

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. V. NO. 16.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1899.

WHOLE NO. 204.

HEROES.

An empty mock the glory is, hewn for the tombstone line,
If of our hero's noble soul our heart is not a shrine.
Forgotten rather be their name, their dust let breezes roll,
So but their spirit leads mankind on to a nobler goal.
—Frelheit.

OUR GLORIOUS CONSTITUTION.

VIII.

"Do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America.

"The wheel is come full circle." "We, the people" have become metamorphosed into "the United States of America." Six great ends were proposed to be accomplished, namely "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." To accomplish all this, what was offered? "This Constitution," a scrap of paper, was to do it all. By its words, even by its blunders, men were to be bound unto remote generations. On it was to be based the whole fabric of statutory law. The Constitution is the government. If one is a failure, the other cannot be a success.

One need be no Anarchist, but simply a fair-minded observer, to admit that the Constitution has failed to accomplish a single one of the ends assigned. It therefore stands self-condemned. If the failure be because of the Constitution, it is manifestly vicious, and should be swept away. If the failure be in spite of the Constitution, that document is evidently imperfect, and must give way to some better plan. There is no escape from the dilemma.

Let us briefly recapitulate the more striking contrasts between the theories of the eighteenth, and the facts of the nineteenth century. In place of "a more perfect Union," we have a sham consolidation, cemented by force and frauds, its members engaged in constant and scarcely veiled war with one another. The establishment of justice has been postponed to a more convenient season; and the rights of man are shamelessly bought and sold. "Domestic tranquillity" has long since deserted our marts and our hearthstones; while the different classes of society are forced by the curse of their legally created environments to hate each other with an irrational but deadly hatred, bearing within it the constant menace of civil war. "The common defense" is interpreted to mean the shelter of the gang of venal politicians, and their clique of plutocratic pals, from all domestic and foreign perils, and the exposure of the sons and daughters of the people to slaughter, at the hands of the approved army contractors no less than by the guns of the enemy, in time of war, and to starvation and misery in time of peace. "The general welfare" involves simply the prosperity of the handful who have looted the natural resources of the country, and a mad, often hopeless race for existence on the part of the rest. For "the blessings of liberty," we are made the victims of an intolerable slavery in religious, political, industrial, financial, social, sexual and about all other relations. The burden has become so heavy that the cry of discontent is heard on every side, even from a people patient beyond all parallel in history. Instead of being the source of blessings, the Constitution has proven a very Pandora's box of evils.

Let any independent investigator convince himself, as well he may, that no overdrawn picture has been presented. The pity of it is that all of these

things are true. Being true, they form an overwhelming indictment against the Constitution of the United States, and against the government based thereon. The intelligent lover of liberty can have no part nor lot with either. For us can be no compromise with the forces which combine to crush and enslave mankind. We demand freedom in its largest sense, that men and women may have full scope to show all the development of which their natures are capable. We Anarchists are men-lovers, not men-haters, and in all our strivings are seeking to bring about conditions which shall be equitable for every human being on the face of the earth. Since governments breed injustice, strife, and hate, why not seek as an ideal that liberty which is the only source of justice, peace, and love?

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

ANARCHY.

"Our freedom is the name of our self-will triumphing in our might."

We are Anarchists, that is to say, we believe human beings ought to have the opportunity to be as happy as possible, to satisfy their desires and cravings, and, that to achieve this end, it is necessary to do away with every form of rulership and authority, that is, people must assert their will and defy custom and those that restrict their freedom. As long as people submit to be governed in any form whatever, be that in our economic, sexual or spiritual relations, freedom will forever remain an empty phrase.

Many there are who realize that they are at present ruled and oppressed by the iron rod of capitalism (which also rules our courts and governments), that their poverty is due to the monopolization of land and machinery. They have seen that people who never work accumulate enormous riches, while those who create these riches suffer want and misery. But very few, comparatively, are aware of the fact that all these social inequities are the result of monopoly, that is, government, for without government monopoly could not exist, so these deluded people are clamoring for new laws—for a change of masters and parasites, and imagine that, if they themselves can choose their masters who will make some promising pledges, the perplexing social question will be solved. As a French philosopher said:

"Men have got so in the habit of obeying other men that, for the greater part of them, freedom is the right of being subject to masters chosen by themselves. Their ideas do not go further, and it is there that the feeble sentiment of their independence stops short. The very name of power ('authority') given to all public functions attests this truth. Nearly everywhere this semi-freedom is accompanied by storms; then people attribute them to abuse of freedom, and do not see that they are born of the fact that the freedom is not entire. They seek to give her new chains, when it were necessary to be thinking, on the contrary, of breaking those which remain."

The Anarchists fully realize that it is the breaking of all chains that will stop social warfare; they know there can be neither relative peace nor freedom where there are rulers, judges and tax collectors to support parasites on one hand, and subordinates and exploited on the other. Those who have the power to control the conduct of the individual and the means of existence are the masters, and the controlled are the slaves, no matter whether the government is called monarchical, republican, democratic or socialistic.

It may be said that under absolute freedom, that is, without restraint by man-made laws, crimes will be committed. Admitting that crimes will be committed here and there, it must be evident that such cases will be naught in comparison with those committed today in consequence of social restrictions and by the monopolization of the means to sustain life by. Statistics affirm that nine-tenths of the crimes are committed against private property, consequently with the abolishment of monopoly in every form we diminish crimes to that extent. Quetelet said very truly:

"Experience demonstrates with all possible evidence the opinion, which may appear paradoxical at first, that it is society which prepares the crime, and that the criminal is only the instrument that carries it into execution."

No doubt freedom will not be gained without a bloody revolution; in fact we have been engaged in a bloody revolution for some years, as the shooting between capital and labor ought to prove to anybody that is able to observe, yet it is not the Anarchist who will promote a universal blood-shed, but it will be stimulated by capitalistic greed and governmental tyranny, driving the more or less ignorant workers through starvation and suffering to desperation.

And here I may insert that the accusation of those who consciously or unconsciously tell the lie to the voters that all wrongs can be remedied by the ballot box, that Anarchists intend to abolish government by force, are either knaves or fools. Even if it were possible to induce the workers to overthrow the present government forcibly they would immediately establish another government under a different name, and consequently achieve nothing but a change of masters and tyrants. All we enunciate is, that freedom will not be given—it must be taken, and that freedom can be taken through the ballot box is an absurdity, because the ballot box implies force—the subjugation of the minority. Yet forcible resistance is justifiable when used in defying invaders, rulers, kings and tyrants, but abhorrent when applied by governments, as at present in the Philippine Islands, against people who are not invaders but the invaded; and the Americans who have instigated this war against the inoffensive Filipinos are the most contemptible scoundrels and murderers I can think of.

Anarchists demand unlimited liberty, that is to say, we demand for every human being the right and the means of doing that which pleases him, to satisfy all his wants without any other limits than natural impossibilities, and we believe its existence incompatible with the existence of any power, whatever its origin and form—whether it be elected or imposed; monarchical or republican—whether inspired by "divine" right or by "popular" right. The best governments are the worst. The evil does not reside in one form of government more than in another; it is the idea of government itself, in the principle of authority.

The Anarchists propose to teach the people how to get along without property holders, the source of all inequities. No liberty without equality of opportunities; no liberty in a society where monopoly exists, whether the means of subsistence be monopolized by individuals or by the people. Wealth, the fruit of the co-operation of contemporaneous generations, ought to be placed at the service of all. "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his desires," that is what we desire. Wicked and insane as the people call us, we demand bread for all, science for all, and freedom for all.

DOMINICO.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

The case of comrade Alexander Berkman has again been postponed until March because the Board of Pardons was not in session in January.

Free Society readers of New York and Brooklyn, who are in arrears with their subscriptions, are kindly requested to pay the amounts due to M. Maisel, 163 Henry St., New York. Comrade Maisel may also be seen at the meetings held every Friday night at 165 Broadway, New York.

The death of the president of France and the election of a new tool of capitalism does not concern us. Faure was the most reactionary tool the money power could desire and the new president was elected by the same clique.

The San Francisco Call, speaking of the Philippine situation, concludes:

However, trade is the main thing, and, as it follows the flag, woe to those who fire upon that emblem of profits.

It is gratifying for an Anarchist to notice that even our dailies admit that the flag is simply the emblem of buccaneers.

Bigotry has again been triumphant in Cincinnati, Ohio. Chas. C. Moore, editor of the *Blue Grass Blade*, Lexington, Ky., who was convicted on a charge of "sending an obscene publication through the U. S. mails," has been sentenced to serve two years in the penitentiary. James E. Hughes, his foreman, who was also found guilty on the same charge, was sentenced to pay a fine of \$75.

I have traveled quite extensively in Russia and have heard much of the cruelty practiced in Russian prisons, but the treatment that the prisoners in Wilmington, Del., are receiving, beats the records of the "civilized" world. On a very cold day three men were for one hour tied to a whipping-post, while eight men were flogged successively. The dispatch says:

The gates of the prison were wide open to all curiosity seekers, but only a few appeared on the scene—it was too cold. First two burglars were brought out and lead up the steps of the whipping-post and locked up in the torturing device. Their necks were put into iron rings and the hands tied on their backs. The merciful officer ordered to cover their naked backs with a woolen blanket. After one hour they were released, and being stiff in all their joints from the intense cold they crawled back to their cells, to be warmed before the flogging. After another man had endured the torture for an hour at the whipping-post the flogging began.

It is characteristic that such cruelties are practiced only upon the subjects of the most barbaric monarchies—Russia and Spain—and upon the "freest people on the globe." Mr. Kennan, who traveled through Siberia in order to expose the brutal treatment inflicted upon Russian prisoners, may now employ his skill at home.

General Eagan, who was found guilty of "insubordination," has been "exonerated" and fined to receive \$5,500 a year for life. "without the performance of any other work than placing his signature on the nation's payroll once a month." I suppose nearly all common soldiers would like to be found guilty of insubordination if they were sure to be "fined" so generously. But "we are all equal before the law," i. e., in theory.

The following shows the oppressed the proper line of action in resisting the impositions of capitalism and government:

LOUISVILLE, Feb. 3.—Because they were ordered to bathe, a mutiny broke out among the Third Kentucky Volunteers while at sea on the transport *Minnewaska*, en route to Matanzas.

The trouble occurred on Jan. 20, '98. Col. L. J. Smith

issued the order, and all the men were called to quarters at 2 o'clock. The first company chosen for the ordeal was A. A stiff breeze was blowing, and when Capt. Burchford ordered the men to strip in order that the water could be thrown upon them from a hose, not a man moved. Members of Company G, whose turn was to come next, cheered and said they would stand by them. Capt. Burchford threatened to put his men in irons for disobedience, and was told by Private Bradley Wilson to go to a warmer climate. Instantly the Captain ordered Wilson arrested, but none of the soldiers would arrest him.

Finally it was thought best to call out Company G to undress for its washing, but only one man was willing to bathe. In desperation the men were commanded to go to the hold. Hardly had they reached this place when they noticed preparations to turn the hose on them. Immediately there was a stampede for the deck. Greatly exasperated, the Captains reported the state of affairs to the Colonel, who, although usually very firm, took the matter good naturedly and rescinded his order.

AN ATTEMPT TO REVIVE SUPERSTITION.

Moody and McCoy are engaged in an attempt to revive the dying interest in Christianity in this and adjacent cities, beginning active operations on March 1. Two extracts from the *Star*, July 13, 1895 and the *Socialist*, July 20, will explain McCoy's position:

"Editor *Star*.—The Y. M. C. A.'s refusal of a room for the Institute of Applied Christianity is just in accord with the degeneracy of this city. Christianity cannot be Christianity unless it is applied, and young men are the very best subjects to take up the application; ergo the Y. M. C. A., where the very *crème de la crème* of Christ's followers are supposed to congregate, is the place of all others where the head quarters of Applied Christianity should be located. Secretary McCoy gives 'the fear of a disturbance' as the reason for his refusal. We shall have the dreaded disturbance very soon, unless the churches wake up to the fact that they are dominated by dollars. They will at present do anything to encourage the flow of dollars into their coffers, and anything rather than allow their incomes to decrease. If they wish to prevent the revolution which they are helping most materially to bring about, let them preach Christ's gospel of Labor." Then follows a bit of texts for their attention.

The *Socialist*, an organ of Christian Socialism, copied the above, commenting thus:

"We clip from last week's *Star*. Mr. Kinghorn-Jones gives us ministers some valuable texts and valuable suggestions. He does well for a few preachers. We are not acquainted with the writer but take it that he is an indignant member of the Y. M. C. A. He evidently overlooks Mr. McCoy's embarrassed position. If Mr. McCoy were to admit Applied Christianity into the building, where would the funds come from for inculcating even unapplied Christianity? And, then, where would Mr. McCoy himself be? Rev. Brown (Miss Overman's friend) appreciates the situation better than Mr. Kinghorn-Jones."

It is reported that Moody, the sanctimonious hypocrite, on his first visit to this city, while hypnotizing the weak-minded in Dashaway Hall by his powerful deceptive abilities, was picturing his grandmother as suffering the pains of hell fire because, although she was as good a soul as ever lived, her life being full of kind deeds, and almsgiving, she did not accept "salvation" as per formula laid down by the parsonate. A young man of thought, unable longer to listen to the Moody maudlin talk, left his seat on the front row and was leaving the hall when Moody stopped his address abruptly and exclaimed: "There is a young man going straight to hell, leaving this solemn meeting, disturbing those seeking salvation and refusing it himself." The thoughtful young man turned and replied: "Mr. Moody, have you any message for your grandmother?"

Sankey and Moody have performed many wonderful feats, perhaps that of selling the copyright of their rhapsodical rhymes on "Saved by Grace" for one and a half million dollars takes the first place in their estimation. It certainly redounds much to their credit.

The Spiritualists would confer a blessing on us poor mortals, who are doomed to walk this gold governed planet without the pleasures of angelic intercourse, if they would ring up a few Sankey-Moody spirits to relate the degrees of their disappointments at not finding the gold harps, gold crowns, gold thrones, and gold brick pavements in the heaven they were promised by their superstition mentors. The authenticated exposure of the bunco parson game might bring about more thoughtful action on the part of the gentlemen in black broadcloth, and be of some satisfaction to those who have not been fooled out of their hard earned dimes to support "God Almighty" who appears to be "broke allee time."

McCoy might under such spiritual light devote his time to the land question, taking for his text "The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine,"

"thus saith the lord"—who made it in six days, and not the land lords who have almost succeeded in grabbing the whole lot, and, perhaps, Moody would take up that other text, side tracked by parasites, "money is the root of all evil." These two devoted men would then be treading in the footsteps of the Galilean carpenter who opened the eyes of the blind, instead of blinding people as to the real causes of their misery which is the denial of opportunity to those willing to produce wealth, the opportunity to use land free and the opportunity of free exchange.

McCoy, Moody, and all paid parsons, listen! We, the Anarchists, invite you to come with us and we will do you good; we neither prey on our brethren nor do we make long prayers, but we are striving after a condition that existed for a short period, i. e. if the record is worthy of credence: "And all that believed were together, and had all things in common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need." The ideal of the fishermen of the Galilean lake is our ideal, but it is not the ideal of the Archbishop of Cant-er-bury because he receives \$50,000 a year and owns two palaces—the proceeds of robbery of labor, and most parsons the world over would tread each other down if they hoped to win such a position from the scramble. KINGHORN-JONES.

COMMENTS.

Erastus Longman on the New Women deserves all the respect due a serious and zealous inquirer into a great matter. But I think he probably errs in underrating the value of love as a producer of superior children. Whether it has or has not much to do with producing "perfect animals" may be doubted; but a desirable child is something different. The mind is the chief thing after all, though want of animal enough to serve it is certainly very bad. Now geniuses, who often are too far from perfect animals, do apparently owe their transcendent gift very largely to mutual passion of their parents. The cause being a most difficult one to know anything about, the fact that it is remarked by inductive students of heredity suggests that it is actually more efficacious than they can know. The evidences of its being a real cause are, first, the number of geniuses who were bastards. Among them were Themistocles, Charles Martel, William the Conqueror, the duke of Berwick, Leonardo da Vinci, Boccaccio, Aretino, A Dumas Sr., Cardan, L'Alembert, Savage, Prior, Du Giardini, La Harpe, Alexander Farnese, Dupanloup, Don Juan of Austria, Pizarro, Erasmus, Jephthah, Jesus, and according to Rabbinical tradition, David. But remember, not all bastards are known for such. Among the eminent men whose birth, though constructively legitimate, was doubtful enough, were Samuel, Alexander, Louis XIV., Toussaint L'Overture. These are mere examples, cited off-hand. A second evidence of passion at conception as a cause of genius, is afforded by those instances in which the parents, though married, had not been together for a long time previous. Louis XIV., if he were the son of Louis XIII., is an example of this kind; and that they are numerous has been observed by special students. This may serve to show that the influence of passion on offspring is not an encouragement to lasciviousness but to continence. Much indulgence is unfavorable to passion; and this may explain the fact that the parents, especially the fathers of geniuses, have mostly been rather old. I think the emancipation of women likely to improve the race, because it tends to reduce indulgence within the desires of the least amorous sex.

It may be presumptuous in me to differ with Renan on a point of Jewish history, but it seems to me that as quoted by you through Maurice Vernes, he gives Isaiah credit which belongs rather to another. Isaiah is one of the most illustrious figures in the great annals of a great race—author, poet, moralist, statesman, unrivaled among Hebrew bards for the sweetness of his language, and the lyric passion of his finest odes—I do not forget that there is a pseudo Isaiah, who rivals the early one's perfection of style, though not his originality. But the prophet of the people was Micah. Hezekiah is given an unfavorable character by the Rabbis. They say he appropriated Isaiah's prophecy "Unto us a son is born," etc. Conceiving himself the deathless Emanuel, he neglected to marry until after the illness of which he expected to die. Even the partial account of his friend Isaiah rather confirms all this. Hezekiah lived fifteen years after his dangerous illness. His successor Manasseh, probably his eldest legitimate

son, whose mother Hephzibah was, according to the Rabbis, Isaiah's daughter, was only twelve years old when he began to reign. That Hezekiah was vain-glorious and weak is also plain enough, both from the canonical scriptures and the Assyrian account of Semacherib, recently deciphered. (See II. Kings xviii, 7, 14-16; xx, 12-19; II. Chr. xxxii, 25, 26, Isaiah xlii.) The best thing recorded of him, from the standpoint of those who prefer mercy to sacrifice, is that he heeded the complaint of Micah for the poor, which Isaiah, a courtier and at times prime minister, would perhaps hardly have presented. (Jeremiah xxvi, 18, 19.)

I do not now remember exactly Comrade Wolfman's questions which he thinks I did not answer satisfactorily; and as I find others to take my radical papers when I have done with them, I cannot refresh my memory. But the point is this—Egoism teaches human actions are directed by a calculation that they will produce a larger proportion of pleasure to pain than their opposites. I say there is no such calculation about automatic actions, nor about habitual actions, nor about the tastes which underlie all action. A drunkard who swears off today and returns to his cup tomorrow is wronged by being made out such a fool as to change his views about the expediency of getting drunk. He knows it is not expedient. He returns to liquor, he will tell you, because he cannot help it. It is plain truth he cannot, and do anything else too. To abstain from an habitual action is simply hard work. The slave of habit lacks energy to continue it, and gives up in despair. Thus the true philosophy of human action is mechanical. It begins with automatic action, the result of heredity. My objection to the egoistic philosophy is first, and mainly, that it is not true. But as this is a matter of abstract scientific interest alone, I should not have written about it in Anarchistic journals save for my convictions that mixing Egoism and Anarchism is a real hindrance to the latter. We can make Anarchists more easily without a philosophy which, even if correct, requires people to learn a new language, and which they, though no scientific psychologists, generally know enough of their own motives not to believe correct. C. L. JAMES.

ERRATA.

In *Free Society* No. 7, Dec. 25, in the poem "Song of the Crisis," line 4, read "poison" instead of "prison." In No. 13, Feb. 5, in the poem "Luccheni and his Deed," verse 4, last line, reads: "His pean through the spheres rebounds."

THE NEW MAN.

Men have for centuries taken the superior place in the world. From the time the savage knocked down the female with a club and took her to his cave he has dominated her, and she, feeling that he must be superior because he asserted the fact, made no effort to change the position he assumed. But that was the "old man;" the "new man" is very different. He knows that though physically he is in most cases superior to the woman, he also understands that it is only in physical strength, and that though in some cases his superiority is seen, yet in others he is inferior, and so, taking everything into consideration, the "new man" and the "new woman" are equal.

The "new man" will take no credit to himself because he is a man. The mere accident of sex cuts no figure with him. The "new man" will have a regard for the "new woman" not because of her womanhood, not because she is a female, but because she has qualities of character that win his regard. He will treat her as an equal, and being a true gentleman—in the correct meaning of the word—he will be courteous to all. He will understand that the "new woman" must be independent of him and that the more independent she is the more worthy of love she becomes; and instead of trying to provide for her he will willingly let her provide for herself, placing no stumbling blocks in the way. He will know that she is something more than a darning sock and a washer of dishes.

The "new man" will understand the responsibilities and dangers of motherhood and will not urge his mate to take these responsibilities and dangers, but will wait until the loving instinct of motherhood asserts itself, and then he will take his part of the expense. He will know that for nine months the mother's attention must be given to the new life, to the gestating of the human being. He will understand that for months after the birth of the child the mother should be free from anxiety and be able to give her attention

to the babe. Knowing all this he will do all he can to relieve the "new woman" of the care and worry over what she "shall eat and wherewithal she shall be clothed."

It is useless to say that "under different conditions this will be easily solved." The "new man" and "new woman" will make these new conditions for themselves. He will take a pride in aiding the "new woman" to bring forth a human being. Love to him will mean more than erotic sentiment. To the "new man" every woman will not be his prey, especially if she gives voice to radical ideas, and he will not feel it his right to have sexual gratification but will feel it a privilege. In no way will he demand ownership but will seek companionship. The "new man" and "new woman" will find in each other the mental stimulus that is so necessary to the upbuilding of the brain cells to the creation of the thought forms, for it is a mistaken idea that there is no creation except in the physical. They will find in each other the qualities of character that make the perfect man and woman. This cannot be accomplished without thought and study. Having the perfect ideal before us let us aim to reach it. We may to some extent fail, but every effort brings us that much nearer the ideal.

ERASTUS LONGMAN.

FREEDOM THE SALVATION.

To the Editor:—"God never intended one nation to govern another," says the anti-imperialist. Why not? Individuals and groups of individuals have no scruples about governing one another; why, then, should nations? If we govern one another at home, why should we hesitate to govern those abroad? If Smith governs Brown, Smith is selfish, that is all. And that is all that imperialism is—selfishness. Brown probably cannot help himself; on the other hand, Smith governs Brown for Brown's good. Majorities are always considerate of the good of the governed. That's why they govern, we may suppose.

We do not usually enter into our commercial enterprises for the purpose of being just, not exactly so; but for the purpose of getting all there is in them; that is to say, our intentions are pre-eminently selfish. To go into business for the special purpose of being just would probably be regarded as a huge joke; nevertheless the idea may be worthy of development, especially as certain enterprises need justifying.

Consistently with our commercial instincts, we do not usually consider the other fellow in politics, save numerically. Political justice is wholly a question of numbers, and as it is easier to be wrong than right the result can easily be imagined. Might is right all through, so why should we delay to enter upon a policy of imperialism?

For one, I am glad to see that there are any who have scruples in regard to the rights of Filipinos and others, though I consider the imperialist policy a foregone conclusion, unless something very unusual happens to interfere. Not often have the rights of a conquered or inferior people been considered. It is a hopeful sign and brought closer home, the sentiment may be the means of untold good. It may lead us to doubt the morality of governing one another, industrially and politically, and prompt us to investigate the possibilities of a system of mutual contracts—which involve competition—as contrasted with a system of coercion.

What a revelation it would be to some good people, if they found that God had already made all the laws that are necessary for our welfare, and that all we need do is to obey them, and so, through the natural law of competition, compel others to obey them. How strange it would be if we found that all our man-made laws are but so much unconscious blasphemy, and that we manufacture them only because we are ignorant of God's laws!—Jas. T. R. Green in the *Farmer's Voice*.

I suppose by "God's laws" Jas. T. R. Green means natural forces and so I will not argue with him about the definition of the term, but that competition in obtaining the necessities of life is "a natural law" I deny. If it was a natural law no sentiment could alter it, yet we see that men and women, children and parents, do not compete when they love each other, but on the contrary, they help one another.

It is true, however, that contracts involve competition, but contracts involve also a power to enforce them, and this being so, a system of competition and contracts necessitates a government, therefore nothing short of free production and free consumption will bring us the so much desired condition—freedom.

A. I.

CAPITALISM THE WORST CANNIBALISM.

In the days of cannibalism the strong devoured the weak—actually ate their flesh. In spite of all the laws that man has made, in spite of all advances in science, the strong, the heartless still live on the weak, the unfortunate and the foolish. True, they do not eat their flesh or drink their blood, but they live on their labor, on their self-denial, their weariness and want. The poor man who deforms himself by toil, who labors for wife and children through all his anxious, barren, wasted life—who goes to the grave without ever having one luxury—has been food of others. He has been devoured by his fellow-men. The poor woman living in the bare and lonely room, cheerless and fireless, sewing night and day to keep starvation from a child, is slowly being eaten by her fellow-men. When I take into consideration the agony of civilized life—the failures, the anxieties, the tears, the blighted hopes, the bitter realities, the hunger, the crime, the humiliation, the shame—I am almost forced to say that the cannibalism of old was after all the most merciful form in which man has ever lived upon his fellow-man.—Ingersoll.

FREEDOM.

Freedom is the right to be ourselves, in the largest sense, without other limit than the influence of the fact that others are equally themselves. He who obeys authority is not himself, but part of his ruler.—*Reason*.

For Philadelphia.

A Russian tea-party and social, including musical and elocutionary entertainment, will be given for the benefit of *Free Society* Friday evening, March 3, 8 o'clock, at Pennsylvania Hall, 8th & Christian streets. Tickets, including hat checks, 15 cents. Dancing until 3 a. m.

All readers and friends of *Free Society* are cordially invited.

For San Francisco.

This Sunday, February 26, a picnic will be held by the comrades and friends of Emma Goldman for the benefit of her lecturing tour at Ingleside (sea shore). Refreshments will be served. Take the Mission St. cars. In case of disagreeable weather the picnic will take place next Sunday.

Literature.

History of the Commune of 1871. Translated from the French of Lissagary by Eleanor Marx Aveling. International Publishing Co., New York, 1895. Popular edition, bound in cloth, price 11c. For sale by *Free Society*.

Of the many books and writings on the subject of the Paris Commune the above book is certainly the best, in fact it is the only authentic and reliable history yet written of the most memorable movement of modern times. Although the author being a "soldier of the Commune" he had the courage and honesty to speak the truth. He has not attempted to hide errors of his party, or "to gloss over the fatal weaknesses of the Revolution; and if he has erred, it has been on the side of moderation, in his anxiety not to make a single statement that could not be corroborated by overwhelming proofs of its truth," says Eleanor Marx Aveling. To those wishing to know the facts the book can be specially recommended, and it ought to be in the hands of all Anarchists and students of social movements. It is doubtful if history can furnish a parallel to the brutality with which the troops of the government shot down thirty thousand men, women, and children long after all fighting had ceased.

The honesty of the Communards is well known; they voluntarily reduced their salaries and did not even seize the bank of Paris in the time of suffering. An English clergyman, writing from Paris said: "As to Anarchy, never was Paris so quiet and orderly; never were persons and property so safe; you may go out at any time, in any quarter, without fear of insult. Of drunkenness you see none in Paris. As to debauchery, the women have joined the Commune to put down prostitution." Such was the "wickedness" of the Communards.

The book also shows that the Commune owes its defeat to its own government. From the day the "Revolutionary Government" was elected dates the defeat, and the author seems to realize this when he says: "Responsibility weighs heavily on the elected, but we must not charge it all—the electors also have their share of

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FREEDOM AS "ROTTEN AS THE ARMY MEAT."

Henry George yesterday sent the following letter to President Grout, of the Borough of Brooklyn, declining an invitation to act on a committee to arrange for the Maine memorial services:

Fort Hamilton, Feb. 8, 1899.
Edward M. Grout, President of the Borough of Brooklyn:

Dear Sir—While I entertain the most cordial wishes for the success of your administration of public affairs in this borough and hold myself ready to do a citizen's part at the call of the borough's executive, I must respectfully decline your invitation to act on a committee to arrange for services on February 15, in memory of the destruction of the United States ship Maine and of her crew.

I have deep sympathy with all who lost dear ones on the vessel and would be glad to subscribe to the limit of my means toward an assistance fund, but, without raising the question of whether or not the vessel should have been sent to Havana, and aside from the fact that as her commander, Captain Sigbee, is reported to have said, it is not even now clear as to who is directly responsible for her blowing up, I do not wish to participate in any public ceremony that shall even remotely seem to approve the policy of the administration at Washington.

I believe in liberty—liberty of the Jeffersonian kind, that would give absolute freedom of action to the individual without infringing the rights of others—and I would at the outset have had our Government recognize the right of the Cubans to be free, whatever complications might have resulted with Spain as a consequence. But I do not believe in the kind of liberty that President McKinley is dealing in. The freedom that is given under a military despotism must be as rotten as the horrible meat that was given to our citizen soldiers in the recent Cuban war. Men who came to official power by the use of the most gigantic corruption fund that was ever seen in politics, who have since rioted in public expenditure at Washington, who have added enormously to the common man's burdens for the benefit of rings and special interest, and who have killed more soldiers with bad food and bad treatment than were slain by Spanish bullets, are not to be implicitly trusted when it comes to conferring liberty upon other people.

Feeling that with such views I cannot consistently take part in a public ceremony that to many may imply tacit sanctions of the actions and principles of the administration at Washington, I respectfully ask to be excused.

Yours very truly,
HENRY GEORGE, JR.

PARIS.

There are hundreds every night at the public market who gather around the vendors of hot soup—two cents a dish! Poor wretches! Without shoes, without shirts, so poor, so naked that their very sight fills one with pity and sorrow. Poor old men whose trembling hands are unfit to work; ragged women, a few of whom try to nurse little miserable creatures at their breasts which cruel starvation has dried up—children, youths, who from their astonished looks seem hardly to realize the wickedness of the world!

All the mournful people wander around, slow and sad, submissive and resigned, without hatred, waiting for the precious minute when some one of them can be happily chosen to perform the lowest duty for a few cents. And among them there are some who even think of the old mother, of the brother, or sister left in the shanty and misery and whom all be able to bring a

little of the hot soup—their last chance of life!

Now, this last night at the market, the wind blew so hard and so wet! That shower falling so persistently and so mean upon the poor, naked bodies. It was cold, oh, so cold outside in the night; their shoulder under the water and their feet in the mud. They looked around in despair, and their helpless eyes perceived a great, big building which seemed to call them and offer to their bodies the so desirable shelter, a church—it was the church of St. Eustache—a place where one felt warm, where every citizen has the right to enter whenever he wishes; a public building, a common property, something that belongs to everybody, to the poor as well as to the rich, the asylum of peace, of universal love, of apostolic charity, of hope and relief!

They entered all at once, the poor devils! They ignored the fact that the church of St. Eustache is a place of music and parade, a place where ladies are only attracted by the singing of celebrated artists. It is a second opera where the seats are paid very dearly on the great occasions on the night of high ceremonies. Oh! Were they not warm and comfortably under the eyes of Christ, the father of the poor, whom they already thanked with blessing sentiments.

But a ghost arose from the gloomy shadow—the priest, the contemptible master of the house of God. Mr. Pages was indignant at the sight of so many poor assembled at the feet of the cross. Why, ragged creatures have no right to the kingdom of heaven! Pages ran to the nearest police station and reported the horrifying crime to the authorities. A hundred and sixty five outcasts dared to seek cover in the house of God! One hour later, old men, women and children, all in despair, under the eyes of Pages, the contemptible priest, were hurried into police wagons and taken to the station, and on the altar the image of Christ sadly smiled.—Translated for *Free Society*. BLANCHE GAFFE.

THE CAUSE OF POVERTY.

Asked what is the cause of poverty in this country the late John Boyle O'Reilly said: "The masses are poor, ignorant, disorganized, not knowing the right of mankind upon earth, and never knowing that the world belongs to its population; because a small class in every country has taken possession of property and government and makes laws for its own safety and the security of its plunder; educating the masses, generation after generation, into the belief that this condition is the natural order and the 'law of God.' By long training and submission the people everywhere have come to regard the assumption of their rulers and owners as the law of right and common sense, and their own blind instincts, which tell them all men ought to have a plentiful living on this rich planet, as the promptings of evils and disorder. The qualities we naturally dislike and fear in a man are those which insure success under our present social order, viz: shrewdness, hardness, adroitness, selfishness, the mind to take advantage of necessity, the will to trample on the weak in the canting name of progress and civilization. The qualities we love in a man send him to the poor house—generosity, truth, truthfulness, friendliness, unselfishness, the desire to help, the heart to pity, the mind to refuse profit from a neighbor's loss or weakness, the defense of the weak. Our present civilization is organized

in justice and intellectual barbarism. Our progress is a march to a precipice. The Sermon on the Mount and natural justice can rule the world, or they cannot. If they can, our present ruling is the invention of the devil; if they cannot, the devil has a right to rule if the people let him—but he ought not to call his rule christian civilization."

ATTENTION.

I have an inquiry from England for copies of the old issue of *Solidarity*, Nos. 1 to 8. As these first issues are out of print they cannot be supplied unless some of the old readers of *Solidarity* will part with their copies. Several State libraries and historical associations have made inquiries for the same numbers. The copies for England are wanted for a writer who treats social questions from an historical point of view. If anyone has copies to spare write particulars and I will see that they are properly placed.
50 First St., CHAS. COOPER.
New York.

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Alexander Berkman.

Some friends of comrade Alexander Berkman had a photographer sent to the penitentiary and his picture taken, which can be had for 25 cents. The proceeds will be utilized for the benefit of *Free Society* and *Freedom*, London Eng. The pictures are sold by Emma Goldman, 50 First St., New York, H. Bauer, 73 Spring-garden, Allegheny, Pa. and *Free Society*.

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