

July and 213 in August? Dr. Haldane has told us what the figures mean. The deaths among the women in the camps per month should under normal conditions be 96; the actual number is 606, an excess of 510 due to insanitary surroundings. The deaths among children during August were 3,245; under normal conditions they should only have been 272. In other words, the maintenance of these camps means that seven times as many women and 12 times as many children are dying as would have died if there had been no burning of homes, no concentration policy, no wholesale destruction of food and live stock. We have just now seen the military consequence of the policy. The remedy for this terrible mortality and for our military difficulties is, we believe, one and the same. The camps should be removed and the military theory which led to their formation definitely abandoned.

#### ANARCHY AND GOVERNMENT.

An article by Erving Winslow, secretary of the New England Anti-Imperialist league; published in the San Francisco Star of September 28.

It may be difficult to obtain a hearing for a philosophic consideration of any event which is deeply stirring the emotions of the community. From one point of view it might seem best to await the sober second-thought of the people before making any comments upon the situation that might be interpreted as casting the least shadow of reproach upon honest sympathy and righteous indignation. Nevertheless, the hysterical sentiment is so increased and multiplied by the magnetism of personal influence, possessed by those whose hearts are better than their heads, and by the tremendous power of the sensational press and pulpit, that serious results may be brought about and embodied in popular action or hasty legislation before the expected time of second-thought is reached. The Virginia constitutional convention has already eliminated the guaranty of freedom of speech from the bill of rights. It may be well, therefore, to throw into the seething caldron some elements which may possibly contribute a little to a normal precipitation.

The confusion of the public mind has been singularly illustrated in the recent rejection in New York of a proposed candidate for office, suspected of socialism, because of the present antipathy for anarchism! This is very much as if we should proceed to boycott some well-known apostle of tem-

perance because a drunken man had committed a crime. Socialism is the logical opposite of anarchism, and it might be supposed that a socialist just now would be the most popular person in the country.

It is, of course, too much to expect, under the circumstances, that the difference between the philosophical and the violent anarchist should be recognized. In common speech "anarchy" is indeed generally recognized as a synonym for disorder and destruction. The ordinary person who was told, for example, that a schoolroom was in a state of anarchy, would conceive the idea of a scene of uproar and confusion, desks overturned, books thrown about and a general tumult, requiring at once the strong hand of authority. A schoolroom in a state of true anarchy would exhibit, on the contrary, a collection of pupils fulfilling their appointed tasks in the absence of the teacher, with zeal and concentration, assisting each other, if necessary, by the exchange of a pen or a pencil, and happily cooperating in perfect goodwill to produce the most harmonious result in the most peaceful way.

Not many years ago the doctrine was generally accepted that government should be limited to the narrowest range of functions consistent with the preservation of order, and it was felt that with the natural progress of education and enlightenment, as time went on its functions might be safely still more limited in number and scope; in fact, that with the elevation of mankind, approach would be made to the millennial idea which, in a way, may be called philosophic anarchism. It is the doctrine of scripture that in the fullness of time, "they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

Is this idea no longer conceivable? It might almost be believed that such is the case when so many of those who are technically apostles of the Christian religion appear to have lost it and are most conspicuous among those who see in a single act of insane violence only a provocation for greater violence and for the employment of force against force, and when high functionaries of government also openly advocate lynching. As it is the first duty of the Christian man, outraged in feeling or in person, to look at home and to seek a cause of provocation rather than to wreak hasty revenge, it certainly becomes the body politic to act and judge dispassionately in the presence of an outrage committed by

a single wretched and degenerate member of it. The horrible crime which has been lately committed is probably altogether an isolated one; but as so many attempts are being made to throw the responsibility of it upon every outspoken opposition to what may chance to be individual or party policy, it is certainly well to open our minds to more sober counsels. A well-known ecclesiastic has even vehemently denounced any severe criticism of republican functionaries in obedience to the precept that their power is "ordained by God"—the sanction claimed by royalty—oblivious of the fact that impeachment, which would be treason under monarchical governments, is among us a constitutional right which may become a duty.

Efforts to control legitimate criticism, to strengthen the visible power of governments and to increase the prestige of mere authority, will increasingly challenge in the future dislike, hatred and the possibility of violence from the poor, the discontented and the unfortunate—the proletariat, as it is contemptuously called. Poland, unhappy Poland, where freedom fell with Kosciusko, has been the parent of anarchism in the past, as Finland and other countries now being deprived of freedom, may be in the future—not the America of constitutional liberty.

With the enormous progress of individualism, through the influence of the press and modern education, anything like thorough and effectual suppression of criticism and discussion is impossible. The czar cannot compass it; the kaiser, with the pains and penalties of lese majeste, cannot effect it. How futile would be the effort in America! The claims of imperialism, of authority based upon conquest, of usurped or hereditary prerogative, will constantly meet with increasing danger. Shining marks which stand for force will inevitably excite prejudice and aversion. It would seem, indeed, as time goes on, as if the only function which could be exercised with safety would be that of the recognized public servant; that simplicity in manners, absence of show and pretension, and especially disassociation from military conditions, would be the only prudent characteristics of officialdom. The executive of the United States will be certainly most effectually respected when professing and pursuing absolute obedience to the constitution, the rule of order established by those who have selected him for their service, having no responsibility and no accountability beyond it.

A suggestion has been made that

felonious attacks upon the president should have a special punishment as being aimed against the commander in chief of the American army and navy. This would be the most dangerous imperialism. In times of social discontent, at all events, this republican military chieftain would probably be obliged to travel like the emperor of Russia, in an iron-clad car, preceded by a dummy train over a road lined with soldiery.

The attention of the world cannot be diverted from the fact that government is now exercised over a very considerable portion of the human race, and by nations which are supposed to lead in civilization, by sheer force; and, if for the presumed good of the governed, certainly without their consent. Wars and rumors of wars, armies and navies, fill the mind with notions of arbitrary power. These thoughts, in times of unrest and suffering, must inevitably suggest and create resistance thereto. Triumphs of returning legions, official progresses and receptions, royal funerals and coronations, must also stir up very different feelings among the masses of mankind who are everywhere apprehending their reduction, meanwhile, by the influence of aggregated wealth (always, of course, supporters of the powers that be) to a condition of mechanical servitude. The true grandeur of nations, the true safety of nations and of their administrators, lies, as Charles Sumner pointed out half a century ago, in words that now read like a judgment, in disarmament, in peace, in true democracy.

Meanwhile multitudes of men are so far from seeing the truth with clear minds and honest intention that they are even endeavoring to throw the responsibility of an act of a madman upon those whose lives have been conscientiously devoted to efforts for the fulfillment of the day when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The order of events has drifted the world from the current which seemed to be bearing the peoples toward a happier and safer future. God knows when, in his good time, the tide may be checked which seems to be carrying us on through the whirlpool and the rapids to the precipice which lies beyond! It is certain that if an awful crime which has shocked the country and the world produces any such consequences as are indicated by the clamors of a portion of the press and pulpit, the real tragedy of it will consist

in adding something to the force and flow of that fatal tide.

**THE CONTEMPTIBLE NEUTRAL.**

The world was full of battle—  
The whole world, far and wide;  
Men and women and children  
Were fighting on either side.

I was sent from the hottest combat  
With a message of life and death,  
Black with smoke and red with blood,  
Weary and out of breath.

Forced to linger a moment  
And bind a stubborn wound,  
Cursing the hurt that kept me back  
From the fiery battle ground—

When I found a cheerful stranger,  
Calm, critical, serene,  
Well sheltered from all danger,  
Painting a battle scene.

He was cordially glad to see me—  
The coolly smiling wretch—  
And inquired with admiration:  
"Do you mind if I make a sketch?"

So he had me down in a minute,  
With murmurs of real delight;  
My "color" was "delicious,"  
My "action" was "just right!"

And he prattled on with ardor  
Of the moving scene below;  
Of the "values" of the smoke-wreaths,  
And the "splendid rush and go."

Of the headlong desperate charges  
Where a thousand lives were spent;  
Of the "massing" in the foreground  
With the "middle distance" blent.

Said I: "You speak serenely  
Of the living death in view;  
These are human creatures dying—  
Are you not human, too?"

"This is a present battle  
Where all men strive to-day;  
How does it chance you sit apart?  
Which is your banner—say?"

His fresh cheek blanched a little,  
And he answered with a smile  
That he fought not on either side;  
He was watching a little while.

"Watching," said I, "and neutral!"  
Neutral in times like these!"  
And I plucked him off his sketching stool  
And brought him to his knees.

I stripped him of his traveling cloak  
And showed him to the sky—  
By his uniform—a traitor!  
By his handiwork—a spy!

I dragged him back to the field he left—  
To the fate he was fitted for.  
We have no place for lookers-on,  
While all the world's at war!  
—Charlotte Perkins Stetson, in *The Challenge*.

Natural rights are those which always appertain to man in right of his existence. Of this kind are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind, and also all those rights of acting as an individual for his own comfort and happiness, which are not injurious to the rights of others. Civil rights are those which appertain to a man in right of his being a member of society. Every civil right has for its

foundation some natural right pre-existing in the individual, but to which his individual power is not, in all cases, sufficiently competent. Of this kind are all those which relate to security and protection.—Paine.

Miss Tenders—How shamefully the English are treating the Boer women!

Miss Kooley—But just think how unspeakably worse the condition of the women would be if the English were not Christians.

G. T. E.

The usefulness of an opinion is itself matter of opinion; as disputable, as open to discussion, and requiring discussion, as much as the opinion itself.—John Stuart Mill.

Better a thousand fold abuse of free speech than denial of free speech; the abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people and entombs the hope of the race.—Bradlaugh.

John Bull—The state of affairs in South Africa makes me feel that my strong right arm has gone back on me.

Uncle Sam—Oh, you mustn't mind a little thing like that. I don't worry even when my constitution goes back on me.

G. T. E.

Where is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion is but knowledge in the making.—Milton.

Braken—Your friend, the federal judge, looks ill?

Dr. Tewmeen—But he isn't ill. He is merely weak constitutionally.

G. T. E.

The three months during which the Inner Temple gardens have been open in the evening to poor children came to an end on Saturday. No damage

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