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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. 7.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1898.

WHOLE NO. 195.

SONG OF THE CRISIS.

(Written on the conviction of George Bedborough.)

Hark! the hour which tries men's souls
From the pulse of ages tolls!
See the fiends which lust gave birth
Darken heav'n and prison's fl
Ignorance in squalid might;
Falsehood nursed by and Night;
Force, with dripping gore,
Lo, they lead ten thousand more!
All have rallied, at the end
That last outpost to defend,
Whence the breathing-hole of hell
Peals their hideous battle-yell!
From this point if we recoil,
Theirs be all our former toil!
For your daughters' flesh they crave,
Loved ones' hearts, and parents' grave!
May the coward who would fly
Pensioned by a brothel die!
Let the female soul who twice
Counts the cost, proclaim her price!
All to love and honor known
Nought for all that is your own!
By our children's infant eyes,
By our mothers' pangs and cries,
By the sacred kiss of youth,
By the deathless laws of truth,
By the purest hopes we see,
Love and Woman shall be free!

C. L. JAMES.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ANARCHISM.

In Prof. Nitti's article on Italian Anarchists, I find the observation "that (almost always) one becomes an Anarchist when, with a slight culture, or with one-sided culture, one entertains a high opinion of one's own strength." The professor, writing a language not his own, scarcely makes as clear as might be wished, whether he means that this mental state almost necessarily precedes Anarchistic opinions, or that, if it exists, it almost necessarily leads to them. Evidently there is a considerable difference between these propositions, and to infer the former from the latter would be quite a "non distributio medii." The names of Kropotkin and Reclus are surely enough to show that all Anarchists are not defective either in depth or versatility of education; and our critic's observation, so far as it is just, must therefore amount to this; that, whether a man be well educated or ill, he almost always becomes an Anarchist if he entertains a high opinion of his own strength—the exceptional case, I should suppose, being that of one whose self-confidence is founded on contempt for his fellow men, and (naturally) accompanied with unscrupulousness. A Napoleon or a Gould will not become an Anarchist. But one who believes, as much as Napoleon or Gould, that he is capable of great things, is likely to become one, if he does not base that conviction on this other that mankind in general were made for him to use. I am inclined to think that this is pretty nearly the Anarchistic predisposition; and that the increase of Anarchism is, accordingly, due to the recent trend of philosophy. Those propositions, at once optimistic and atheistic, into which Prof. Nitti has condensed the Anarchistic creed, might easily be translated into other phraseology, which would exhibit their connection, through Transcendentalism, with Christianity, as follows:

"Every individual is a product, therefore an emanation, or avatar, of the all; an inspired original genius, capable of stamping his image on the coming time, and required to do so by the restless dictation of his conscience; which will also rebuke him if he deviates from the path of his natural destiny. But most men are too ignorant and too timid to realize the necessity of obeying thus religiously the subjective deity. They have run after false gods, among which are the following:

"Utility; the idol of external conditions assumed to confer happiness; whose worship results normally in disappointment, despair, and pessimism.

"Statecraft: the idol of a king, nobility, elective magistracy, etc., assumed able and willing to secure for us the conditions of a happy life.

"Dogmatism: the idol of an objective revelation assumed to deliver, not from sin, but its consequences hereafter.

"That men may be good and happy, these idols must be demolished: and, since their temple is the heart, this work must be mainly educational. Nevertheless, one way of teaching is to destroy the idols carnally. That at least shows they can be broken with impunity;—for it is impunity to die fearless, triumphant, assured of making followers by one's death."

This, I think, really is the philosophy of Anarchism: and there is clearly nothing new about it except the application. It was stated with matchless profusion of illustration by Emerson, whose name, accordingly, is held in much veneration by Anarchists. But, in a sort of embryonic condition, it existed long before his time. The fundamental thought can be traced to the stoics. There are, involved with it, two others, whose origin is distinctly Christian. That the inner law not only emancipates from all others, but forbids obedience to them when they conflict with itself (which is their very nature): that the sacrifice of self-interest to self-taught duty is a charm of boundless power, washing away sin, both one's own and others', and drawing men with an irresistible attraction—these were thoughts of Jesus Christ. They have not only survived the decay of theological Christianity, but gained by it. They are the germ, whose growth has broken every vessel in which those who were actually adversaries, though speciously devotees of its planter, have from time to time, attempted to confine it.

Eau Claire, Wis.

C. L. JAMES.

CAN ANARCHISM BE KILLED?

Henry Bauer, the Allegheny Anarchist, is "hot under the collar" because of the statements of Warden McAleese, Superintendent Muth, Detective Roger O'Mara and other guardians of the peace as to the best means of disposing of Anarchists. In an interview yesterday Bauer said:

"Because there is at present in Rome in session an anti-Anarchist congress every self-styled protector of 'law and order' thinks he has the only remedy against Anarchy. Fortunately these alleged protectors only talk to the wind. Only a few weeks ago Roger O'Mara maintained that there are no more Anarchists in Pittsburgh and vicinity; now Superintendent Muth contradicts him and assures the public that there is a whole army of Anarchists in Allegheny. This is another proof on a small scale of how little the would-be Anarchy-killers know, and those at present assembled in Rome eating Anarchists on the large scale are in the same dark hole.

"The surest and safest way," says Superintendent Muth, 'would be to get rid of them (Anarchists) entirely—'the same as Russia does with her political prisoners,' etc.

"Is that so? Did Russia indeed get rid of the Nihilists and other political rebels? In spite of thousands and thousands which are in Russian prisons and in Siberia, and in spite of the arresting of 200 more two weeks ago, the army of the czar's enemies is still increasing. They will get rid of him before he gets rid of them.

"England tried to get rid of its rebels in America some 120 years ago. We all know the result. Germany wanted to get rid of the Socialists with the famous Ausnahmsgesetz Exclusion Laws, and other laws. This was some eighteen years ago when only about 120,000 Socialists were in the whole German empire, and what was the result? Today Germany has an army of 2,250,000 Socialists. Here is the truth in a nutshell: Whenever a government or system of society has become old, worn-out and rotten it must fall and there is no use of bracing it up with laws against its enemies, who have understood the spirit of the time and demand a new form of society. Study the decline and fall of the Roman empire and you will find out why our present empires and republics will

and must fall in the near future. If Anarchists and Socialists were not better students of history and social science than our police officers, Anarchy and Socialism, to be sure, would make no headway. Fortunately, our enemies who prefer a glass of whisky to a good book can't fight against our logic; all they can do is to bluff and help to make social conditions still more unbearable and thus create more and more Anarchists. If Warden John McAleese had to work daily ten hours in a factory and support with small wages a large family he would not think of drowning the Anarchists in the deepest part of the river. Perhaps he would be an Anarchist. Circumstances alter the case, you know.

"Those constantly howling at the Anarchists are the ones who are most afraid of them. They generally fear just punishment from the hands of Anarchists for their many misdeeds. Warden Wright, of the Riverside penitentiary, is the smartest and foxiest of all who have been interviewed on the subject. He considers the subject a 'very delicate one for him to discuss,' and therefore refrained from expressing an opinion. He knows very well that the Anarchists placed in his custody had no literary taste for silly love stories like most of the rest of the prisoners. The Anarchists selected from the large prison library something better and studied not only in one language. Warden Wright knows that if all the prisoners in his care were Anarchists he would have less trouble and vexation and in the next interview he would have to give the Anarchists the best recommendation, provided that he has the courage to do it.

"Talk about Anarchists, why the very founders of the North American republic have been Anarchists of the truest type. Washington, Jefferson, Paine and Henry were the first rebels against English law and order. Before the stars and stripes were invented Washington had adopted the red flag. Read the 'Appeal to Arms' of Patrick Henry. It is an Anarchistic document that could not be improved upon by any John Most or Emma Goldman. Certainly if I repeat today the eloquent words of Patrick Henry in open meeting to strikers I will be arrested and imprisoned for inciting a riot.

"Now comes the worst of all. George Waggoner, inspector of police in the First district, has discovered that an Anarchist tore Dewey's picture into shreds. This means nothing less than that the tearing of this new saint's picture has become a crime. I have no sympathy for such patriotism; it's too cheap and childish.

"Take all the sick people in the world and put them on an isolated island; will this prevent a part of the rest from getting sick sooner or later? Certainly not. Thus with Anarchists. Put them all on an island (or drown them as Mr. McAleese would have it) and ere long you will find that the island is too small, and what is far more important, that the present rotten conditions in our society and form of government will create new rebels. Ignorance, poverty, oppression and corruption are the principal incubators that hatch out dissatisfied men and women called Anarchists, Socialists and Nihilists. Remove these incubators and the question will be settled. Can the world brags of our short-sighted enemies could defend this? Who will deny that the condition of the working class of America is getting worse from year to year? Who will deny that ignorance, poverty, corruption and despotism prevail to a terrible extent? Our enemies, if they are honest, will admit it and say, 'Yes, but these evils can be abolished in a peaceful manner.' Why did not the condition prevailing before 1776 and 1800 get solved in a peaceful way? Why was not the Cuban question solved in a peaceful way? Study the history of your native country. America, a little closer and you will find why the present nature of our question of the present cannot be solved in a peaceful way at the ballot box or by arbitration or by any other means than force. Yes, it could, if right were might, but this is not the case. Might is right in our days. This was not only proven by the late Spanish-American war, it was also proven six years ago when my friend Carl Nold and myself were sent innocent to a penitentiary for five years. I did not force entry in prison, and that's one of the many reasons that we cannot kill Anarchy."—Pittsburgh

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Co.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 43 Sheridan St., San Francisco, California.

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.

NOTICE!

At last our hopes will be realized. "The Famous Speeches of the Eight Chicago Anarchists in Court" and "Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab by John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois," will be published in one volume. Some comrades of Chicago have sent us fifty dollars to begin the work with at once and promise to send fifty dollars more in three or four weeks, suggesting to appeal to other cities for liberal contributions toward this publication fund.

We want to call attention of those who would like to see this book circulated broadcast to the fact that the cost of this book depends largely upon the number printed, so groups and individuals will please respond AT ONCE and state the amount they are able and willing to contribute for this purpose, giving us thus an opportunity to determine the number to be published. To those making contributions in advance books will be furnished at cost for the amount received.

The Chicago comrades have also suggested to publish the splendid book "Moribund Society" by Jean Grave, and we hope the comrades all over the land will do their utmost to enable us to publish these books in vast numbers.

FREE SOCIETY.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Comrade M. Maisel, 163 Henry St., New York, has kindly volunteered to collect subscriptions for Free Society, and we hope the readers of New York will aid him in this disagreeable work. He has also the pamphlets issued by Free Society for sale.

An annual set (52 numbers) of Free Society will be sent to applicants for \$1. We have also some volumes (consisting of 34 numbers) of The Firebrand, Vol. III, on hand. These with an annual set of Free Society can be had for \$1.50. To Public Libraries both volumes will be sent free of charge, i. e. if such will bind and keep them on file.

President David Starr Jordan of the Stanford University, while discussing in the Atlantic Monthly for November the "Colonial Lessons of Alaska," sums up the situation in these words:

With the sea-otter all destroyed, the fur seal herd exterminated, the native tribes starved to death, the salmon rivers depopulated, the timber cut and the placer gold fields worked out Alaska is to be thrown away like a sucked orange. There is no other possible end if we continue as we have begun. If we are to have colonies, even one colony, there must be some sort of a colony bureau, some concentrated power which should have exact knowledge of its people, its needs, and its resources. The people must be protected, their needs met, and their resources husbanded.

O, my dear professor, what an ignorant teacher, in certain things, you are! Had you really understood the lessons taught by history and real life you would have learned that the result of the management of Alaska, which you are deploring so much, is but one in the long list of hundred similar ones and once more demonstrates the inevitable doom which is meted out to every nook and corner of the globe and its population where the State has reigned for a certain length of time, and no number of "colony bureaus" and no amount of "concentrated power" will ever mitigate the evil. In the same article the professor expresses his admiration for England as a country which understood to spread respect for law among the "inferior races," and now he looks towards our own government as destined to spread respect for the individual of the same races. Mr. Jordan altogether overlooks the fact that the English freebooter has accomplished the same feat that the English freebooter has accomplished in the richest countries on earth—India, China, and the East Indies—the same feat that

we have in Alaska. With the stench issuing from the corpses of the 8,000,000 famished Hindoos still in our nostrils, the professor ought to have learned better. Will not some reader of Free Society who can spare it, send a copy of "The State: Its Historic Role," to Mr. Jordan? Possibly he may be reclaimed.

May not some of our State Socialistic step-by-step brothers who never tire of boasting before the world their being the only favored bunch of "scientific Socialists," who have succeeded in correctly interpreting the tendency of our times, learn a wholesome lesson from the following fact? The Ohio millionaire, John W. Bookwalter, who is at present travelling in Russia, writes on September 20, from Astrakhan:

As before the days of steamships and railways Astrakhan had practically a monopoly of Central Asian trade, she continued to grow and prosper until the development of railways in Russia and a more perfect system of river and canal transportation made Nijni Novgorod her great competitor as a grand distributing point of eastern and western products, which, through her wonderful annual markets she held for many years. Such, however, is the rapidity with which trade and its methods change in these modern days, that Nijni in turn has lost its importance and at no distant day, will cease altogether to be an intermediate depot between Asia and Europe, an advantage that gave first to Astrakhan and afterwards to Nijni commercial importance and wondrous growth. Such are the ample and ever increasing facilities for trade now supplied by railways, steamships, telegraphs, etc., that the merchants of the extreme East and West can now rapidly and directly communicate, or easily meet in the marts of their respective countries, so that an intermediate trading point or center is fast becoming wholly unnecessary.—Globe Democrat.

Here is one more fact, harder than the tack which our "soldier boys" were supplied with during the last war, which goes to strengthen the Anarchist's contentions for decentralization in matters economic. Who are then the dreamers and utopians?

The idols of the ruling classes, in speaking of the "splendid reception" accorded to wholesale murderer "Lord" Kitchener upon his return to England, the Saturday Review says: "It was not only that he rescued the Sudan from Dervish barbarism and given it back to civilization that roused our enthusiasm. These are great achievements undoubtedly; but what raised the acclaim to fever pitch was the feeling that in Lord Kitchener England had found a soldier of resource and reserve power who would stand her in good stead in the hour of utmost need. For, to tell the truth, England is more than a little weary of the generals who advertise themselves, of the generals who are generals only on pay-day, of the generals who conduct bloodless and fatuous campaigns with the assistance of Mr. Lipton. A real general who can fight and win, and say little about it is so rare that we were bound to give him a splendid cheer at home-coming." This is an utterance at one and the same time as coarse, vulgar and blood-thirsty as an acrimonious human sentiment is only capable of producing. But there is no mistake about it. Here we have the real innermost view of the bourgeois. May the Saturday Review place its faith and hopes of the near future in the man who has bemirched himself with the commission of one of the nastiest deeds at the end of the commercial era. I place my hopes of the near future in the hands of the English dock-laborer, navvy and artisan, a portion of whom are enlivened by the aspirations of libertarian Socialism. And we may live to see whether he who laughs last is not the one who laughs best.

We would only suggest that if these judges would as diligently sit and examine the evidence of the policeman as they propose to do that of the prisoner, they would find that the perjury is not all on one side. Indeed, we might go further and say that police evidence is nine times out of ten, and quite apart from deliberate perjury, so selected as to constitute a gross hardship and injustice. Law, indeed, is the last thing to be reformed or altered. The lawyers are content to have it as it is, and the brigands are utterly devoid of the continuity and combination that are essential for reform. And so the abuses persist and breed fresh abuses.—"The Law and the Judges," in Saturday Review.

Our readers may see the Saturday Review's first lessons in Anarchism are not so very bad. Further study along the same line may do the rest.

A RACE OF PROSTITUTES.

No doubt it will seem a startling proposition that almost every person who forms a component part of

our nineteenth century civilization is a prostitute, not one whit better or worse than the most degraded inhabitants of the slums in our great cities. And yet, I am forced to admit that this is the fact. I do not mean that it is true in the same way, but in a way just as debasing, just as brutalizing to the moral and physical well-being of the individual and just as destructive of social purity and order as theirs. In this respect we can claim no superiority over the meanest. We have no right to stand apart and thank God that we are not as other men are.

The female prostitute who sells herself for hire is prostituting the most delicate and sacred function of her being for a price. That which only belongs to love is made a subject of merchandise to furnish means to eke out a miserable existence. That she is driven to it from physical necessity does not change the fact. It is a prostitution of the holiest instincts to base and sordid purposes.

Every person in this world possesses an equally sacred and delicate privilege that belongs only to love and which can never find its perfect expression except as the expression of love. That privilege is, the performance of loving service for whoever needs that service. But this is what we almost universally make merchandise of, what we sell in the market as labor. In that way we eke out a miserable existence, made miserable because we are denied, by our own avarice and greed, the high privilege which is ours by natural promptings. That we are driven to it as a necessity, in order to support life, does not change the fact. It is a prostitution of our holiest and most spontaneous instincts to base and sordid purposes.

Our system of divided interests, of separate properties, compels every one to protect his individual interests and impels him to attack the interests of everybody else. From this greed and avarice is stimulated. Even the service of each for the other is weighed and measured in dollars and cents. Nearly all service is made a matter of merchandise; and we stop and haggle over the price like any other courtesan on the street. Our wage system makes prostitutes of us all. It blinds us to the essential baseness of our lives, so that we actually rejoice in the opportunity to sell ourselves, our services, for money; and we look upon it as a misfortune if we fail to find a buyer.

Nor is the physical or moral effect on the individual a bit less brutalizing than the thing we are taught to abhor in the female prostitute. In witness I have only to point to the vast multitudes of the poor existing in squalor and wretchedness, who possess not one ray of hope of a better life. It blunts the finer sensibilities of our natures and leads us to refuse the helping hand unless we get our price. It debauches all our social undertakings and produces disorder where peace and order ought to reign.

Why not change a system which produces such evil results? Why not abandon it? Why not adopt a new and better way which will permit of the free expression of our better promptings? It is not hard to find such a way. We have only to give up our mad scramble for the acquirement of separate fortunes; and unite our individual holdings in a common estate, so that no one shall own anything of himself, and yet, all own everything. Then the service of man for man will become the expression of brotherly love and helpfulness unmingled with greed or avarice. It will be given without stint and without price. We shall be emancipated from a condition of prostitution now well-nigh universal; and even the other prostitutes will find a way open to a new and redeemed life.

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

"FREE CITIZENS" CLUBBED.

How the poor and homeless people are treated in Omaha, Neb., can be seen from the following clipping:

The police raided all the cheap lodging houses and resorts last night and arrested a number of men who were unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves. Among the number Sergeant Her arrested two young men at 1315 Douglas street, who were asleep in their beds. Her gained entrance to the bed room, when one of the men started to secure his trousers which were beneath his pillow. Her suspected a revolver play and knocked the man down, inflicting a severe scalp wound from which the blood flowed freely. At the station the two men gave the names of A. E. Axe and Charles Pangborn, and their homes as Adair, Ia. They were both supplied with money and upon being arraigned this morning they told their troubles to Judge Gordon, and he discharged them from custody.

Simply because men are poor and consequently compelled to live in cheap lodging houses every brute

of a policeman has a right to disturb them in their sleep, and if they make a motion with their hands to split their heads. It can set me wild when I see that these men patiently endure such outrages unresistingly. Not enough that they are arrested and hunted on the streets, they cannot even enjoy a sleep when they pay for it.

But, I suppose they deserve such treatment. Why don't these freezing and starving men go to a first class hotel of their own creation, into which no dirty policeman dares to poke his nose, instead of letting the drones enjoy the luxury? It is courage they lack. Before they will assert their rights they will starve and freeze and have their heads smashed without a protest.

It is enough to drive one to despair in regard to the future of mankind. It seems to me that servility has developed to such an extent that there is no hope for freedom and independence. BERTHA SCHENCK.

DO NOT COLONIZE IN THE WILDERNESS.

We may isolate ourselves for the betterment of our conditions and for the enjoyment of freedom in the remotest hidden nook of the world and colonize, but as soon as we prosper we will be located by the hunters for wealth—the parasites. Then some government will send its emissaries and inform us that we are not capable of governing ourselves and taking care of our own affairs, and that we must have protection, and willing or not we must accept and pay for the "protection" thus imposed upon us; for government cannot be wrong, neither can it exist where there are no producers. The government finds the producer everywhere, like the bed bug its victim.

The best way to colonize is where we are, in the most densely populated district and the best mode of protection is, when a fellow comes and tries to meddle with our business, to hit him on the snout and make him understand that we are minding our business and he shall take care of his.

We must convince the people that the abolishment of government does not endanger the security of the individual property acquired by individual efforts, but on the contrary, every one will be secure in the enjoyment of his products; that by abolishing governments we do not lower the individual, but raise him or her above the State (combination of parasites) to be his or her own sovereign and judge, and no one's else.

Every one is dissatisfied with the encroachment of the government on their liberties and every one disclaims the necessity of laws and restrictions for himself—it is always the other fellow who needs it. It is only mistrust created by the monopolists, the priests and politicians, which separates the people and prevents them to practice what they desire: justice to one another.

We see often beneficial and just actions condemned and declared illegal, for the sole reason that the originators thereof failed to fee the proper authorities who would not tolerate to be deprived of their fees, and thus the producer is forced by the aid of his ignorance to part with the biggest portion of his labor to avoid persecution, for which, if he was to engage in a legal fight, he would have to engage and fee more parasites (lawyers), so he meekly submits.

Strike for freedom where you are and let the parasites emigrate and colonize in the wilderness. Fort Steilacoom, Wash. E. F. ROTSCHECK.

OBSERVATIONS.

Among the many original characters in this western city is an old scissor grinder. He attracts the attention of all by continually having a good sized American flag waving on the top of his grinding apparatus. It is always the Fourth of July with him.

Once upon a time, in the kindness of my heart, I tried to make it plain to the old man, that the stars and stripes are not the emblem of liberty, but the trademark of a soulless corporation, whose figurehead is at present McKinley, but whose directors and main stockholders are the Vanderbilts, the Goulds, the Astors, Rockefeller, et al. While I was making my explanations the old man's eyes began to bulge out, his teeth were set and grasping a knife he had sharpened, turned loose a perfect torrent of abuse upon my innocent head. "Traitor to the flag" seemed to be his choice expression. I, of course, retreated a step or two and coolly surveying the object of my misplaced kindness, perceived plainly the marks of bigotry, in-
-windedness in his face. Further

argument was useless, but while walking away, I quietly dubbed the old scissor grinder "Patriotism Personified."

A new prophet has arisen among us. Like the "Veiled Prophet" of the east he hides the deformity of his face under a silver veil, so this one hides the deformity of his mind under the veil of "An Easterner." I did not intend to reply to his anonymous attempt to blacken my character. A person who is too cowardly to sign his name when attacking a man, is beneath the notice of a gentleman. But his poor soul evidently craves for a reply, because he cannot refrain from having another fling at me in his latest scrawl, and blither his blinking eyes. He shall have it.

This anonymous eastern owl, in its ignorance shows that for alliteration? is evidently not aware that the writer of this is one of the founders of the Free brand, to whose pages and its successor Free Society he has contributed considerably in the past under the name de plume of E. Slabs and his own, and what is more, will continue to contribute as long as Comrade Isaak has control of the paper. I am aware that the Firebrand and its publishing group, composed of laborers and mechanics, has been a thorn in the side of some ambitious but brainless eastern radicals, in whose opinion the slumber provoking Solidarity was the only paper entitled to support. I referred briefly to his attempted criticism of opinions I have expressed some time ago. When I consider how the propaganda fund represents the very blood and sweat of the poor, then I still hold that any means to regain some of the spoils which have been wrung from us, are justified. The willful twisting of the sense in my last article, headed "Underground Post-office," is another proof of the deformity of this slanderer's mind. I certainly did not advise secrecy only when all other means are shut off, and so far as driving the movement into secret channels is concerned, that is impossible. Anarchists can't be driven. Let that pass; but when this person, who has been so overcome by "the secret-mongering craze," to use his own expression, hides behind such a name as "An Easterner," to the disgrace of all the brave men and women in the east, when such a person, I repeat, has the bare-facedness to say: "In schemes and advices as those coming from Portland, Ore., I can discover nothing but impending treachery to our young movement," then I am constrained to brand him as a "villanous coward."

Some time ago, I noticed a little girl, hardly more than three years old, playing all by herself with a doll. I could not help but remark to myself, How soon the maternal instinct, the care for their off-spring, shows itself in woman. Afterwards I had an opportunity to witness a foot-ball game; some young women placed on a platform attracted my attention. The way they watched the game reminded me for all the world of a lot of hens, watching a couple of roosters fight. The law of analogy is said to hold good in nature. Like hens complacently receive the attention of the victorious rooster and care not what becomes of the defeated one, so will woman pass without remorse from the sexually weak to the strong. The genial Robert Reitzel illustrates this point admirably in his story of "Aspasia"—how she leaves the highly intellectual Alcibiades for the bull-necked Cleon, the butcher.

Woman's life is bound up in her offspring; the reproduction of the human species is her part, and like hens choose the strongest rooster as the father for their future chicken so will woman, when left free, choose the strongest man as the father of her future child. There is an old oriental story, we all know it, that man was created in the image of God and woman from the rib of man. The average radical will of course ridicule it, but I believe it embodies more wisdom than it is given credit for. The lover will clothe the woman he loves with attributes of mind and character she never possesses, but which in reality represents the highest object man strives for. Women like to be considered spiritual, but very few are. The poets of the world, the sages, the prophets of all ages are and will be men. The striving for things of no immediate benefit, the sacrificing themselves for an idea, is not woman's part. There are some women who are like men in this respect, but they are also manlike in their features. Who has seen the pictures of Louise Michel and of our own Viriqua Daniels will admit the truth of my assertion.* Men will often prefer death to sep-

* Not at all. The photo of Comrade Viriqua, it is true, has the features of a man, but in reality she has none of those features and has a more feminine appearance than the average woman.

aration from the woman they love, but I have yet to hear of the first woman who sought death for the love of a man. They will on the other hand, sacrifice themselves for their offspring. While a man sympathizes with a poor unfortunate fellowman who has sought to end his love troubles, the kindest word a woman has for such a man is "he was a fool."

Some may think I am a woman hater, far from it; but my own experience and observation and also the experience of such a man as Robert Reitzel, who was certainly adored by women if ever a man was, has taught me not to look to woman for things spiritual, and since doing that, I am never disappointed. They are the medium between man and earth and will, as many a good man has found out, bring him back from soaring in the clouds to the consideration of his immediate wants.

CHAS. DOMINICK.

If this be true, it proves that she has more common sense than the men. But I think there are other causes than these comrades' domestic troubles.

"SUPERSTITION."

S. D.'s article on "Superstition" in No. 2 of Free Society may cause some of his unbalanced followers to "smile with approbation," but from reading his article one would suppose that he had either tried "featuring" for the "dollar" or "sold a dose of mind cure for his swelled head." S. D. assumes that he knows it all just as any bible back would do when trying to convert a subject to his creed. He simply makes assertions which lack argument and he holds his breath waiting the applause of the people who read Free Society.

I would like to ask S. D. where he gets his authority to so unjustly condemn that portion of people who have studied a given subject until the facts have proven to their satisfaction the theory of that "science" to be correct. Is he qualified to judge? I am under the impression that S. D. has been bounced by some shark and puts his wailings into print to ease his mind. I would like to know how many Anarchists his article will make.

While I do not doubt but what he will find a great many listeners, but I also know a great many who disapprove such propaganda. While Free Society will not accept any articles in explanation of Spiritualism why does it accept those directly opposed to it? It is my judgment S. D.'s article is wholly uncalculated. It shows a narrowness of mind, a "believe as I do or I'll condemn you" man. It may possibly be that his imaginative capacity has ditched his reason. I personally find Spiritualism consistent with Anarchy and have found a great many who believe in both. But the other isms, theosophy, christian science, etc., I know nothing of, and it is for that reason I do not condemn them. I do not condemn a thing I do not understand, for am I not incompetent to judge? The Church I know something of and condemn. S. D. please explain what called forth your article on "Superstition."

E. A. TAYLOR.

* The reason why we make this discrimination is this. Those that oppose spiritualism are in accord with the scientific facts, known at present, when they claim that the "materialization of spirits" is an absurdity, while the spiritualists rely wholly upon belief and guess work. Science does not assert the existence of "occult forces" unless it is able to demonstrate such to the world, and then these forces are no longer hidden. Does Comrade Taylor want us to abandon our knowledge of physical phenomena and believe those laymen whom most cases have not the faintest conception of natural sciences? Can Comrade Taylor name a single natural scientist who can demonstrate a "spirit" and the existence of ghosts? If there is a man who can DEMONSTRATE spiritualism we will devote a whole issue for that purpose. Is that satisfactory? A. I.

It takes a New Jersey judge to point out all the beauties of the trolley system. A poor man's child was killed awhile ago and he promptly brought suit against the company. A jury awarded him \$5000 for damages. The judge promptly set the verdict aside, on the ground that children were an expense to their parents, therefore no damages could be justly claimed for killing them! He kindly permitted the parent to retire without paying the company for the trouble of killing the child.—Coming Nation, Ruskin, Tenn.

Two little tots were to be put to bed, and were kneeling at their mothers knee saying the Lord's prayer. The eldest one was repeating it in his mother, and when he reached "as they were" this day our daily bread, he fell into a fit of convulsions, and when the other little one, brother, hit him on the head, he fell into a fit of convulsions, and when the other little one, brother, hit him on the head, he fell into a fit of convulsions, and when the other little one, brother, hit him on the head, he fell into a fit of convulsions.

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The number printed or written on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

ATTENTION!

Some Anarchist Communists, who are tired of wage-slavery and living an isolated life in the midst of a superstitious society, have decided to start an Anarchist-Communist, New Ideal colony in the state of California near a city and to live out their ideas as far as conditions will permit under the present system. Men and women who are free from all superstitions (marital included) and are willing to join a colony of free-minded men and women are invited to give their names and addresses and to state what means they possess.

One comrade is now travelling looking for a suitable locality. For details write to C. Shaw, P. O. Box 635, Riverside, Calif., or to Free Society. Enclose stamp.

THE "CONCEITED" MAN RETIRES.

In Free Society of November 20, L. S. Oliver, of Maywood, Ill., comments upon me. The following dialogue gives us both.

Oliver—"What One Man Can Do" is a conceited heading which commonly makes its appearance in the columns of Free Society.

Livesey—As Mr. Oliver was one of a trio that advertised to secure an organization to further reform through portentous secret and revolutionary methods, and as the whole trio have not, so far as I hear, done as much for liberty in a year as I have in a month, I suppose it sounds like conceit to them when they hear of an automaton's success. There is so much of this looking to a crowd to accomplish anything, and so much of this theorizing on what people ought to do, that I thought practical purposes would be served and humility be shown in simply stating a part of what I did, that others might be inspired to follow suit.

O.—What he fails to do is a question which has never been put to the one who writes under the above heading. Why does this festive critic fail to practice the spirit of forbearance towards others?

L.—Is Mr. Oliver concerned for those whom I attack in the world at large, or is he wishing I had displayed "forbearance" toward the trio that seemed to be so strong in their faith, until others and I called them down?

O.—Conceit of knowledge is not always wisdom, nor is a nicely arranged sentence always good sense because it sounds pretty.

L.—I agree with this; but why has not Mr. Oliver pointed out the application in my case?

O.—A person who is so completely wound up in self that he fails to recognize anything good in others, fails to comprehend the essential needs of the day.

L.—I have been praised by outsiders as one who never fails to recognize merit wherever it is done, and if I were to give such praises C. L. James would at once say, on the other hand, would not you who people speak well of you.

Like the old Methodist, I believe in "experience meetings," and I think if all reformers could "get up" in their respective papers and give the actual, of what they are doing, nations, they interest. It fitness

that I attempted in "What One Man Can Do," but, being branded otherwise, I will humbly hold my peace in that line in the future through Free Society.

FRANCIS B. LIVESEY.

Sykesville, Md.

HOW MUCH DOES IT COST?

Editor Examiner,—For the third and last time I ask, Will you inform your readers how many candidates for office there were before the people, and the limit of election expenses allowed by law, and give the total sum supposing each aspirant spent the limited amount only; also the cost to the city for the registration, printing, erecting booths, election officers, etc., etc.; then give a rough estimate of illegitimate expenses under the heads of printing banners and badges, travelling, drinks, cigars and money bribes, and your appropriate estimate of which the past election thus cost—concluding with your idea of the value in dollars, of the time wasted over the election campaign, but not included in the amounts, legitimate and illegitimate.

This will make the most interesting and instructive item of news in the issue in which it appears, even if that issue happened to contain the death of McKinley or Huntington, or declaration of war between England and France.

Doubtless if the question propounded had been, How did our mother's maternal relative incorporate the contents of an egg by means of suction? it would have been accorded an elaborate answer, such as queries concerning prize-fight, prize-fighters, or a "royal flush," receive in your columns—three such, to wit, in December 7 issue.

Perhaps now the election being over, you may feel inclined to give your readers the figures asked for, knowing that the fool voters will have forgotten by 1900 the fearful cost of the ballot-trick! Also thinking, too, that the idiots would never study deep enough to realize that Labor's sweat and blood pays the whole bill.

I now freely admit my unreasonableness in putting such a question at such a time as the middle of an election campaign.

If you do not give an answer now, you will prove that your "answers to various queries" column is a farce.

Your readers await the verdict.

KINGHORN-JONES.

Of course "The Monarch of the Dailies" did not give the desired information—no monarch would like such knowledge to be public property. If any of your readers are in a position to estimate the cost of any city or state election, it would be a most valuable educational item if they would send it to Free Society.

K-J.

REPLY TO S. T. BYINGTON.

In his first two propositions the sincere materialist and christian do not believe. They begin to doubt when it comes to the real point, and compromise with themselves by letting nature take her course. In the third case the materialist might have thought that had he not acted at would always have been a matter of regret and he died to escape.

We think certain things, but do not know, and when we are obliged to decide for or against, most of us fall back on nature and let her decide for us. The third aimed at conduct that would result in the greatest happiness to them. The natural must always be right. Our greatest happiness lies along the line of least resistance. Do you want to stay

Mr. Byington, that the other animals do not act with a view to their greatest happiness? I don't think they look ahead as we do and I am not sure but that it would be better if we didn't. Children live now, not in the future or past. We mostly aim at a something in the future. I am not certain that I have answered B.'s questions, but if I have not he can come back.

W. F.

HARK!

Anarchy, as defined by all intelligent and honest people, means liberty in its fullest extent from every standpoint of righteousness. It is the true humanitarian's ideal.

However, the capitalist mouth organs and ignorant victims of Capitalism have the audacity to make good their intention of appealing to every shade of opinion that "Anarchy" might be odious in the eyes of the majority.

As a Marxian Socialist I believe in majority rule; but only when the majority is in favor of economic freedom from whence will come workers' society, workers' morality, instead of the present system of capitalism with all its concomitant evils in ten thousand forms—from "Sweet Charity" down to indescribable despotism. O tempora! O mores!

MARK MORRIS.

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 our imprisoned comrade.

Address: H. Bauer, 73 Springgarden, Allegheny, Pa.

NOTICE.

Some friends of Emma Goldman, remembering the success of her last lecturing tour to the West, have received her consent to make arrangements for lectures at intermediate points—the lecturer to start from New York the latter part of next January. Comrades desiring further information will write to Emma Goldman, 50 First St., New York.

It has also been deemed advisable to start a fund to cover the traveling expenses, and those wishing to assist may do so by sending their contributions either to the lecturer direct, or to Free Society, which will also acknowledge all contributions.

On this tour she will lecture on the following subjects:

The Power of the Idea.

A Criticism on Ethics.

The Origin of Evil.

Politics and their Corrupting Effect on Man.

Trades Unionism: What It Is and

What It Ought To Be.

Sex Problem.

For Barre, Vt.

Emma Goldman will lecture at Pommer's Hall, Mairs st., as follows:
Jan. 21, on Authority vs. Liberty.
Jan. 25, on Trades Unionism: What It Is and What It Ought To Be.
Jan. 28, on The New Woman.
Jan. 31, on Politics and Its Corrupting Effect on Man.

RECEIPTS.

Please do not use private checks nor bank checks if you can avoid it.
The safest and most expeditious manner of remitting is by postal note or express money order.
Week ending December 15.
Eugene Ross, \$2.00, Shiphammer, Chicago, post badge 00. Badges sold at San Francisco, \$2.25. Tack, \$1. Sucker, Wheeler, Warner, Remington, Sheldahl, Belz, each 50.
M. Mabel, New York, collected from the following: Wolpe, Briskman, Kopechoff, each \$1. Blum, Brown, Schoenft, Leibowitz, each 50c. Felder, Katzman, Robinson, Pink, Denison Lane, each 25c. For sold copies of Free Society, 50c.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S LECTURING TOUR FUND.

E. R., \$2.50.

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