND TAXATION.

The Anti-Monopolist, edited by the United Labor Party vice-presidential candidate, in its last issue quotes from Spencer's "Social Statics" the chapter on "The Right to the Use of the Earth." It is a dangerous innovation for a candidate to publish an anarchistic essay and why it is now published in a single copy is a mystery. It asserts the right of every individual to the use of land but it nowhere sanctions the right of two individuals to coerce the third. Yet this is just what taxation, whether of the single-tax variety or not, necessarily does.

Neither George, Cowdrey, nor myself have the right to impose an obligation upon another. Neither one of us can say to the editor of the Anti-Monopolist, I order you to

assume such or such obligations to meet certain pecuniary responsibilities. Yet the single-tax theory is based upon the idea that George, Cowdrey and myself can delegate to one of ourselves a right none of us individually possesses to pay tribute. To do it individually we would be brigands, but by combining, forming a "trust" and christening it government, we may delegate power we do not have and compel Mr. Wakefield, of the Anti-Monopolist, to pay tribute.

I admit that Herbert Spencer uses the word "nation," but no where does he give cause to interpret that word as sanctioning invasion of each man's inalienable right—upon which he so strongly insists—to free access to the soil. On the contrary, the lesson, the moral, of the chapter is that individual liberty leads to social co-operation, to co-operative administration. Spencer's "Social Statics" is an army of arguments against government; the single-tax-theory is based upon government. The one asserts the sovereignty of the individual and voluntary co-operation—whether called nation or commune—as its logical corollary; the other the abnegation of individuality in the collectivity.

When all individual units of "the nation," or society, are free, what is there left to free? The question is not whether a community can voluntarily assess, or tax, themselves to carry on social administration, but whether compulsory taxation is the sole means to the desired end? Man ever considers his own interests, and will make any sacrifice to further them, but the theory of government implies that men may delegate powers no one possesses to compel others to make sacrifices that would be voluntarily made. But then there would be no fat-offices—and salaries.

There might be no vice-presidential candidates! To use Spencer's words our single-tax friends "are constantly petitioning for limitations—always wishing to abate and modify, and moderate—even protesting against doctrines being pursued to their ultimate consequences." They are as firmly wedded to the state superstition as our fathers were to the church superstition. As morality and priestcraft were once deemed inseparably united, so they deem the people and the government to be synonymous terms. In their superstition they quote Spencer but fail to see, to use his own words: "Our civilization is only partial. It may by-and-by be perceived, that equity utters dictates to which we have not yet listened; and men may then learn that to deprive others of their rights to the use of the earth is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties."

COMPLAINTS come loud from Arkansas that the last election was fraudulent. The defeated party claim they carried the state, but were "counted out." I remember once meeting a friend who had joined in a skin game of poker and got wofully left. Having failed, on "working" his own little game he was loud in his denunciation of the others who were more successful. Yet he went right on playing, and continued to "buck the tiger" with the same assiduity. So our union labor friends will never learn to apply Paul's saying "It is hard to kick against the pricks" of office holders, and will continue to saw the air with pieces of paper and whine afterward.

PERSONALITIES henceforth will be excluded from these columns. In a sense of fairness I have admitted articles to these columns

against which complaint has been made. Abuse or insult to myself will always find a readier receptance than adulation, yet I recognize my duty to my readers as well. THE ALARM was founded to inculcate principles, not to be a vehicle of personal wrangling and gossip. It will endeavor to remain such, hence this gentle hint. Comrades engaged in a common cause against a common foe have other duties (and THE ALARM believes in duties) than fault finding or criticizing fault finders. How to the line.

ONCE in a while the Sun, which "shines for all" but beams more kindly upon Harrison, enunciates a sterling truth. The other day it quoted an extract from an exchange to the effect that "the tariff is the greatest of all trusts." The Sun replied: "A mistake. The greatest trust in this hemisphere is the United States Government." THE ALARM, unlike the Sun, not being an indorser of privileged trusts, carries its principles out to their logical conclusion and seeks the abolition of this "greatest trust."

The political book is baited with boodie this year, and among all the fish landed in the separate baskets none seem to bite so voraciously as the "labor leaders." It would be amusing were it not so sad to see men pledged to industrial emancipation rushing over each other in their haste to "rush the can" under the political spigot. Anarchists will reserve their kerosene.

THE French minister of justice calls L. A. 300 a "socialist glass-blowers' union." Great Scott! Campbell, can't you get off the Harrison and Morton stump, and forget boodie long enough to say whether this fearful charge be true or false? Powderly ought to write another letter.

DETWEILER, of the Chicago "Knights of Labor," republishes the letter recently in THE ALARM signed "G. A. S." and credits it to George A. Schilling. The letter in itself was had enough, but Detweiler's endorsement should make Schilling blush if anything could. "Save us from our friends!"

COPY for the Primer of Anarchy has failed to reach me. I trust to have it for the next number. As the author has failed to write me I can give no explanation other than the belief that his time has been so fully occupied that he had not the necessary leisure to prepare it.

THE Western Christian Advocate, one of my prized exchanges, piously and fearfully asks "Direct not god, day and night, to witness the selection of a president?" Yes, why not? It would save much bad blood and kerosene.

Will local readers bear in mind that the Albert R. Parsons' Debate Group meets weekly? See advertisement for time and place.

TICKETS for the Newark entertainment in aid of THE ALARM may be procured at this office. See advertisement on fourth page.

A VERY EXTRAVAGANT MAN.

Cashier Hoyell, who is charged with robbing a bank at Patchogue, L. I., of \$3,800, should be punished for his extravagance; if not for the deficiency in his accounts. He received the munificent salary of \$12 a week, and there is no evidence that he put one penny of this away for a rainy day, but it is clear that he spent it all upon himself and family. When will men, especially those in fiduciary capacities such as Howell filed, and at such a princely salary of \$12 a week, learn to be economical, sacrifice luxuries, and build for themselves pleasant and comfortable homes?—New York Tribune.

APPLETON ON TUCKER.

SERMON ON EGOTISM WITH THE "FEARFUL EXAMPLE" THROWN IN AS AN ILLUSTRATION.

THE GREAT PHILOSOPHIC QUESTION LATELY PRESENTED TO ALARM READERS—AGAIN CONSIDERED.

To the editor of THE ALARM:—With feelings of deep emotion and awe—inspired contrition I read the communication of Mr. Tucker in the last ALARM, touching that all absorbing issue of the age, the precise amative status of Gog and Magog. What a sense of profound relief must have come to your readers, when after waiting for months in agonizing suspense the glad tidings suddenly burst upon them that the lost herdsman still lives the sun-god, and that the universe is no longer threatened.

I can imagine how near to the puking point you already are over this sickening business of imposing upon other people's time and type in order that egotistic big heads may stand on a plumb line with their own conceit in matters that have not the slightest conceivable interest to others. Therefore, I will not require an I for an I in this momentous controversy, but bear my stripes with becoming humility.

One of the most puzzling things in my investigations of human nature has been the fact so often noted that persons of the distinctively intellectual type are usually ballasted with an enormous load of egotism and self-importance. The science of phrenology (whatever it may be worth) affords the only intelligent explanation that I can find. The organs of approbation and self-esteem—the throne of the great I—stand opposite the frontal reasoning lobe of the brain, and furnish the motive impulse that moves the latter. To thrill and surcharge the deep convoluted mass of the frontal brain with nervous energy calls for the most powerful motive battery in the brain's storehouse, and that resides in the realm of selfhood—the ego.

How powerful must be the motor impulse that drives radicals into the teeth of law, custom, public opinion, and conventional idiosyncrasy for the sake of an intellectual idea many of the readers of THE ALARM need not be told. Nor does the motive of a strong, self-conscious, sense of personal worth at all dishonor intellectuality. To breast the scorn and antagonism of a world of conservatism in arms, with all that feeds and clothes and shelters on its side requires a heavy battery of self-conscious individual potentiality. And let me say of Benj. R. Tucker in answer to his abuse of me that he has the natural right to self-conceit enough to stock a whole regiment of the servile, simpering, fawning, goody-goody things that usually pass for men. Turning his back on the prizes and emoluments of wealth, society, and good repute, with abilities as a journalist that would speedily put him anywhere, he chooses rather to be a dog-keeper in the house of truth than dwell within the inner tents of legal thieves and newspaper harlots.

But alas, I fear that too much Proudhon always pronounced nasally by the elect) hath made Brother Tucker mad. He was ballasted for a heavy charge, but the charge necessitated such an overdose of egotism that when he had made it his usefulness and sanity began to wane, and I fear that the insidious blood poison of conceit is nearing his vitals. The disease has already reached that stage where he will lie dormant before the enunciation of great principles till his own personality becomes a factor, when he will spring into the air and parry wildly with imaginary owls and bats, under the seeming hallucination that all the angels, archangels, and devils of a thousand spheres have sprung for their armor at the sound of his name. As the more decisive symptoms develop the constructive side of "Liberty" slowly fades away and leaves little but a hollow shell, wherein reverberates the eternal ego.

The fall of Brother Tucker is indeed a melancholy one. But with all his faults I love him still, and though he reviles and curses me, calls me a reptile and casts me into outer darkness, I shall continue to pray for him till he ceases to be worth it.

Boston, Sept. 23rd, 1888.

HENRY APPLETON.

THERE WILL BE MORE.

There are some seven prisons in Paris filled with aristocrats.—Carlyle.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

THE ALARM DEFENDED.

ever define? Why! The Neros, Medicis, Adolphe Thiers and other bloodthirsty villains are entirely thrown into the background and vanish in the presence of such outburst of aberrations!

I have waited for some of our comrades to express their disapproval of those two articles of your homonymous correspondents. None but our friend Mrs. Parsons have felt the sharpness of the sting.

In No. 25 of THE ALARM another contribution from the pen of G. B. Kelly appears, violently denouncing the vices and crimes and incontinency of our social reformers. It is not dynamite any longer, but it is a worthy sequence to it. No well balanced mind will waste time and energy in finding out libertines and criminals and getting a full stock of information regarding such cases. The "verru effarouches" of G. B. Kelly on beholding the weaknesses of social reformers had better retire in its sanctum, than to shout about "mad dog." True virtue is like the lily of the valley—it is retiring in its nature. No one would expect a priestess of purity to come out and open a deadly fire upon the men and women to whom nature has denied the blessings of a pure and virtuous heart. The incontinency of life with which she charges the editor of THE ALARM (unless her horse has not been properly labelled) has nothing to do with the cause of anarchy and revolution. We are creatures of circumstances and undergo the influence of environments. We all do the best we possibly can under the condition which control us. A priestess of purity and virtue has no more merit than a priestess of Venus or Bacchus. The former is more fortunate, that is all.

It is a sad fact that gossiping and news mongering are a feminine trait. It is a remnant of woman's past subjection and cowardice—a last blue mark inflicted on her neck by the iron collar which her master had fastened there. Some men, I know, share in that love for the degrading pastime. In concluding, I must congratulate the editor of THE ALARM on his manly reply to G. B. Kelly and his revindication of his rights to advocate principles to which he is pledged—also on the dignified manner with which he slightly and good naturedly touched the question of virtue versus vice, thus proving himself to be no disciple of the school of "Miss Nancy morality."

MARIE-LOUISE.

New York, Sept. 18th, 1888.

LABOR LEGISLATION IN DAKOTA.

Every person who by force, threats, intimidation, prevents or attempts to prevent any employer from continuing in employment, or from accepting employment, or induces employees to quit work, or to return any work before it is finished, is guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not exceeding \$500 or imprisonment up to one year, or both. Every person intimidating employers and preventing them from hiring any person or compelling such hiring, or forcing them to alter their way of doing business, or to increase or decrease their force, is guilty of a misdemeanor. Any two or more associating together, who enter on mining property, or being near enough to be heard, use threats, gestures (making faces?) etc., 30 days to six months, and a fine of \$250.

WHAT FOOLS THESE MORTALS BE!

The saddest aspect which the decay of civil society can exhibit has always appeared to me to be this, when honorable, honor-loving, conscientious diligence cannot, by the utmost efforts of toil, obtain the necessities of life; or when the working men cannot even find work, but must stand with folded arms, lamenting his forced idleness, through which himself and his family are verging to starvation, or, it may be, actually suffering the pains of hunger.—Hayne.

LAW'S LOGIC.

Never before, except in burlesque, was the meaning of words reversed as in the anarchist trial. Logic stood on its head, and reasoned with its heels.—Gen. Trumbull.

POLITICAL SUPERSTITIONS.

The great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings; of the present, divine right of parliaments.—Herbert Spencer.

ALARM PUBLISHING FUND.

To the treasurer: Dr. M. H. Aikin, \$2.00; balance from picnic, 4.08; Eugene Smith, \$1.00. To the editor: M. Franklin, \$2.00; P. Johnson, \$1.00; T. Robinson, \$1.00; W. Holmes, \$1.00; Mrs. J. E. Welch, \$1.00; F. J. Purcell, \$1.00; Henry Jacqui, \$3.00.

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

INTERESTING ITEMS OF NEWS FROM THE WESTERN METROPOLIS.

At the last meeting of the Trade and Labor Assembly a movement was set on foot for requesting the managers of the exposition to remain open on Sundays. It is argued that a large majority of working people are deprived of the music and exhibits on account of severe and incessant labor, and that the opening of this place on Sundays—the workers' holiday—would prove a moral benefit to the entire community. A committee was appointed to confer with the management to that end.

An effort to pledge the Assembly to Streator and Cunningham was defeated by an overwhelming majority, the almost-unanimous feeling being against using the Assembly to boost any politician into office.

The Chicago Herald, which is now a democratic organ, has been making a sickly attempt to make political capital out of the Haymarket affair. It seems that more than forty of the blue coat would be assassins who attempted to disperse the peaceable Haymarket meeting have been discharged from the police force for various crimes, and the Herald has been attempting to show that they were sacrificed by the "machinery" for political reasons. The whole affair of the Haymarket has been gone over again. Column after column has been printed, picturing the dire peril of the city from and recounting the bravery of the discharged policemen. The effect of all this was to induce a lot of capital to wait upon the mayor asking for the reinstatement of some of the discharged men, but Mayor Roche politely informed the delegation that at present there are no vacancies on the police force. The transparency of the whole thing has been shown up on the Inter-Ocean (thanks to journalistic cutthroat) and statements have been published from the chief of police showing that the men had been discharged on account of vagrancy, drunkenness, and insubordination.

By the way, the Herald has recently been showing a decided leaning, of late, toward free trade ideas, and in fact some of its editorial utterances have bordered closely on anarchism. Here are a few extracts taken from its leaders recently.

"Commerce would be free today were it not for the fact that law makers, often influenced by the unworthy motives, have sought in all ages to fasten upon its own sacred theories of protection, monopoly and exclusiveness."

"Protection is non-protection, because the word 'protection' cannot be put into the famous title 33 of United States laws, which has around so much money out of American toil."

"Because protection came slowly it will go slowly, but go it must. Its shadow will wither our industries long after its apologists have ceased to defend it."

"This republic... cannot endure with the mass of its people borne down by the weight of an aristocracy built up by class taxation. The democratic party has taken a few moderate steps toward the eradication of an economic error as great as was that of human bondage."

"The Herald, having the truth at heart... knows there is no authority, human or divine, for the taxation of one man in order that another may benefit thereby. As a nation, however slight, is such a tax, then liberty, equality and fraternity demands its abolition."

There is nothing evasive or compromising in the above declarations. No pandering to the protection, or in other words, the governmental idea. It is an out and out appeal for absolute free-trade, for the cessation of all taxation for our own sacred trinity "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." My anarchist friends will probably agree with me that anarchism is free-trade carried out to its logical conclusion, and will therefore appreciate the above articles for their true significance.

The case of our Bohemian comrades (Bonfield's "conspiracy" victims) came up for trial on Monday, the 17th inst. and was continued till the October term at the request of the attorneys for the defense, in order to give the men an opportunity to procure affidavits from persons out of the city, whose testimony is wanted by the defense. Hronek's bail was reduced from \$15,000 to \$7,000. A week ago last Tuesday our comrade Chas. L. Rodendieck was arrested by Bonfield, and locked up at the Central Station on a charge of manufacturing dangerous explosives and conspiring to destroy the City Hall. The papers made the most of the arrest, and gave a lurid description of the manufacture of bombs by our comrade. Owing to the impossibility of getting any word to or from Rodendieck (even the sharp reporters

were unable to locate him), I thought best to defer mentioning the matter to THE ALARM readers until I could hear something definite regarding him. Last night he was released, and was seen by several comrades here.

He states that during the whole time of his incarceration, 12 days, he was kept a close prisoner in a dark underground cell at the central station, and was unable to communicate with anyone. Every means known to the modern "sweet box" high priests were resorted to to wring from him a "confession," but "Bodie," having nothing to tell, remained firm. On releasing him Bonfield told him that no charge was entered against him, and he was not even brought before a justice: he was simply deprived of his liberty at the whim and caprice of our Chicago Vidcoq—Bonfield. The latter cautioned him to immediately leave the country as he was liable to arrest in every city and town in the United States.

The wholesale of Rodendieck's "conspiring" to destroy property was used to furnish a sensation for the newspapers and to add glory to Bonfield's record, but principally to prejudice public opinion against the three Bohemians whose trial was to take place the Monday following his arrest.

This is but another outrage for the people to remember in the coming day of wrath.

The strange humor of some people is illustrated by your Chicago correspondent G. A. S. I am of the opinion that Mr. Lum has been guilty of no indiscretion half so unpardonable as his publication of the doggerel by the above named correspondent, which is both silly and insulting to the memory of our martyred dead. Such "gas" might better be blown to other quarters. H.

WHAT IS PRIVATIVE PROPERTY?

UNDER THE QUIRE OF DANTER A GREAT TRUTH IS ENUNCIATED.

Rejected by the Princeton Word.

That the Word, which was not in the beginning, but which evolved with other proprietries, from private property in land, is one with me and father Abraham, against Henry George and humbug collectivists, more or less humane, I ask no better evidence than the excellent citation from A. J. Grover whom the Word and Labor Union support.

That the Word should proceed to approve honest McGlynn in his threefold heresy to the pope, to George, and Uncle Sam, was to be expected from its infinite wisdom. That it should also approve the Anti-monopoly and Settler's Rights Association in asserting citizen's right to land vs. speculative seizure of it for dishonest gain, "shows that the Word was made flesh and dwelt on earth." That it should qualify this approbation by a beautiful disdain of congress, as the court of appeal, attests the supremacy of the ideal people, those "unborn who are defrauded."

That McGlynn and the Denver association concede rights to hold land, otherwise than for personal use, does not appear from the citations, but if so, certainly "they will not stand in the full strength of their case" if strength be measured by justice. But now, the Word desisting consistency (probably because it is a jewel) makes a somersault, and appears in the harlequin dress of Henry George, with "since no man made land (except the Dutch and a few others) it is the gift of nature to all, and property in land as such, is robbery, because it has no labor basis, and because its purpose is to enable holders to levy rent, thereby get the earnings of others, returning no labor equivalent therefor."

Prodigious somersault, that vaults clean over personal property, sustained and limited by labor, to light upon privative monopoly. The Word, being a spirit, does not fear to share the fate of the Chicago communists, who in turning such a somersault, lit upon the gallows. It proceeds very

Georgically to declare private property in those improvements, which, inseparable from the land, give it its market values. The Word concedes that wells, houses, etc., give the right of holding the ground of their sites. It will add—tax free—and it will extend this holding to the area of culture watered by the well and harvested in the house; in principle, to the area which by the personal labor of its occupant vested in improvements, sustains that occupant. It will charitably agree that incapacity by age or illness shall not forfeit this holding, previously acquired; and the Word having profited by its fleshy organs to beget children whom it loves, will claim the right to transmit such holding in the land with its improvements to them.

Property, for holding, or the rose by any other name, O Word, personal in the soil, is it not the true basis of sustenance and the materials of other productive industries?

Dulce est desipere in libertate penis et virile Word, but instead of "property in land as such, being robbery" (language being the art of disguising our ideas), when it pleases you to leave the Georgic masquerade and come home to Angela and daughters, you will find that you meant—privative monopoly of land beyond the limits of one's personal labor and use is robbery. Now the robbers being strong in hand, and skilled in probing the weak joints of labor economics; if behooves thee; O quintessential Word, to mind thy P's and Q's a little better.

The demagogue who has beguiled you with his "free land" twaddle, would palm off robbery as a public virtue, by tax confiscation of land values to the benefit of his chosen people—the bureaucracy, and as Grover well remarks, to the ruin of the working farmers' independence. You, O Word, more or less alarming, and other honest folk, have other use for land than to fatten bureaucrats, and would limit its titles by social morality. George wants them unlimited, for speculation upon hiring labor, and dependent like all property, only on law, i. e. the arbitrary will of representatives, to whom the people have forfeited by the ballot their liberty, along with their property. You are opposed to that wage subjection which George would extend over all labor and rivet its chains by usury. This is what "free soil" and the deed of it by the Almighty Humbug to his daughter "Collective Humanity" means. This optimism veils the pessimism of eternal tribute to the knaves-called government. It is not the land, but the individual person, that needs to be freed, and whose liberty requires private property in an area sufficient for the sphere of his facultative evolution.

The humanitarian snare is baited with the aspiration toward harmonic association, which, however, needs the concert of personal liberties and properties, and repudiates their subjection to any arbitrary government, however representative of its electors' vices.

EDGEMORTH.

A GENEROUS MAN.

A teamster in Rochester who found a hand-bag containing nearly \$6,000 lost a day or two in tracing the owner, a wealthy merchant, who, instead of trying to force him to pay for the use of the money, actually gave him a cigar.

It is thus that the self-conscious nature of virtue is often beautifully inculcated.—Philadelphia Ledger.

THE TABLES TURNED;

or,
NUPKINS AWAKENED.

A Socialist Interlude by WILLIAM MORRIS, Author of 'The Earthly Paradise.'

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.—PART I.

Mr. La-di-da, found guilty of swindling.
Mr. Justice Nupkins.
Mr. Hungary, Q.C., counsel for the prosecution.
Sergeant Sticktoit, witness for prosecution.
Constable Potlegoff, witness for prosecution.
Constable Strongithoath, witness for the prosecution.
Mary Pinch, a laborer's wife, accused of theft.
Foreman of jury.
Jack Freeman, a socialist, accused of conspiracy, sedition and obstruction of the highway.
Archbishop of Canterbury, witness for defense.
Lord Tennyson, witness for defense.
Professor Tyndall, witness for defense.
William Joyce, a socialist ensign.
Usher.
Clerk of the court.
Jurymen, interrupters, revolutionists, etc.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.—PART II.

Citizen Nupkins, late justice.
Mary Pinch.
William Joyce, late socialist ensign.
Jack Freeman.
First Neighbor.
Second Neighbor.
Third Neighbor.
Robert Pinch, and other neighbors, men and women.

PART I.

SCENE.—A COURT OF JUSTICE.

USHER, clerk of the court, Mr. HUNGARY, Q.C., and others. Mr. LA-DI-DA, the prisoner, not in the dock, but seated in a chair before it.

[Enter Mr. Justice Nupkins.]

Usher. Silence!—silence!

Mr. Justice Nupkins. Prisoner at the bar, you have been found guilty by a jury, after a very long and careful consideration of your remarkable and strange case, of a very serious offense; an offense which squeamish moralists are apt to call robbing the widow and orphan; a cant phrase also, with which I hesitate to soil my lips, designates this offense as swindling. You will permit me to remark that the very fact that such nauseous and improper words can be used about the conduct of a gentleman shows how far you have been led astray from the path traced out for the feet of a respectable member of society. Mr. La-di-da, if you were less self-restrained, less respectful, less refined, less of a gentleman, in short, I might point out to you with more or less severity the disastrous consequences of your conduct; but I cannot doubt, from the manner in which you have borne yourself during the whole of this trial, that you are fully impressed with the seriousness of the occasion. I shall say no more then, but perform the painful duty which devolves on me of passing sentence on you. I am compelled in doing so to award you a term of imprisonment; but I shall take care that you shall not be degraded by contamination with thieves and rioters, and other coarse persons, or share the diet and treatment which is no punishment to persons used to hard living: that would beto inflict a punishment on you not intended by the law, and would cast a stain on your character not easily wiped away. I wish you to return to that society of which you have up to this untoward event formed an ornament without any such stain. You will, therefore, be imprisoned as a first-class misdemeanant for the space of one calendar month; and I trust that during the retirement thus enforced upon you, which to a person of your resources should not be very irksome, you will reflect on the rashness, the incaution, the impropriety, in one word, of

your conduct, and that you will never be discovered again appropriating to your personal use money which has been entrusted to your care by your friends and relatives.

Mr. La-di-da. I thank you, my lord, for your kindness and consideration. May I be allowed to ask you to add to your kindness by permitting me to return to my home and make some necessary arrangements before submitting myself to the well-merited chastisement which my imprudence has brought upon me?

Mr. J. N. Certainly. I repeat I do not wish to make your sentence any heavier by forcing a hard construction upon it. I give you a week to make all arrangements necessary for your peace of mind and your bodily comfort.

Mr. L. I thank your lordship.

[Exit.]

[The case of MARY PINCH called.]

Mr. Hungary, Q.C. I am for the prosecution, my lord, instructed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. (Judge bites his pen and nods.) My lord, and gentlemen of the jury, although this case may seem to some ill-judging persons a trivial one, I think you will be able to see before it is over that it is really important in its bearing on the welfare of society, the welfare of the public; that is, of the respectable public—of the respectable public, gentlemen. For in these days, when the spirit of discontent is so widespread, all illegal actions have, so to say, a political bearing, my lord, and all illegal actions are wicked, gentlemen of the jury, since they tend toward the insecurity of society, or in other words, are definitely aimed at the very basis of all morality and religion. Therefore, my lord, I have received instructions from the Home Secretary to prosecute this woman, who, as I shall be able to prove to you, gentlemen of the jury, by the testimony of three witnesses occupying responsible official positions, has been guilty of a breach at once of the laws of the country and the dictates of morality, and has thereby seriously inconvenienced a very respectable tradesman, nay (looking at his brief) three respectable tradesmen. I shall be able to show, gentlemen, that this woman has stolen three loaves of bread: (impressively) not one, gentlemen, but three.

A Voice. She's got three children, you palavering black-guard!

[Confusion.]

Mr. Justice N. (who has made an elaborate show of composing himself to slumber since the counsel began, here wakes up and cries out) Arrest that man, officer; I will commit him, and give him the heaviest punishment that the law allows of.

[The Usher dives among the audience amidst great confusion, but comes back empty-handed.]

J. N. A most dangerous disturbance! A most dangerous disturbance!

Mr. H. Gentlemen of the jury, in confirmation of my remarks on the spirit that is abroad, I call your attention to the riot which has just taken place, en-

dangering, I doubt not, the life of his lordship, and your own lives, gentlemen, so valuable to—to—in short, to yourselves. Need I point out to you at any length, then, the danger of allowing criminals, offenders against the sacred rights of property, to go at large? This incident speaks for me, and I have now nothing to do but let the witnesses speak for themselves. Gentlemen of the jury, I do not ask you to convict on insufficient evidence; but I do ask you not to be swayed by any false sentiment bearing reference to the so-called smallness of the offense, or the poverty of the offender. The law is made for the poor as well as for the rich, for the rich as well as for the poor. The poor man has no more right to shelter himself behind his poverty, than the rich man behind his riches. In short, gentlemen of the jury, what I ask you in all confidence to do, is to do justice and fear not.—I call Sergeant Sticktoit.

[Sergeant Sticktoit sworn.]

Mr. H. Well, sergeant, you saw this woman steal the loaves? Sticktoit. Yes, sir.

Mr. H. All of them? St. Yes, all.

Mr. H. From different shops, or from one?

St. From three different shops.

Mr. H. Yes, just so. (Aside: Then why the devil did he say from one shop when his evidence was taken before?) (To St.) You were an eye-witness of that? You noticed her take all three loaves?

St. (Aside: He wants me to say from three different shops; 'm sure I don't know why. Anyhow, I'll say it—and swear it.) (To the court) Yes, I was an eye-witness of the deed; (pompously) I followed her, and then I took her.

Mr. H. Yes, then you took her. Please tell the court how.

St. (aside) Let's see, what did we agree was the likeliest way? (To court) I saw her take the first loaf and hide it in her shawl; and then the second one; and the second one tumbled down into the mud; and she picked it up again and wiped it with her shawl; and then she took the third; and when she tried to put that with the two others they all three tumbled down; and as she stooped down to pick them up it seemed the best time to take her, as the two constables had come up; so I took her.

Mr. H. Yes; you took her. St. And she cried.

Mr. H. Ah, she cried. Well, sergeant, that will do; you may go. (Aside: The sooner he goes the better. Wouldn't I like to have the cross examining of him if he was called on the other side!) Constable Potlegoff.

[Potlegoff sworn.]

Mr. H. Well, constable, did you see the woman take the loaves?

Potlegoff. Yes, sir.

Mr. H. How did she take them?

Pot. Off the counter, sir.

Mr. H. Did she go into the shop to take them?

Pot. Yes, sir. (aside: I thought I was to say into three shops.)

Mr. H. One after another? Pot. Yes, out of one shop one after another. (aside: Now it's right, I hope.)

Mr. H. (aside: Confound him, he's contradicting the other!) (To Pot.) Yes, just so; one after the other. And did you see the second loaf tumble down?

Pot. Yes, sir.

Mr. H. When was that?

Pot. As she took it off the counter.

Mr. H. Yes, after she took it off the counter, in the street?

Pot. No, sir. (catching the sergeant's eye.) I mean yes, sir, and she wiped the mud off them; the sergeant saw her—and I saw her.

A Voice. Off it, you liar! 'twas the second loaf, the single loaf, the other liar said!

[Confusion. The judge wakes up and splutters, and tries to say something; the usher goes through the audience, but finds no one; Hungary spreads out his hands to the jury, appealingly.]

Mr. H. Yes, so it was in the street that you saw the loaves fall down?

Pot. Yes, sir; it was in the street that I saw it tumble down.

A Voice. You mean them, you fool! You haven't got the story right yet!

[Confusion again. The Judge sits up and stares like a man awaked from a nightmare, then calls out: Officer! Officer! very loud. The usher goes his errand again, and comes back bootless.]

Mr. H. (very blandly). It was in the street that you saw the three loaves fall down?

Pot. Yes, it was in the street that I saw the loaf fall down.

Mr. H. Yes, in the street; just so, in the street. You may go (Aside: for a damned fool!). Constable Strongithoath.

[Constable Strongithoath sworn.]

Mr. H. Constable, did you see this robbery?

Strong. I saw it.

Mr. H. Tell us what you saw.

Strong. (very slowly and stolidly, and as if repeating a lesson). I saw her steal them all—all—all from one shop—from three shops—I followed her—I took her. When she took it up—she let it drop—in the shop—and wiped the street mud off it. Then she dropped them all three in the shop—and came out—and I took her with the help—of the two constables—and she cried.

Mr. H. You may go (Aside: for a new-caught joskin and a fool!). I won't ask him any questions.

J. N. (waking up, and languid) Do you call any other witnesses, Mr Hungary?

Mr. H. No, my lord. (Aside: Not if I know it, considering the quality of the evidence. Not that it much matters; the judge is going to get a conviction; the jury will do as he tells them—always do.) (To the court); My lord and gentlemen of the jury, that's my case. [TO BE CONTINUED]

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