

there is only to be a sort of administration charged with the duty of securing liberty and justice for all. There are no longer to be any masters, nor any higher and lower classes; sovereignty is to reside in each citizen; everything is to be decentralized for the benefit of the greatest number; from government there is to emerge no government—in a word, Anarchism. There are to be no longer any national frontiers; there will be no such thing as "La Patrie," because all the peoples of the world will fraternize together in brotherly love. Such, in brief, is the doctrine of Proudhon, and it is practically almost identical with the Anarchism of the present day.

With Proudhon Anarchism was little more than a philosophical abstraction; it was let to two Russians to give it that impulse forward into the domain of practical revolutionary politics which was destined to result in such disastrous consequences. The two men were Michel Bakunin and Prince Krapotkin. Bakunin was born in 1814, of an aristocratic family, and entered the Russian army. He left it at the age of twenty-one, and took up his residence at Moscow, where he devoured the writings of Hegel and Schopenhauer, and formed one of a circle of young men, among whom were Katoff, who became famous as the editor of the "Moscow Gazette," and Herzen, who was afterward a prominent Nihilist. Bakunin was a restless individual, who was never at peace himself, nor would he let others en-

joy it. He was a stormy petrel of politics, who delighted in nothing so much as in plots and revolutions. In 1846 he visited Paris, where he imbibed something of the teachings of Proudhon and George Sand. He was first distinguished as an active Panslavist, and of course took part in the revolutions of 1848. For the share he took in that at Dresden he was given up to the Russian authorities, who sent him to Siberia, whence he succeeded in making his escape. It was not until 1865 that he turned his attention to social questions. In that year was founded the International Association of Working Men, of which Karl Marx was the dominating spirit. It was in connection with this association that the two men came into conflict. They agreed that society needed to be entirely reconstituted; but while the Socialism of Marx involved more restrictions on liberty than ever, the Anarchism of Bakunin meant liberty running into license. Bakunin thereupon founded the International Alliance of Democratic Socialism, which became subsequently known as the Federation of the Jura. His rivalry with Marx was excessively bitter, and the triumph of his ideas at the Congress of the International in 1873 proved the destruction of that institution. He died in 1876, leaving behind him several works, the best known of which is "Dieu et E' tat."

Prince Krapotkin was born in 1842, entered the army, and subsequently travelled in Siberia; and examined the

glacial deposits of Finland and Sweden; and he received distinctions for his meritorious services. It was not until 1872 that he visited Belgium and Switzerland, where he joined the advanced or Anarchist section of the International. He then returned to Russia, and for his complicity in a revolutionary plot was imprisoned. He made his escape, and, going to Switzerland, joined the Jura Federation. An active propagandist of his peculiar doctrines, he took part in the direction of the first Anarchist journal, *L'Avant-Garde*, and in 1879 brought out "*Le Révolte*" at Geneva. He removed the paper to Paris, and subsequently changed its name to "*La Révolte*," under which title it was run until its recent suppression. He was tried and condemned at Lyons in 1883 for his revolutionary doctrines, but was liberated in 1886. It only remains to be said that he has published several articles in some of the leading English journals and reviews, and that his Anarchist papers have been collected and published by his friend, Elisé Reclus, under the title of "*Paroles d'un Révolte*." Reclus himself is a distinguished geographer, some of his works having attained a world-wide reputation. He took part in the Paris Commune of 1871, was sentenced to death, transported, and was amnestied in 1879. He has subsequently taken a leading part in the direction of "*La Révolte*."

Both Krapotkin and Reclus are men of no mean ability and achievements,

and it is obvious that doctrines which they have deliberately adopted cannot be dismissed with a sneer. What, then, are these doctrines, what is their theoretical foundation, and what are their practical aims? The general character of Anarchism as a creed has already been outlined in what has been said of Proudhon, but the subject will repay a somewhat deeper consideration at a time when so many desperadoes have carried out the creed to its logical extremes. To do the Anarchists justice, they leave us in no doubt as to their meaning. They, at least, give us full warning. What they mean and what they intend is plainly set out in their published works, such as Krapotkin's "*Paroles d'un Révolte*" and his "*La Conquête du Pain*," and Jean Grave's "*Société Mourante*" and his "*Société au Lendemain de la Révolution*," not to speak of their journals, which are numerous enough and are in many languages. There is no concealment of their ultimate ends, nor are these ends, it must in justice be said, in themselves of that abhorrent description which people are accustomed to associate with the term "Anarchism." It is the adoption of the means in the name of which such crimes have been perpetrated which will for ever blast Anarchism with infamy and disgrace.



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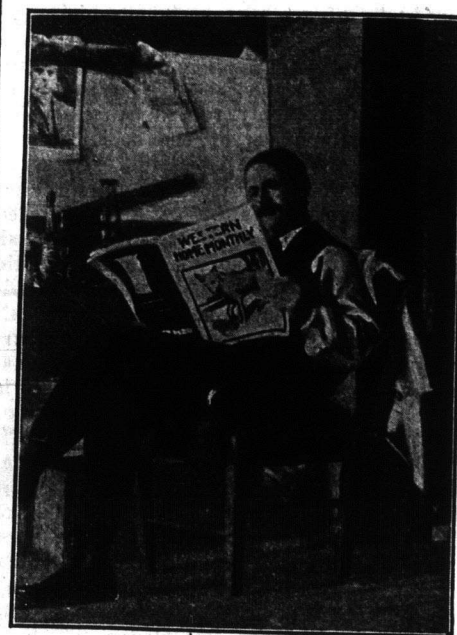
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And those who have preached the doctrines in words cannot shake off their share of responsibility for the terrible acts of those whose minds they have perverted.

Anarchism, then, may be said to have two sides—a positive and a negative. It begins from the negative point of view by advocating the total abolition of our present social institutions. There is to be no more property, capital, privileges, fatherland, frontiers, wars, State, or authority of any kind, whether monarchical or republican, absolute or parliamentary. Grave, in his "*Société Mourante*," puts it in this way: "Anarchy desires to assert the negation of authority. Now, authority pretends to justify its existence by the necessity of defending social institutions, such as the Family, Religion, Property, etc., and it has created a great machinery to assure its exercise and its sanction, such as the Law, the Army, the Legislative Power, the Executive, etc. Anarchists, then, must attack all institutions of which Power has been created the defender, and the utility of which it seeks to demonstrate, in order to justify its own existence." Its positive side is implicitly contained in the two leading formulae, "*Fais ce que veux*" and "*Tout est à tous*." A sort of communism is to be established, in which harmony and goodness will, as a matter of course, prevail. The positive side is a necessary corollary of the negative, and almost necessarily follows from it, though whether the anticipated results are likely to follow is certainly what most people would strenuously deny. However that may be, and whatever one may think of it, it is the simple fact that there are some people who seriously believe that with unrestricted individual liberty, and the abolition of