

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exposure 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. 52.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1899.

WHOLE NO. 240.

COURAGE.

Not to do what can be done at ease
Behind the ramparts of assured success;
But to attempt the thing impossible
That what is right may have its champion;
VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

IS WAR JUSTIFIABLE?

In asking ourselves the question, "Is war justifiable?" we are reminded of the present shameful war carried on by this nation against the Filipinos, who are struggling for independence, as well as of the war between England and the Transvaal. All the horrors of war: the destroyed cities, the burned homes, the killed and wounded soldiers, the sorrow-stricken mothers, the homeless and helpless orphans, as well as the neglected fields, pass in our minds, and prompted by humanitarian feelings and by the sentiments of justice, we are obliged to answer in the negative, nay we are forced to protest.

But those are not the only wars that have been fought, nor were the motives and conditions for former wars similar to those of today. In past ages industry and commerce had not developed to its present enormous dimensions. Certain portions of the globe were more isolated. Traffic and exchange of products were nearly impossible. Failures of crops in any locality left the people in a pitiful condition, and prompted them to make war among themselves in order to decrease the population, or compelled them to emigrate and invade other localities, and following the laws of self-preservation they made war upon the resisting forces.

Such conditions, however, do not exist now. With our present commercial facilities we can afford relief to any locality suffering from failure of crops. We can send the surplus products of one continent to another and thus check the distress caused by a failure. For this globe is large enough to hold more than ten times of its present population, and the productive power of the earth is taxed to a minimum only. There are large forces at our command: the life-bearing force of the sun rays for millions of years is stored away in the coal mines, and with the aid of our machinery can be used to assist people in their pursuit of happiness. The running waters represent an enormous amount of power which can be utilized for the benefit of mankind. With the aid of technics and machinery, we can regulate the flow of waters, which furnish the means of proper irrigation, and change barren deserts into productive soil; with proper drainage we can transform the vast swamps into yielding pastures.

But the achievements of our developed industries and production are not used for the benefit of all mankind; on the contrary, they are used to exploit the masses for the benefit of a few: for a set of parasites who draw the life blood out of the toiling masses. However, the parasites are not to be blamed alone, for they do it with the consent of the masses. Government is the backbone of the system of exploitation. Yet unfortunately most people cry for more of this curse; they want government, not knowing that it is the tool of the parasites and robs them of the product of their labor.

Statistics prove that each producer creates on an average ten dollars' worth of wealth per day, and that he only receives in return one-fifth of his product, the other four-fifths going into the hands of the exploiter. The exploiter, however, cannot consume it alone and as he lives by this robbery he is compelled to look for a market for the stolen

booty. He does not desire to keep the products on hand, for age might spoil them, besides they are not interest-bearing; he therefore wants to exchange them for money—another fraud imposed upon us by the parasites—for he can invest the money in bonds, which bear interest and out of which the government robs the producing class; or he will take up mortgages on farms, which pay interest and eventually absorb the farms themselves. The exploiter finds the home market too small, not because all the people are sufficiently provided for, oh! no, but because they have not the means to purchase his stolen products. The millions who are forced out of the ranks of the producing class cannot consume the surplus product for they have nothing to exchange. The other portion, the real producer, can only consume one-fifth of the products; he has nothing to exchange for the other four-fifths, because they are stolen from him. Therefore the exploiter is looking for a new market, and his eyes as well as those of his European fellow robbers are turned towards the Orient. He seizes the opportunity of grasping the Philippines, not only for the riches of those islands, but as a key to China. The American exploiter, although not

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATION

directly represented in the shape of government, will be promptly on hand when the Chinese empire is divided; for that country promises to be a splendid market for the legally stolen products.

Thus the war with the Filipinos, who, inspired by patriotic sentiments and love of independence, are opposing American invasion, is nothing but the natural outcome of the present commercial pirate system which is upheld by all governmentals who, I am sorry to say, yet form the majority.

It is true there are millions who are opposed to this war, but they are like the God of the Bible, cursing their own work.

The foundation of this system of exploitation and piracy is government. Abolish government, and this system will give way to a society in which every individual will have the opportunity to enjoy life, and wars with its horrors will be a thing of the past.

H. EUGSTER.

"Leisure without literature is death—is the tomb of the living man."—Seneca.

HYPOCRITICAL POSTAL LAWS.

The mass of the people seems to be absolutely unaware of the existence of the hypocritical, tyrannous and dangerous Comstock legislation that exists under the guise of "postal laws." Few know the infamous use that is constantly being made of it. These laws were conceived in hypocrisy, passed by stealth and trickery, and in action are used only for dishonest purposes. They are used to suppress honest thought and its expression, to bolster up failing orthodoxies by putting down opposition instead of reasoning it down, to suppress freedom of speech on religious, political or social questions, to render null and void the parts of the Constitution that were meant to guarantee free speech and free press. All of which is a menace to liberty of the most serious kind, and yet there is another and more infamously direct personal use of these laws being made. They can be used, and are being used, by politicians and orthodox persons of various social and clerical coteries to prevent criticism of their opinions and actions.

The common sense idea of law, in such matters, would be for the person who alleged he had been libeled to bring an action for libel. But, bless you! these conspirators know a trick worth two of that. If a person has been criticised in print all they have to do is to bring an action through a convenient postal official, for the suppression of the paper as being an immoral publication. The judge decides out of his own prejudiced head as to its "immorality" and the trick is done. An action for libel would expose the bringer to the risk (generally certainty) that the charges would be proven true. An action under the postal laws (Comstockian amendment) keeps the real criminal at issue out of court and so saves the real criminal; and at the same time the condemnation and jailing of the critic is made practically certain beforehand. The truth about the case is suppressed and private vengeance wreaked upon the critic in a legal star-chamber persecution of the most approved pattern.

These cases are going on all over the country and they are being made the means of legally condoning and smothering up (when committed by orthodox persons) the very class of crimes which Comstock pretends to wish to suppress. It is a case of Comstockism doing itself the very things it condemns in others and protecting itself, by hypocritical Comstock laws, in the privilege of doing so.

Politicians made use of this trick to suppress Walter Hurt and the *Galling Gun* at Cleveland. A more recent case is that of J. R. Clifford, a colored lawyer of Martinsburg in West Virginia. Mr. Clifford owns and edits *The Pioneer Press* of that town. He has been preparing in his criticism of the management of certain affairs, and of the persons connected with them. Matters came to a point when in an issue of this paper he made certain direct charges against certain persons, one of them an orthodox colored minister. Instead of beginning an action for libel against Mr. Clifford and running the risk of it being proven that he was not libellous but telling the truth, quite another action was taken. He was arrested on a warrant granted on the affidavit of the Postoffice Inspector for the District of West Virginia, and indicted (with a lot of legal verbiage) for mailing the paper of the date of criticism "contrary to the provisions of Section 3,893 of the Revised Statutes of the United States of America." That any decent, clean-minded persons could resort to such evasion, is, to my mind, out of the question. I hope Mr. Clifford may escape any legal consequences from what is evidently the orthodox Comstockian formula for the confession of Comstockian guilt.

C. B. COOPER.

Rockefeller's income is about \$57,000 per day. As he produces nothing he robs that much every day, yet strange as it is, not the robber, but the robbed usually go to jail. "Civilization means exploitations," says Kropotkin.

A. I.

FREE SOCIETY.

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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.

To give an opportunity to new converts and investigators to become acquainted with the Chicago martyrs *Free Society* will—beginning with this issue—produce their pictures in series. For their trial the readers may refer to the "Speeches of the Chicago Anarchists and Governor Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Neebe, Fielden and Schwab," to be obtained at the office of *Free Society*. Price 25c.

Russia is ahead of this country. Mayor Jones, of Toledo, Ohio, made a strong appeal to the city council for the establishment of playgrounds for children and to have the police unarmed. Play grounds for children can be found in all the greater cities of Russia, and the police there are not allowed to carry loaded revolvers, nor do they dare to use another weapon against a citizen.

To what extent the people are robbed by government, can be seen from the following item, taken from the *Rockland Independent*: "The American people are already in debt over \$40,000,000,000. There is a billion dollars in circulation; ergo, every dollar is weighted down with \$2 interest every year. It is estimated that every workman has to pay interest on \$20,000 per year, besides helping to support the enormous army of parasites placed like rocks upon his body to crush the life out of him."

Says Max O'Reil: "The Frenchman fights for glory, the German for a living, the Russian to divert the attention of the people from home affairs; but John Bull takes the Bible with him when he visits foreign lands; when the natives have the Bible, John Bull has the land."

A comrade from an eastern city whose income amounts to but \$22 a month, out of which she is obliged to support three little children besides herself, offers to pay 25 cents a month toward covering the expense of increasing the size of *Free Society* to eight pages. She suggests the raising of an amount that would enable us to publish eight pages by the opening of a list of 25 cent subscriptions, which would require about a hundred and fifty persons to pledge 25 cents each a month. It is a practicable plan and is hereby submitted in the hope that this noble example will find the needed followers.

Six justices of the supreme court have decided in favor of the constitutionality of the new charter of this city—but who will gain by it except lawyers, speculators, politicians of one kind or another? Labor will certainly not gain a farthing thereby.

What are the Filipinos doing around Manila? To judge by the frequent bragging press dispatches they ought to be driven to the end of the world by the "brave American troops" by this time; yet every little while we hear of their turning up at Manila to "annoy" our "brave" troops. Bah!

Ditto Boers. One day the Britains have won a great victory and the next it is contradicted. The monopolistic press is a blessing to humanity if humanity but realized it.

The California Home and School Child Study Association invites mothers and teachers to their meetings. What's the matter with the fathers? It seems the fathers ought to be allowed to take an interest in these matters as well as the mothers and teachers.

Comrades and friends who so kindly furnish *Free Society* with clippings must not feel discouraged or slighted when none or not all of their clippings are utilized. *Free Society* is so cramped for space that many excellent clippings are often crowded out to make room for current matter more important at the time, and by the time space is available some of the

clippings have naturally become too stale for use. However, the practice of gathering and furnishing clippings is invaluable and highly appreciated and will, it is to be hoped, be persevered in by comrades and friends.

Will radicals ever cease using the invectives "Mr." and "Mrs."? It is bad enough to apply these epithets against upholders of modern barbarism—monopoly—but to offend their own comrades thus is ignoble.

Mark Hanna is a very busy man just now. He is engaged in the very patriotic work of preventing the depositions in the investigation of the Standard Oil Co. bribery case from being taken and in squashing the case. Glory to the republic! Hail the civilizing influence of government!

Some soldiers helped themselves to some food at the restaurant on the Piedmont the other day which fact was read and gloried in by citizens and authorities alike. But if some poor hungry tramp had "helped" himself to a loaf of bread he would have been sent to jail for a year for "theft." What is the difference? Just this: The soldiers are men whose business is the destruction of human lives and who live off the earnings of the producers who are made to support them in their murderous business, while the tramp has at one time or other been engaged in the useful work of production of the necessities of human life; he was instrumental in preserving life; he piled up treasures for someone who by virtue of the vicious robber system of profit, interest and rent robbed him out of most he produced and then left him to beg, starve or "steal."

Rev. Geo. E. Morrison of Vernon, Texas was hanged the other day for poisoning his wife so that he might have a chance to marry his former sweetheart. Had the "Rev." read and followed Ruessbusch's "Old and New Ideal" before committing the act, he would in all probability be a live "Rev." (perhaps ir-"Rev.") yet; his wife might be amongst the living and both she and the old sweetheart might be loved and all the three happy and contented. "But," says Mama Grundy, "such an indecent book!" Rather have people commit murder, arson, anything than listen to the voice of reason if it isn't "like your granddaddy used to do."

Innocent colored men are being tortured in Mississippi; feuds between whites and the colored are constant; whole communities are armed to the teeth and fighting night and day, and—the government—the almighty government is unable to do anything. What's the matter, Mr. Governmentalist? Where is your "protector"? Pshaw!

The trouble in the South so far from government being able to adjust it, was caused by it primarily. Black slavery was sanctioned by government in the first place; in fact it was the result of government, for were it not for property in land upheld by government, slavery of any kind could not exist. Slavery gave the owner of the slave the license to treat his slave as he pleased; thus the white man outraged the black woman; and now the tables have turned and the son of the outraged black woman wants to get a taste of the white woman whose father outraged his mother. Nemesis! It's government that is responsible for all.

Human association is based upon human beings' wants and needs; their conduct is governed by it—and all the governments in the world cannot improve the relations between them; they can but irritate and retard the natural progress of civilization and the advancement of the race.

IT'S A LIE.

Once, in Portland, Oregon, in discussing the bible declaration, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," I shocked some of the good friends very much by exclaiming: "It's a lie." The following from the pen of Gerald Massey, the poet, is to the point:

"Some of the sayings of Jesus are no more appropriate to our human wants than was the old lady's tract on the sin of dancing that she offered to a poor fellow who had to hobble on wooden legs and crutches.

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Do you call the teaching of that saying divine? I think it would be false and fraudulent if uttered by a voice of the Infinite with all heaven for its mouthpiece. The poor in spirit are the accursed, the outcasts, the Pariahs of earth; those who sink in

the equalor, and crowd in to become the natural victims of the poor in spirit are premature. Worn-out women, and wizened children into a ghastly white in the chilling want.

"The poor in spirit are those who crouch their backs to the whip, who remain bowed just as they were bent, and allow their hands to be fettered and held fast in the attitude of prayer when they ought to be up and striking. Those who are content to crawl like caterpillars and like caterpillars to be trodden under foot.

"Poverty of spirit is the very devil; the source of half the evils extant; most of the evils of human nature can be traced to poverty of spirit! It dwarfs the mental nature of men, makes them creep and crawl for a gain, or go on all fours in the dirt like beasts in human form, from lack of spirit to stand erect.

"The poor in spirit dare not think for themselves, or utter what they think! They only wonder what other folk will think! They who are mere preliminary people go monkeying around under the pretense of being men and women. In this world of struggle the poor in spirit stand no chance, find no place. There is no victory for those who fight no battle. And as to heaven—do you really think it is a harbor for the poor in spirit and the area-snooks of earth? The poor and needy, the hungry and suffering are not blessed, and no assumption of divine authority on the part of the sayer will ever make them so.

"These beatitudes are not divine revelations; they are only the false pretense of priests who were crafty founders of the faith made conformable to Roman rule."

That's what's the matter. The masses of the people are too poor in spirit to assert their rights; they "allow their hands to be fettered fast in the attitude of prayer when they ought to be up and striking." If they do not pray to some non-existent god, they worship government, and pray to political parties for relief. A great number of men have not spirit enough to refuse to shoot other men at the command of government, men who have never harmed them; and women are so poor in spirit that they stoop to honor the soldier, the poor miserable man of blood. Alas, alas, that women, the mothers of the race, should do this!

But why are people so poor in spirit? Now I shall make a statement that some of your readers will question, particularly those who do not like to hear the sex question discussed. The fountain of sex is the source of all life, and, as a logical sequence, the source of all power, directly or indirectly. Another fact. It can be easily demonstrated that sex desire can be easily changed into religious emotion, in other words, religious worship is etherialized sex desire. * This being true, the only legitimate worship is that of man for woman and woman for man. Worship being etherialized sex desire, or life, and sex being the basis of power, we give of our sex life to that which we worship. The church, by inculcating worship of the unseen, has taken our best life—the best life of the masses and left them poor in spirit. The church, the priesthood, government, and all else that we have been taught to reverence, have grown strong upon what has made the masses poor in spirit. No wonder Comstock and his supporters do not want the sex question discussed.

Santa Ana, Calif.

LOIS WAISBROOKER.

A CALL.

The publication of W. Tcherkesoff's articles on "Pages of Socialist History" and "The International: Its Precursors and Anarchism," has been suggested as our next quarterly. The author is a clear thinker and exposes Karl Marx's errors in a masterly manner. A cheap edition of these articles in book form would do much to popularize them and to dispel the State superstition, and we should be very glad to do our share towards it. But the old chronic trouble of impecuniosity is again or still confronting us. Before publishing the two last books "The Speeches of the Chicago Martyrs" and "Moribund Society and Anarchy" the comrades everywhere were very enthusiastic and pledged their financial assistance. So far, however, these

* The above statement is made in the July *Arena* of 1895 by a Kentucky legislator, who says: "The young girl yearning for she knows not what, will in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred find perfect satisfaction in religious emotion." This man was arguing against raising the age of consent, and thus indirectly offering the church as a means of safety. Bosh! L. W.

...new excel
...in consequence a
...siderable debt on our l
...opes, of course, that the
...ally find sale and we should be willing
to publish Tcherkesoff's articles if we could have a
reasonable assurance from comrades for the disposal
of at least a portion of the edition to be gotten out
and if enough advance payments could be made to
enable us to go ahead with the publication. We
are anxious to hear from all comrades interested as
soon as possible.

FREE SOCIETY.

TO COMRADES EVERYWHERE.

Comrade Viroqua Daniels is in need of assistance. She came down from the mountains a year ago to receive medical treatment for an obstinate trouble she has been fighting for nearly twenty years. Under the able treatment of a dietician physician she is gradually improving, and the probabilities are that her health will be completely restored in a few months. But her means have given out and she is now obliged to look to the comrades for assistance.

Those who have closely read the *Firebrand* and the earlier issues of *Free Society* will recall Comrade Daniels' able prose and poetry contributions with pleasure. Her "Declaration of Principles" is stirring and beyond doubt the most radical document issued. Her ailment interrupted her work lately, but she will take up her vigorous pen again as soon as her health is restored.

Comrade Daniels is one of the ablest and most enthusiastic workers in the cause of human emancipation and her speedy recovery is much to be desired.

All contributions should be addressed to her at Peralta, Cal., money orders payable at Berkeley, Cal.

Comrade Daniels requests to know the names and addresses of all comrades contributing so that she may have an opportunity to repay them as soon as she is enabled.

A. I.

OBSERVATIONS.

Andrew Carnegie, in a recent newspaper interview, tells young men how to become rich. Education is not one of the necessary factors. Most important is a knowledge of human nature, and the ability to use other men who are educated, and by their combined intelligence directed in ways with an eye single to the gain of their employer, the road to wealth and power is assured. Perhaps that is why Andrew endows so many educational institutions—to provide material in the shape of educated young men whom "the man with a knowledge of human nature" can use to amass wealth. What is deplorable in this connection is the fact that most young men, who spend the best part of their lives in obtaining an education, do so in the belief that education in itself will prove the means by which they can successfully fight the battle of life and win fame and fortune. But when they go out into the world to seek their fortune they find that they have to do the bidding of their economic masters—the men who hold the means of life by aid of the law which they uphold—and instead of exercising their talents for noble purposes, they are doomed to a life of intellectual prostitution and physical bondage to "the man with the knowledge of human nature." The latter knows that most men bend their knees before wealth and power in sort of reverential awe, and are easily induced to become the slaves who produce and protect the property of their masters. Soon as "educated" men learn that wealth and power are not sacred in the hands of "the man with the knowledge of human nature," they will cease to bow down before the fetich of property.

Lord Scully of England owns whole counties of land in Illinois. Some of the American tenants of his land recently organized a regiment to go to the Philippines. They marched through the streets of their nearest town singing, "My country, 'tis of thee." Ye gods! Here are Americans who have to pay a "foreigner" tribute for the privilege of living in "their" country. Were it not for the tragical significance of such an exhibition of stupidity and ignorance, their action might be characterized as rank idiocy.

The Spanish branch of the Church of Rome owns the most valuable property in the Philippines. In the treaty with Spain the American government confirmed the Spanish land grants to the church, and as a result Spanish interests are about as strongly entrenched

...er Spanish rule. Spain has the
tribute on the Filipinos (through
before the recent "unpleasant-
... privilege they have twenty mil-
... at no further expense in keeping
... the islands. How the Spanis-
... must laugh in their sleeves at this
... Now, witness the anomaly—among the American sol-
... there are great many A. P. A.'s who, by their
... conduct, are aiding the foe whom they are organized
... to combat in this country; for, by vanquishing the
... Filipinos in their struggle for liberty, they are fortify-
... ing one of the strongholds of their object of hatred—
... the Church of Rome.

During the recent trust conference in Chicago, Anarchist and Socialist speakers had the floor for the regular allotted time. They dealt with the subject in a manner that threw light on the real nature of trusts, but their talks were so "cribbed" and "edited" by the newspapers that the readers of the dailies were none the wiser for reading the speeches. But the speeches that contained nothing to the point on the subjects of trusts were printed in full. The powers that be do not want the millions of readers of the dailies to gain knowledge of the real nature of things, especially the things that enslave the masses for the enrichment of the plutocrats. Is it any wonder that you meet gray-haired people every day who have read some particular "great daily" all their lives, and yet are densely ignorant of the most vital matters that concern society?

McKinley tells the people to be thankful for the "increased comforts of their homes." Henry Wade Rogers, president of the Northwestern University, in company with social settlement workers who had similar experiences in European cities, made a tour of inspection of the homes of the poor in Chicago. They found the most loathsome and disgraceful hovels in cellars and garrets which the poor were compelled to call "their" homes, for want of a name that would express the opposite. The homes of the poor of Chicago were declared to be worse than those of any European city. Thankful! Bah!

WILLIS M. ANDREWS.

DIFFERENCES AMONG ANARCHISTS.

VIII.

Pardon a digression. In last *Liberty* Comrade Byington in the first of a continued article entitled "What Anarchism Is Not," referring to a criticism on a former article entitled "What is Anarchism?" says "It is suggested that a whole series of articles entitled 'Differences Among Anarchists' has been brought down on the world by this leaflet of mine." Alas, poor world! What a pity Mr. Tucker could not have published my reply to Byington's former article, written immediately upon my receiving it, or at least forwarded it to Comrade Byington that it might have been duly demolished and saved this infliction of the "whole series of articles." While duly appreciating the honor of being first mentioned among his critics I should have been better pleased had he condescended to notice one or two of those "differences" conflicting with his conception of Anarchism, chief among which is sovereign authority being the basis of all organization. In passing I simply note that notwithstanding his title "What is Anarchism?" he says "the question thus defined (the subject criticized) is one of methods, not fundamental Anarchistic principle." I grant him that it is eminently "business like." How often this expression greets me in conversation with my friends, "It may be all right, but it's not business."

While I would not wholly deny Bro. Byington the pleasure of his egotism suggesting that these articles are the result of his leaflet, still I must say the project was conceived long before the advent of his remarkable article, but leisure and the wherewithal were denied me. Even now I have to make some sacrifice, but the pleasure of giving expression to my later thoughts has prevailed. I am aware they lack that scientific method and order so noticeable in the writings of scholars. I write my thoughts as they come. Those convolutions of the brain that are supposed to arrange and systematize I fear are sadly deficient, and in my endeavor to make clear my ideas I may deal somewhat in verbosity. I have never had any school training, never studied the rules of logic. But I have read quite diligently and began very early with the columns of *Liberty*, commencing my first lessons in Anarchy at the knee of Bro. Byington's teacher, and my respect and admiration for that teacher cannot be exceeded by Bro.

Byington or any other man. Yet I think...

ing and draw my own conclusions. Tucker's paper before Prof. Commons... It was the most brilliant piece the Trusts has yet been heard. It probably cannot be equaled. But," he concluded, "it was too logical; it overlooked necessity, expediency, the struggle for existence," etc. This is the argument often adopted by opponents of Anarchism. In theory it may be all right, but "it's not business." Is not this the procedure of Bro. Byington? "Courts, police and jails" may not fit into a "fundamental Anarchistic principle," but it's more "business-like." Am I too logical in following this "fundamental Anarchistic principle" perhaps? Had Bro. Byington entitled his article "What is Expediency?" and contended that necessity compelled us to accept "courts, police and jails" and other "machinery of government" as a necessary evil under existing conditions, and that Anarchists would be forced to organize as a means of defense, or in other words, expediency will force us "to fight the devil with his own weapons," he might then have made, it seems to me, a more logical argument. Then, too, he could have rung in his old arguments of the Single Tax, Prohibition, and others.

A question of methods under expediency opens up a wide field of argument, but what has all this to do with the question "What is Anarchism?" Of course, all methods advocated are based upon our conception of expediency. But Anarchism, I supposed, was a philosophy that held that most expedient, that granted the most liberty, and hence rejected all man-made rules and rulers, "courts, police and jails."

An ex-governor of our State on some occasion is said to have answered queries as to his position by exclaiming, "I am a Democrat." Whether he meant to convey the impression of loyalty to his party or loyalty to the principles of "pure Democracy," it matters not. Politicians love to hide behind ambiguous words and phrases. Unlike Mr. Hill, I would affirm "I am an Anarchist," not because it is a name chosen by any party or school, but because, as I understand, it represents one who accepts liberty as the basis of all true social economy. "I will not equivocate, I will not compromise, I will be heard."

"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved:
And though thou slay us we will trust in thee!"

East Elms, N. Y.

A. L. BALLOU.

IS MARRIAGE SACRED?

Is legal marriage an awfully comic or a wickedly schemed institution? Bishop Potter is distressed exceedingly and potteringly says:

Just look at the way things are today. People who cannot be lawfully married in one state travel twenty-five miles into another state and get married. People who cannot get a divorce in one state go into another and readily have the marriage tie cut. This is all wrong.

What in the name of common sense, or in the name of freedom, has anyone, except the interested male Ego and the female Ego, to do in the delicate affair? Church and State interfere simply on behalf of property; and so the woman becomes the property of the man or the man of the woman. As a rule this is decided by the amount of property possessed by the she or he.

We were taught in Sunday school that God married Adam and Eve, no fee was understood to have been charged! Now as we grow older a few more teeth, we feel sorry for and annoyed at God for having lost his power over the marriage trick.

McKinley pays the Sultan of Sulu ten thousand dollars a year, so that he may have as many wives as he pleases. Then why all the hubbub about the few wives Roberts, congressman for Utah, pleases to entertain! The Utah man is a Mormon, the Sulu man a Mohammedan; both are under the extra glorious stars and stripes that represent religious freedom, if they represent anything, and yet the government awards the man with the most wives with the stars and is desperately anxious to give the fellow with the few wives the stripes. What a pity to tear up the flag for such a trifle! Roberts had better hurry up and increase his harem and beat the Sultan by one, as there appears to be "no other solution" for him.

The hottest opposition to Roberts comes from those churches whose bible very much overrates Solomon; he had thousands of wives and concubines, but from what history records left very small results from so glorious opportunities.

The number 40
the wrapper of your paper written on
your subscription has been paid—that
that number.

A SCATTERING SHOT.

Mr. James says I "please" to call tobacco a useless luxury. I think it something worse than that; but I said only that I understood the "useless luxury" position to be Mr. James' standpoint for the present argument. And I still understand it so.

Coming to the point of our discussion, he says my endless chain is not endless, and moves only because it has an end. Probably I can make my point clearer by putting a case. A man has a penny, buys a pennyworth of tobacco with it, and smokes the tobacco. Another man has a pennyworth of tobacco, sells it for a penny, and throws the penny over Niagara Falls. What is the difference in the economic results? Each had wealth, each exchanged wealth, each destroyed the wealth he got in exchange. To my mind, each produced the same kind of effect on the nation's commerce. What difference does Mr. James see?

Mr. Orcutt crushes both Mr. James and me with the assertion that "Anarchism teaches that money is not wealth." I hadn't heard of this part of Anarchism, and wish Mr. Orcutt would explain how Anarchism shows a silver dollar to be any less wealth than a silver punch-bowl. Mr. James might consider himself invited to show the difference between these same two things, for I understand that he would call the getting and keeping of the punch-bowl praiseworthy "consumption," but the getting and keeping of the dollar, condemnable "hoarding."

Then Mr. Orcutt goes on, "It also teaches that nothing but labor produces wealth, and if this be so, money produces nothing nor aids in producing." To make his argument prove the conclusion, he ought to have started with "nothing but labor produces or aids in producing."

Whether I "saw the point" or "stuck to it" in the Blue Laws matter is a question which readers may now decide. Mr. Morton seems still to have a point for me to see, for he intimates that the alleged "naive peculiarity of New England theocratic legislation" contains "some lessons" for us, distinct, it would seem, from the general lessons of the world's history at large. If he told what those special lessons were, I might find reason for saying some other things that I have in mind.

Mr. Bruck protests against the idea that "liberty as we preach it means license." I protest against the protest. I must call in the *Sunday School Times* again, which makes the following antithesis between Christianity and Socialism: "The Christian ideal vindicates for every man the right to go wrong; . . . the Socialist ideal takes away that right by prescribing morals with the rigidity of Chinese etiquette." When the most vocal organs of orthodoxy hold such language, shall Anarchists be eager to repel the accusation of favoring license? License is simply another name for liberty; a name used by those who are compelled to profess loyalty to the name of liberty because of the accepted results of history, but who at heart hate the name and want to call it by some name "enable them to revile without

shocking conventionality by reviling the sacred name of liberty. But liberty and license are not two things; nobody has yet found out a difference between

Anarchistic propaganda can never thrive in the hands of people who are scared at names: they will be driven to give up the name "Anarchism" itself because it horrifies people so. If a man were to attack me with the words "You say you want liberty, but really you want license," I would answer, "All right, call it license if you please; I do want license; license is a glorious good thing; what harm do you see in it?" And while always holding such opinions, never disavowing them, and occasionally proclaiming them in my own town as well as by letter, I continue to have the privilege of teaching a Sunday school class of young ladies in an orthodox church.

STEPHEN T. BYINGTON.

A GOOD PROPOSITION.

"Moribund Society and Anarchy" is so good that I would like a copy to be sent to every Free Library in the world. Shall we undertake the California part of the world? The copies should be bound. Will you kindly think this matter out, and if advisable, to put it before the "idealists"? I shall be pleased to be allowed to contribute one or two of the largest sized silver lies that are in circulation bearing the legend "In God we trust" to help carry on this form of propaganda.

KINGHORN-JONES.

I had the pleasure of receiving my copy of "Moribund Society" a few days ago. I think it is splendid for it contains the seed germs of a great many truths that should be fostered into a large growth. What I would like to inquire of you is this: I would like to get them before the people in my section so far as my means and efforts will permit; can you afford to supply me with additional copies at the ratio of 15 cents per single or two for a quarter? I hope you will publish a large edition and that it will meet with a ready sale.

WALTER S. ALLEN.

* We can hardly afford to sell the book any cheaper than 15 cents per copy because circumstances compel us to charge a little for our labor. A. I.

The Letter-Box.

P. F. O., Little Rock, Ark.—You have always been so far ahead that we did not care to place the number on the wrapper. Thanks for encouragement.

T. J. G., Montreal, Can.—Thanks for photo. Books were sent.

J. A. W., Atlanta, Ga.—The criticisms of the ballot, monopoly in land, rent, etc., in your little pamphlet are excellent, but your belief "in the Almighty God and his omnipotent power and infinite wisdom" prevents us from recommending it for distribution. If there be "an omnipotent being that guides all things," then all our efforts to revolutionize the world are superfluous. The belief in gods has ever been disastrous to the poor and oppressed and they will not be "saved" until they assert their own will.

W. S. Allen, Palmer, Mass.—In accordance with your desire we are pleased to state for the benefit of our readers that you would like to correspond and exchange views with some people instructed on Anarchist subjects.

H. S., Portland, Or.—Of course "animals and men have heads," but a railroad is neither and therefore requires only managers with heads, and even the manager of a railroad is independent of government. True, the railroad workers of today have to submit to the caprices of the management in order not

to fall, and the will be ments. Societies are run today.

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