

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.

NEW SERIES NO. 16.

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WHOLE NO. 152.

PHANTOMS.

The Phantoms of the human race—
What monsters, rare! And who can trace
Their origin? Their's, ceaseless life!
They dodge the shot; escape the knife.
From Revolution's bloody school
Unharm'd, they troop, to vex and rule.
Their devotees, unnumbered, stand,
And sneer, and scoff, and taunt the band,
That sturdily its weapons bring.
Of Reason, Thought, and deftly flings
At Prejudice, that, like a wall,
Shuts out the light; supposes all
It has not seen, or heard, or felt,
Abnormal is.

At Custom, too,
Truth's shaft is sent. The thing that's new,
The crowd attacks; and ridicule
Is reckoned fair for any "fool!"
Who dares to show to gaping throng,
Absurdity or way that's wrong
In food, or drink, or dress, or speech;
In habit's chain suggests a breach;
Who breath's a doubt that ancient men
Knew everything! the how and when
We, of today, should rest or act;
When song be sung; or jest or fact
Have audience.

Long, Reason's fight with Superstition.
It drifts from thought's sharp ammunition
Unscathed. A dark, unwieldy mass.
It bows to gods of wood, and glass.
It worships suns, traditions, books.
Away from light, it ever looks.
Alas! to lean upon the gods,
E'er keeps man down among the clods.
To kneel to all the universe,
Is feebleness; ay, it's worse,
'Tis murderous!

Why should a man,
Awake, full grown, invent a plan
To keep himself e'er in the dark?
It cannot be—'twas sure a "lark!"
A joke of such far-reaching girth
It circled all this mighty earth!
And buried 'neath its pond'rous weight,
Man's wit's the toy of freakish Fate.

My friend, why bow to any joss?
Why one be slave, another boss?
Why worship what has gone before,
Because 'tis past, and nothing more?
Why close the eyes to what is here?
Of mystery, why have a fear?
Cast off the spell of joker priest;
Come, be a man, not laden beast,
For it is true, that he who kneels,
To Common Sense and Reason deals
A deadly blow. He overrates
The worth of Faith; and speculates
Upon the life that is to come(?).
He feeds his mind upon the scum
Of imagery—on Phantoms, rank;
The real, to him, is still a blank.

VIROQUA DANIELS.

THE USELESS CLASSES.

Heretofore modern society has been divided into two classes—the propertied and the propertyless. The former has been quite correctly considered to consist of those who do not work and live in luxury; the latter has been claimed to perform all the labor of society and to enjoy but few of its pleasures.

But the characterization of the present perversions and injustice of society calls for a different classification. Useful and useless classes would be more precise terms.

Let us start with the enumeration of the useful class—that class of society which is obliged to support not only the rich but all other remaining classes besides itself.

It is useless to waste time with those five lucky ones out of a hundred who are born upon piles of banknotes. That they are simply drones, of no use to society, but simply using what others produce is self-evident. They, however, form but an insignificant fraction of the whole lot of the useless classes,

whose existence is of course attributable only to the circumstance that those five per cent are enabled to consider the whole world their football.

Next comes a large class of non-producers, but consumers who administer to the pleasures of the first enumerated class and who, although springing from the midst of the propertyless class, can by no means be counted among the workers. They are the bodyguards, servants, drivers, companions, governesses, ladies in waiting, mistresses, etc., etc. These elements are constantly increasing in numbers with the growing riches of their "masters" and already outnumber the rich of all countries inclusive of their families, by from five to ten. They produce no commodities whatsoever; they simply wait upon their masters and mistresses—services which are of course pleasurable to the latter, but do not increase the wealth of society. All of these people, however, consume commodities. They are parasites like their masters and mistresses.

The property of the rich is only safe and can only be squandered with ease when property is protected. Therefore a swarm of lawyers are needed who are backed by whole armies of soldiers, police, spies, etc. These fellows are mostly from the ranks of the propertyless, but have nothing whatsoever in common with the workers. From the moment they enter the service of this institution for the protection of property—the State—they become enemies of the people. Not a piece of bread is produced by them; but they all consume labor products, and to a greater extent than a useful person is able to, because their earnings are generally above those of wage-workers, while at the same time the State as such uses a lot of labor products in the shape of halls of "justice," jails, armories, arms, implements, and a thousand other things. The number of parasites belonging to this class constitutes at least two per cent of the population of each State, i. e. about ten per cent of the whole adult male population.

The beast of property not only being too lazy to work, but even too indolent to keep an account of its property—in fact the great wealth preventing it—it has been obliged to engage in its service legions of bookkeepers, secretaries, accountants, treasurers, etc. They, too, are useless; they also spring from the propertyless class, but create no commodities, yet consume a great deal more than a productive worker and must therefore be counted among the useless classes.

Related to the latter are the people representing the commercial private property of to-day. As all commerce is based upon nothing but fleecing whole hordes of commercial travelers infect all countries. On the exchanges thousands of agents higgledy. Countless numbers of people are engaged in continual loading and unloading or transporting goods to and fro. Again others have their hands full placing tempting stamps, labels, etc., upon goods in order to deceive the public more easily. The efforts of all these people, all of whom spring from the propertyless as well, do not assist in multiplying products and therefore really amount to nothing; but every one of them wants to consume; they are all useless people.

In order to palliate this social rottenness and to keep the real working people from using their common sense, their time is being occupied by a horde of brain-destroyers who are let loose upon them. Here we see religious hypocrites, newspaper prostitutes, literary vagabonds, and teachers in general

engaged in making war upon liberty who form an enormous contingent of humbugs who do not produce a farthing's worth of any useful commodity, who nevertheless live, and live well, and who thus but form another part of the useless classes.

Then again there is the class of involuntary idlers produced by the social vermin that such a perverted system necessarily requires and who—the involuntary idlers—have been designated as "superfluous" the able-bodied but unemployed, the beggars, vagabonds, prostitutes, also the semi-tramps, such as peddlers, loafers, etc.

The number of these people in all larger countries is simply legion. They all want to consume, no matter how little, but they have no opportunity to produce anything, hence of necessity belong to the useless classes. The same is the case with the thieves, robbers, burglars, gamblers, and swindlers of all kinds.

And finally the helpless whose condition is largely the result of our existing miserable, absurd conditions, and every one of whom must be supported by the producing classes—the sick, the cripples, the idiots, etc.—they, too, must be counted with the useless classes.

Working people, figure this out! Remember, however, that this list is by no means exhausted, but that it is simply a superficial and hap-hazard account. If you will take pains to investigate you will find many more parasites. All of these you are obliged to support, and largely even to keep in splendor and luxury. Shall this be continued forever?

Arouse, ye producers, from your slumber! Try your strength in a real battle, and you will emancipate yourself from the thralldom of a horde of parasites who are crushing you. To be sure, you are able if you but have the courage, to build up social conditions in which useless people shall be unknown; where there is room for all who desire to be useful; where there is no oppression, but happiness.—Translated from the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

THE INSULATORS OF THOUGHT.

Originally christianity was ethical and sociological and stood for freedom. But as the church, which grew out of christianity, (not in it) as it augmented in power and prestige, arrogated to itself the exclusive custody of christianity, and as it grew in power it also became authoritarian and oppressive. As it became strong, pagan superstitions were incorporated as a handmaid to oppression under Constantine. Religion or superstition has been the dominant feature or lever of the church ever since.

The moral character and teachings of the martyred Christ were so prominent as set forth in the church's sacred book, that the priesthood could not ignore it entirely, so it tacitly assents to a conventional conformity to morals. But it defines morals in conformity with, and in subordination to religion. If the church did not sometimes claim to be moral, no one would dream of it being a moral institution. It is not a moral, but a religious institution. Morality, which pertains to our relation to each other as social beings, has no necessary relation to religion which pertains to our relation to a hypothetical God and a hypothetical heaven or hell. The church arrogating to itself supreme authority as the vicegerent of God,

assumes to arbitrarily define morality as religion. Religion is morality with the churchmen.

The rights of individuals is entirely ignored, and freedom is an obsolete word. Subordination, contrition, consecration and humiliation to the church, constitute the church's choicest and chastest vocabulary. The church, in its self-righteous dignity, scorns and withdraws from the vulgar and very brutal, yet tolerates and takes to its bosom the greatest criminals against humanity the world has ever known. The church's exclusiveness gives it a tone of respectability with the superficial masses. While the basest are excluded, the greatest and best men and women are outside its pales.

Why the church has so far departed from Christ's ethical teachings is as obvious to an unprejudiced mind as it is natural after its authority is established by an appeal to the superstitions of the people. Power was attained by a recognition by the people of authority, and a feeling of power is more demoralizing to those who exercise it than to the slaves of the power. No one can exercise power or authority for a time without the rays of truth and justice being refracted from a right line from the object to their eye. Power and authority are abnormalities in nature and cannot in their nature be right. The more arbitrary the authority, the more abject the slavery accompanying it. It is just as natural for the priesthood to rule by divine right as for a king to do so. That the king and the priest in their simple ignorance really believe they are ordained of God, mitigates not the evil of their power and authority. The authority of the king and the priest, of the State and the Church, are so closely allied that they may be considered as one—for neither could live without the other. The exercise of power, as I said, is so corrupting, that resort is had to all kinds of subtuges to retain it when once possessed.

It is a necessary function of the priest, the "sky pilot" of the church or "attorney for the Lord" as well as the politician and attorney for the State, as a prerequisite to retain authority over the people to act as insulators between the people and thought, knowledge and truth. Neither of them depend on an appeal to reason, nor the better emotions. Their reliance is on the ignorance of their dupes and an appeal to their fears. The torments of hell and the terrors of the law are their weapons dogmatically used against the weak, the ignorant, the defenseless.

It is with painful regret that I reluctantly confess my convictions; after many years of careful and unprejudiced observations, after the majority of my 62 years of life as a worker in the church, I am conscientiously compelled to say that preachers and politicians, the Church and the State, are the banes to moral and intellectual progress.

I heard a sermon today; an introduction to a protracted religious meeting where there will be agonizing prayers to God to do the work of saving the sinners, which means, work them up to an ecstasy of emotional insanity, which the Lord never does without the psychological effect of environing numbers of singers and prayers, forming a psychological battery.

The catalogue of sins he enumerated were, the ball room, the gambling room, the saloon, swearing and gabbath breaking. Nothing was said about week day breaking, week day desecration, nothing said about the rich who violate the command to labor six days and do all their work. No denunciations of sins in high places against the poor. The Church is not only negative as to great evils, but it positively upholds and encourages every evil fostered by the State. It is first to encourage war and laud the soldier as the greatest patriot who I and other peace men are taxed to pension. I have never known the church to lead out in any reform nor condemn any great evil.

Who were the anti-slavery agitators? Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Gerret Smith, Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wm. Edeley Channing and

others of lesser lights, but every one infidels except Channing and Emerson who were Unitarians and far from being orthodox. Greely and Beecher were also sympathizers, but they were also far from being orthodox. Greely was a Universalist. The leading revolters against the English government and its oppression, Jefferson and Payne, were what were called infidels.

Who are the staunchest defenders of the present wage-slavery, and worship things as they are? Preachers and partisan politicians of whom McKinley is both. Who are the humanitarians that teach the right to life, liberty and the pursuit to happiness, who would free the people from the tyrannies of war and wage-slavery? Every one of them is a freethinker devoid of superstition and not one is a partisan politician. Who have been the martyrs afterward sainted? Every one a revolter against Church and State.

In vain have I endeavored to enlist enthusiastic religionists in humanitarian work. Their energies and enthusiasm is expended in getting rich in this world and a heaven after death.

I have in mind a kind-hearted young man who sympathizes with the sufferings of the poor, and the oppressions imposed upon them by the rich through government, who has just entered the ministry of the Methodist church, and agrees with me that Christ was more of a sociologist than a religionist, and has started out to preach practical moral sermons, but who will lose his job or be compelled to devote his studies and energies to religion. I told him he would have to "shut up his bowels of compassion" for his suffering brethren in this world and concentrate his compassion on the condition of the damned in hell or be a failure as a preacher in a popular church. What a sad commentary on the condition of so-called Christianity!

Hindsboro, Ill.

J. C. BARNES.

WARFARE AGAINST SCIENCE.

The following is an editorial from the Popular Science Monthly, and shows a realization of at least one dangerous tendency of government, or "party politics," in the editor's language, which amounts to the same thing:

"The warfare of science with theology has been amply and impressively related by such writers as Buckle, Draper, and president Andrew White; and many have supposed that science, having accomplished the warfare and come out victorious, had no other foe to fear. Another enemy has appeared in the field. That enemy is party politics, and the science it especially attacks is the highest science of all—the science of society in its various branches.

"The very essence of scientific teaching lies in its freedom. Teaching that is not free can only usurp the name of science. If the word means anything, it means the growth of the human mind toward truth, toward a true comprehension of things. The world and life furnish facts; it is for science to observe, examine, tabulate, co-ordinate those facts, and extract from them their wisest and deepest meaning. Science does this in the interest of mankind, in order that we all may understand the conditions surrounding us in the world, and apply our energies in the most profitable manner for the promotion of our own and others' happiness.

"Bearing this in mind, we may see an ominous sign of the times in an article which appears in the October number of the American Journal of Sociology, describing how the Populist party in the State of Kansas, having captured the state legislature, proceeded to make a raid on the State Agricultural College, where, after some preliminary manoeuvres, they dismissed a considerable portion of the faculty, including the president, in order to insure that the doctrines taught therein should be in line with Populist politics.

"All political control in such matters is bad. The only way to have great teachers is to seek out men who have profoundly studied their several subjects, and whose interestedness in expounding them is beyond question. Such men may commit errors, but they will give inspiration and will so educate the judgment of their pupils as to make them incline to sound and reasonable views. He who is teaching by prescription will never teach with conviction. Truth

does not need to be prescribed; it prescribes itself if it gets a chance. The greatest enemy of truth is organized self-interest. Theology did not object to cramp men's minds if it could only save their souls; but the politician would do it in order to get their votes. Good will come out of evil, however, if the lesson is brought home to the popular mind that education and politics are two things that should have as little as possible to do with one another."

Much has been said by a certain class of governmentalists about the interference of theologians with the teaching of science. But it seems never to have occurred to them that only as governors, or by influence with the government, has real interference taken place. What difference does it make whether the object of interference is religious or economical? The ultimate object is one and the same.

"The greatest enemy of truth is organized self-interest." True. And all organization represents self-interest. Thus organization is the enemy of truth, or more properly—progress. In the nature of things, organization cannot be progressive. Its effect is to tie the hands of the individual, and as a body whatever is contrary to "law" is necessarily opposed. And Progress is always in opposition to established law.

J. H. M.

NOTES.

It is never desirable to be intoxicated. Beer, wine and whisky are not the only intoxicants. The thirst for power, success, the acquisition of wealth, and the giving way to passion when prejudice or emotion are appealed to may lead to intoxication, and such intoxication is to be deplored and avoided, for when in that highly-wrought nervous condition the person affected is incapable of the careful consideration of any subject, or the exercise of reason.

Many persons seeing evils stop not to inquire for the cause but attack the evils. In their zeal they often introduce greater evils than the ones they hope to destroy. Thus the prohibitionists try to cure the evils of intoxication by closing the saloons, not seeing that drunkenness and tipping are the effects of certain causes, separate and distinct from the saloon, and that if no one drank liquor the saloons would all close. Some see the bad effects of competition among wage-earners and immediately demand the abolition of competition, not seeing that competition is the result of monopoly, and without it could not exist.

Monopoly is the result of legislation, and while it appears to control the government, and many anti-monopolists call on the government to destroy monopoly, they are extremely illogical. Government is the parent of all monopoly and will not kill its children. To abolish monopoly two things are necessary: to get many persons to not desire to be monopolists—for many who oppose monopoly would be fair monopolists—and to kill the mother of all monopolists—government.

The Loud Bill is again before the House. Mr. Loud claims that his bill is calculated to remove the deficit in the postal revenues, but no one who has looked into the matter at all can believe that it would have that result. This bill strikes at the newspapers, and seeks to prohibit sample copies, and increase the postage on all second class matter. But the newspapers, pamphlets etc., that go as second class matter are not the cause of the deficit. The real cause is this: The government—that is the congressmen and other officials—sends out 100,000,000 pounds of mail free. If that were paid for as other mail is paid for, one half of it would cost, at 16 cents a pound, \$8,000,000, while the other half at 8 cents per pound would cost \$4,000,000, or \$12,000,000 in all, or \$4,000,000 more than the deficit claimed by Mr. Loud. Mr. Loud, however, while calling for reform, fails to point out these facts and asks that the educational literature be taxed to pay this deficit, caused by congressmen sending pianos, typewriters and their speeches free by mail. The speeches are actually sent, the pianos are sent by freight and the expense charged to postage. Write to the congressman from the district in which you live protesting against the passage of this infamous bill.

Some people imagine that there is greater freedom of the press in this country than in any other. To simply assert the contrary is not convincing to a large number.

As a sample of the freedom of press in Australia, I give three advertisements clipped from Truth, a large eight paged weekly published at Sydney.

This first is to men and reads thus:

GENTS—Latest American Preventative. Simple and effectual. Lasts for years. Posted, 2s. 6d. (stamps 2s. 10d.) [Then the address is given, which we, in each case, must leave out.]

The second is to married people as follows:

TO THE MARRIED—Persons who cannot afford to keep a large family should send Four Penny Stamps for our NEW BOOK, as recommended by eminent physicians. It contains valuable information upon the important subject, "How Large Families can be Avoided." Improved edition, "Wife's Guide and Friend," 100 pages, 1s. 2d., post free. Address, —

Now consider this in connection with the prosecution of the Firebrand publishers and of Comrade Ruebush.

The third has large black letters for its heading and speaks for itself. It reads thus:

WOMAN'S SALVATION—The Wife's welfare within her own control. Book posted free. It will teach you more about prevention in ten minutes than all the years you've lived. Write

Read this, oh ye howlers about free press in America! Free press is a chimera "in the home of the free and the land of the brave." It is high time that every lover of liberty turned their batteries against interference with the press, and impressed the post office inspectors and district attorneys, by some means, with the idea that the right of free press must be respected.

* * *

As long as the assertion that we are the freest and happiest people on earth is accepted with open mouthed credulity by the down-trodden multitude, just so long will arrogant wealth press the neck of labor with the iron heel of oppression and flaunt its insolence in the face of patient toil.

* * *

"Why stand ye here all the day idle?" "Because no man has hired us."

You chumps, why don't you rebel against a system that compels you to hire out to any man, and establish one that will make self-employment possible, any and all times, and secure all of you against want? You have nothing to lose; you have all to gain; revolt then, ye idle, and ye wage slaves, and be content only with liberty or death!

* * *

I am in receipt of a letter stating that a young man in Kansas talks of coming to the Pacific Coast, thinking that the working population will have "all gone to Alaska," and consequently wages be better and work more plenty. In all probability hundreds if not thousands think the same way. Thus the transportation companies get more victims. The Alaska excitement is a big thing for the transportation companies, and in the end they are the only ones who will profit much by the Klondyke boom. No, wages have not gone up, nor work become plenty on this Coast! Poverty is not a local affair, nor are hard times. Conditions are bad everywhere.

* * *

It is a mistake to think that we are constantly seeking happiness. Happiness is intermittent, as is joy, sorrow, hope, fear and the other emotions. What we do seek is to be and to do. In striving to do something or to be something we cannot tell whether it will bring us happiness or not, and often we do not stop to consider whether it will increase or diminish our happiness. I have seen some people who delighted in being miserable, and others who craved excitement that put happiness out of the question. H. A.

* * *

THE EXPLOSION OF THE MAINE.

The destruction by an explosion of the United States warship Maine in the Havana harbor furnishes much food for reflection. To the politician, of course, the matter is important simply from the mystery in which the occurrence is shrouded. It is as yet an undecided question whether the explosion was accidental or intentional. If it proves to have been intentional, the politician will simply feign indignance at the "traitor" who in that event must have perpetrated or instigated the act and let loose his dogs of war upon the intended enemy. If it turns out to be an accident he will shrug his shoulders and favor the sending out of another man of war. But the social student looks deeper into this matter and searches for phenomena that would entirely escape the superficial politician. If accidental the explosion may be a means of awakening the people to a realization of the dangers and expenses involved in the "amusement with these

playthings," and it may tend to bring the actors and their ultimate object—the wholesale slaughter of the common people—into contempt; if intentional it may be a powerful agent of proving futility of warfare as foreshadowed in these prophetic lines of "The Coming Race or The New Utopia" by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton:

"But the effects of the alleged discovery of the means to direct the more terrible force of evil were chiefly remarkable in their influence upon social polity. As these effects became familiarly known and skilfully administered, war between the vril-discoverers ceased, for they brought the art of destruction to such perfection as to annul all superiority in numbers, discipline, or military skill. The fire lodged in the hollow of a rod directed by the hand of a child could shatter the strongest fortress, or cleave its burning way from the van to the rear of an embattled host. If army met army, and both had command of this agency, it would be but to the annihilation of each. The age of war was therefore gone, but with the cessation of war other effects bearing upon the social state soon became apparent. Man was so completely at the mercy of man, each whom he encountered being able, if so willing, to slay him on the instant, that all notions of government by force gradually vanished from political systems and forms of law."

The loss of the lives of about four hundred able-bodied men who under rational social conditions might still be enjoying life and co-operating with their fellow beings in lightening each other's burdens is nothing short of a social crime. Yet so deep is the popular superstition regarding the worse than cannibalistic practice of the wholesale murder of human beings called war, that under ordinary circumstances, that is during an actual war, the average citizen would not consider the loss of a hundred times the number of the victims of the sad fated ship in question of much greater importance than the loss of so many rats. Anomalous as it may seem, it is only because the explosion of this battleship and its consequent great loss of life occurred in times of so-called peace that it attracts the attention and commands itself to the reflection of the average citizen. But why so? Would not the lives of these four hundred victims be just as good and their existence just as valuable to themselves and their fellow beings in war times as in times of peace? Most decidedly. But here enters our early training and perverted education by which we have been saturated with the abominable superstition of patriotism. Under this hallucination a wonderful transformation of sentiments and principles takes place in the heart and mind of the average citizen. What is ordinarily recognized and abhorred as murder is considered sacred when committed under the cloak of patriotism. A simple physical combat between two individuals even without serious results is looked upon as brutal, and justly so. But when this same act is committed a thousandfold with fatal results, as it is in war, the cloak of patriotism is thrown over the perpetrators and their names are hallowed. Yet what is this patriotism? It is the egotistical theory of the superiority of a certain numbers of people inhabiting a certain portion of the earth and of the inferiority of all the rest of humanity; a theory which has led these egotistical people to draw arbitrary, artificial, geographical lines between themselves and the rest of mankind.

With the evolution of man from the militant to the industrial type, however, it is beginning to dawn upon the race that all human beings belong to one species,—that of man; that nature has placed at man's disposal resources ample to maintain in comfort all inhabitants of the earth; that all barriers artificially placed between them, such as national boundaries leading to the superstition of patriotism, are but the means of diverting the attention of human beings from the misdeeds of a comparatively few base ambitious schemers who thus manage to keep the people of the earth antagonizing each other, instead of attacking and destroying their common enemy; these very schemers who have managed to usurp man's natural resources and keep their fingers in the peoples' pockets and their claws upon the peoples' throats; that it is much pleasanter and therefore wiser and better for all peoples of the earth to live in harmony with each other enjoying the benefits of universal equity and co-operation, and to abolish these artificial national boundaries, dealing the deathblow to this terrible phantom—patriotism, to this great cause of so much human woe, to this "last resort of the scoundrel."

S. D.

A FULL SALVATION.

The universal poverty of the working people all over the world is not due to the will of God, but to robber laws and inhuman customs and beliefs derived from dark ages of barbarism. The people who made these laws in ignorance, will repent of them in sorrow and repudiate them of necessity. The repudiation and condemnation of these laws is an essential part of the plan of salvation. Of what use would salvation be unless it saved us from poverty, slavery and injustice? It would be like Cuban autonomy under Spanish rule, or salvation in sulphur under the rule of the devil. Christ cannot save this world unless he saves it from landlords and Shylocks, and from the government of gold. The New Dispensation unfolds the whole plan of salvation, both physical and spiritual. Salvation means the redemption of the body as well as the soul. Mental freedom is incompatible with physical slavery.

* * *

It is true, there have been opportunities in this country for the poor to become independent. There was a whole continent, a new world of free land opened to settlement, and the stream of poverty ever flowing westward was absorbed, and surplus labor found new fields. This free land has been a place of refuge for the oppressed of Europe for centuries; but now the curse of landlordism has covered this whole continent with poverty similar to that of Europe. And the flood of poverty increases and threatens to become a raging sea.

Whether the fall of Babylon will involve terrible destruction of property and loss of life, or whether the war will be one of mental and spiritual forces, is a difficult problem to solve. The destruction of life already is awful; millions of people have died of starvation in the last few years, and the death rate will increase in the same ratio as the prosperity of the Shylocks and monopolists. When the pressure reaches the point of explosion, there will be a hot time in the old town some night.

* * *

Whether such rascals as Rockefeller, who donate a small percentage of their stealings to God, are trying to fool God or to fool the people, or are deceiving themselves, is a psychological problem of considerable interest. The teaching of theological dogmas instead of direct truth, has created all kinds of moral and immoral monstrosities that would require an experienced naturalist to classify.

* * *

Capitalism teaches that poverty is caused by idleness. Those who teach this, live in idleness themselves, off the labor of those they deceive. It is true that some of the poor are poorer than others on account of idleness, but all the workers all over the world are poor. Idleness does not make the rich poor; it makes them fat. Work does not make a poor man rich any more than it makes a poor horse fat. The rich do not perform the world's labor; the working animals, the masses and the machinery do it. When the masses cease to be asses the rich will lose their most valuable ass-sets.

* * *

Capitalism teaches that poverty is caused by extravagance. This is true; the extravagance and luxury of the idle rich cause the poverty of the poor, for all wealth is created and sustained by labor. We are also taught that poverty is caused by ignorance. This is especially true; but what is the cause of ignorance? Here it is: education is controlled by capitalism, and it is to the interest of the ruling class to keep the people in ignorance of the most vital facts of life. Capitalism depends for its existence on ignorance; and now the battle is on this line, and all the powers of darkness are leagued in one confederacy to prevent the light of truth and justice from reaching the minds and souls of the people. It is the last plague but one, the plague of darkness; and next will come the angel of destruction and deliverance.—The New Dispensation.

* * *

ATTENTION RADICALS.

Men and women wanted, who are free from all superstition, who are Anarchist Communists and New Idealists, and wish to live out their ideas as far as possible under the present system, to start and join an Anarchist Communist, New Idealist Colony. Address, enclosing stamp, Box 218. Wm. P. Austin, Plano, Calif.

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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.

The publication of the statement of "The Firebrand Defence and Publication Fund" was overlooked through haste last week and will be found on page 8 of this issue.

THINGS AND THOUGHTS.

The desire for change and variety is natural with some persons, but often leads them to the disregard of the old and tried, thus often resulting in disaster.

Methods that are highly advisable today may be worse than useless tomorrow.

If we could only allow the freedom to others we claim for ourselves, much misunderstanding would be avoided.

The priest and the politician are twins in deception and crime.

The man who thinks the "other fellow" ought to be taxed, but tries to avoid paying his own, is as vicious as the meanest capitalist on earth.

The man who willingly pays his taxes, believing it his duty to his country, is as foolish as the devotee who gives his hard earned pennies to the priest.

It is hard to show most people that the very foundation of the present system of society is an error, but this we must do if any beneficial change in social arrangements are to be effected.

When you read in a plutocratic paper that times are prosperous, don't get mad and say "fool!" for from the point of view of that paper times are prosperous. Remember, however, the prosperity of the class represented by the plutocrats is always the result of the adversity of the toilers. It follows, then, that they are prosperous now.

There is a strong analogy between the person who looks to "beyond the tomb" for relief, and the fellow who looks to "when our party gets into power" for prosperity.

Lawyers are a legitimate product of our present social arrangements. That they in turn become upholders and promoters of present arrangements cannot be denied, especially when elected to legislative bodies, but why elect legislative bodies? Don't you see that in so doing you are creating a demand for lawyers? Let the useful and productive classes withhold their sanction and support from the making and executing of laws for awhile and see how quickly lawyers will learn another occupation.

Hard and bitter experience seems necessary to teach us how to treat ourselves and each other. If we can only profit by our experience, thus avoiding the mistakes of the past, happy are we.

Intolerance and Anarchy are as foreign to each other as faith in God and Atheism.

Begin the work of reconstruction by rooting out all desire to boss or interfere with others. This can be done by suppressing such desire whenever it springs up. By so doing you set an example to the children, which, if coupled with a promulgation of the ideas of freedom, will tend to reduce in them any desire to control or impose on others.

We cannot too carefully train the minds of the children away from current superstitions, fallacies and beliefs. They ought never to be taught that the ba-

bies come from heaven or a cabbage head, nor that Santa Claus brings them presents Christmas. It is worse than folly to threaten them with the police, or to speak of kings or princes as being more important than hod carriers, or miners, or other useful workers; in fact a difference should be made in favor of the latter.

The person who can see no good in the Labor Exchange and the one who can see no good outside of it both stand on the same light—a partial one that only reveals half of the object under contemplation. There is much good in it, and much good out of it. Let us then be friendly and exchange views in a spirit of fraternity. We may thus be able to co-operate in our war on present wrongs, and make war together on the common enemy.

The wealth producers should never be at enmity with each other, but at all times recognize their common enemy, entrenched privilege, and seek by united effort to dislodge its beneficiaries and abolish the power that protects it. Life is too short to waste in fruitless wrangles, or profitless quibbles. H. A.

The Loud bill which failed to pass the Senate last session is pushed again and will, of course, be pushed until its passage. The real aim of representative Loud, who in fact represents nobody but a few plutocrats, is to keep radical literature out of circulation, in order that the parasites may not be disturbed in their blood-sucking occupation. Still the reform press does not seem to realize the consequences of this bill and how as loud as ever before about our "glorious" postal system, while in fact the postmasters of this country have already more power than any censor of Western Europe. Let this bill pass and our "reformers" will then elect "their man" to repudiate the bill.

When Russia commenced to scheme in this country concerning the extradition treaty, I repeatedly called the attention of the Populists to this outrageous machination, but they replied, "that treaty will never be made," and did not consider it of any importance. When the treaty became a law they again consoled themselves with the phrase, "that treaty will never be enforced anyway." Thus the American workman is dreaming away while his masters are busy in forging his fetters.

Such articles as "The Land," which appeared last week, are encouraging phenomena in the reform press, tending to open the eyes of the people to the real remedy for our social evils. So far all the proposed remedies were nothing more than mere palliatives and not worth consideration. The agitation for free land will lead the intelligent reformer to the logical conclusion that, to be a free and independent individual, production and distribution, consumption and enjoyment must also be free from restrictions and monopolies. The repudiation of law and authority, and the establishment of a condition in which every man, woman and child have an equal opportunity to enjoy life, is the medicine which will cure our ills.

Mr. Armstrong, editor of the Autonomist, asserts that FREE SOCIETY confounds "religion with the organization of religion." Armstrong is somewhat confused in his ideas and suspects every other man of the same who happens to use other expressions or terms. We never argued against "all the fears and hopes that make the unmixed evil of existence at all tolerable," or against "emotions," but it is understood that when we argue against religion it means "the organization of religion;" against the religion that dominates and burns those at the stake who do not worship in the same fashion or manner as they do.

"There is but One—Unknowable and Eternal; and Religion is the longing of the exiled soul to return to its source," says Armstrong. I sincerely doubt that he would be able to analyze this phrase. I cannot conceive of a "One," that is "Unknowable." If he knows that there is "One," the one is not unknowable any more. As to "the longing of the exiled soul to return to its source," I cannot quarrel with him. I myself never felt the longing, on the contrary, I always dread to "return," because I like to live, but what longing my exiled soul (who exiled it?) may have, I cannot tell. A. I.

METAPHYSICAL RUBBISH.

We have all heard of the person who "talks through his hat," no doubt, but thinking through a wall or across a continent is a new perpetration by the editor of the "New Dispensation," a social reformer via the metaphysical route. Possibly we have at last definitely located the first named individual in the person of the second. He says, giving a "first lesson in metaphysics:"

"You cannot put two bottles or lamps or stoves in the same space at once. Two solid bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time. But if you light two lamps, the light all goes together into one light. If you heat two stoves, the heat all combines in one volume. Mind penetrates through solid bodies more rapidly than light. You can think of a person through a wall or across a continent as easily as you can look through a pane of glass."

His statements of physics are true and demonstrable; but the very first break he makes at metaphysics, he loses his head completely. But he has anticipated this criticism by saying in another place that "to the average person pure truth means pure nonsense or nothing." But truth will bear investigation, and we will examine his statement just a little to see if it isn't shaky.

We are confronted at once with the inference that, if when we think of a person on the opposite side of a wall the thought actually penetrates the wall and reaches that person, as his statement obviously implies, then the object of all thought must really have an existence, otherwise it is unthinkable. From such a conclusion, no doubt, comes the statement, which I have often heard, that the impossible is unthinkable. Then when I think of a god, or a devil, or any sort of a spook, the spook really exists, and the thought will penetrate worlds and space until the spook is found.

All physical tests have failed to find God. But the metaphysical method seems to be especially adapted to god-hunting. You have only to think, and the thing is done. The trouble is, you don't know any more about your god after finding him than you did before. J. H. M.

BIBLE TEACHING UP TO DATE.

"The law worketh wrath: for where no law is, there is no transgression."

Eighteen hundred and ninety eight years of the Christianity invented, taught and maintained by barons and priests, as an improvement on the teachings of Jesus, Paul, etc., is about long enough to open the eyes of Labor as to the real cause of the wrath brought upon them. The glaring difference between St. Paul and the barons and priests, is sufficient to lead enquirers to see the truth. Paul worked with his own hands and was not chargeable to anyone. Barons and parsons are just as boastful as St. Paul, only their boast is that they will not work with their own hands, but concoct laws to enable them to be chargeable to all who Labor, and have been so successful that they have most effectually robbed the poor of all rights, even the right to live!

Consider also what a weak fool the devil was in Paul's day, as compared with the improved, or perhaps more civilized devil of this year of grace 1898. He—the devil—was only on a level with the Roman laws; and, of course, the "old gentleman" has kept well up with the times, and it is a pretty sharp pace considering new laws are now made by the thousands annually; in fact so fast that no lawyer can keep trace of them; none of them know the law, but they get the coin all the same.

The time has surely come when Labor must assert, regain and maintain its rights, refuse to submit to man-made-law, or forever give up the fight; no half measures will avail now. "To be or not to be, that is the question," as Hamlet put it; now, Labor to live or not to live, this is the question!

Miller and Lux hold 14,539,180 acres of land, a larger area than Belgium, as large as Bavaria. Barons and priests hand in hand, can prove anything they please by the aid of the bible—their God, only they never refer to "the land shall not be sold forever," nor to one per cent usury bringing about hard times, as in old fashioned, honest Nehemiah's time!!

Surely insanity has reached its acute point, when men will at the cost of a thousand dollars rush to Klondike with terrible risk of life to gather a few hands full of yellow metal, so that they may return to this salubrious climate and provide themselves with a

home for the rest of their lives, probably by purchasing land from some one who never made it, and holds no right to it but that of might. If men can claim a portion of the land in the Yukon in which to search for gold, common sense, common justice holds that they could claim a portion of unused land in California and establish a lovely home, in less time than that required for the Alaska trip—even on the lines that might be right with regard to land, which is most certainly the gospel of today. Then groups of sturdy men could combine and make homes on unused land in this State with less risk to life than the North Western fortune hunters incur.

Would it not be advisable to establish a central office in each State, to which notice might be sent of anticipated foreclosures of farms, stating all particulars, inviting assistance in holding the land for use, and away from vampires, and noting also contiguous land held out of use, that would be suitable if the group considered a rectification of boundary necessary, as the great European land grabbers so often find advisable in this progressive age? Ideas solicited!

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Those who desire to read "The Modern Inquisition of Spain" should write to Comrade N. Notkin, 242 N. Second Street, Philadelphia, Pa., enclosing a one cent postal stamp.

Comrade Henry Addis writes that the hearing of the motion for a new trial has been postponed again until Feb. 25. Comrade Pope will not be sentenced, I suppose, before our motion is made, and if a new trial should not be granted we will be sentenced jointly.

Our comrades in Australia seem to be active again in spite of the continual persecutions and imprisonments they have to endure. They have sent us a circular from which we clip the following extract:

"Comrades;—After another year of battling for Socialistic principles we tell you we fight in a winning cause and for the good of Humanity.

"We have no faith whatever in a system that produces rascally politicians, Parliamentary humbugs, banking traps, Exchange jobbers, land, farm and household grabbers, jingo imperialists, shoddy lords and aristocrats, mining sharks, chambers of commerce boodlers, Joint Stock robbers, Shent per Shenters, abettors of starvation, manufacturers of prostitution and criminal classes, multitudes of paupers, hypocritical church organizations, and other ghastly plutocratic institutions.

"To ourselves, to the people, we look for a change, and for Social Salvation; we will not beg from men no better than ourselves, the permission to earn a scanty living in Australia.

"We remain the straight out enemies of the Fat Man and the Vampire Class, and reiterate our undying hostility to all their capitalistic monopolies and combinations, private and public, in City, Suburb and Bush.

"If we are irreconcilable it is the result of our experience of Australian politics, and if we are a Secret Society and uncomfortable people, our movement is but the effect of causes that will have yet to be met. We believe in the motto "He that is not with us, is against us; to the end be the struggle and to the winners the fruits of victory."

The daily papers in Sydney have at last discovered that the Anarchists are not fire-spitting dragons, but men who do not even resent the intrusion of a reporter of the daily press. The reporter who attended an Anarchist conference in Sydney, remarks among other things:

"For alley-ways that are dark, and passages that puzzle, the Sydney Anarchist is peculiar. If he were a cunning, dangerous customer, one would expect mystery as to his haunts, but he actually provokes publicity, and walks forth into the light—a mild and normal youth. There were half-a-dozen of him altogether last night, when our reporter arrived on the scene. They met in a small, stuffy, ill-lit room down the Haymarket way.

"The trail of Sheriff Martin and his deputies at Wilkesbarre, Pa., indicates that the Lattimer shooting was the most horrible atrocity that has been perpetrated in this country's history. Viewed in the most

unbiased light, the conclusion must be reached that the deputies are guilty of deliberate murder. To those who naturally sympathize with the strikers, Martin's thugs appear more like fiends incarnate that have escaped from hell to sow misery among the children of earth. They belong to the "best people," too, the red-handed butchers. What a pity that the peaceable marchers were not armed, so that they might have fought and died like men instead of being slaughtered like fleeing sheep.—Cleveland Citizen.

The Citizen is to be admired for its bold language in regard to resisting the outrages of the government, but is badly mistaken when it says, that "when the laborers will elect their most fanatical agitators as sheriffs, mayors, judges, etc., no such wholesale murders will ever occur." The slave was usually the best slave driver, and the poor politician is the greatest boodler when elected to an office. After the Socialists had elected and given a trial to the chief of police in Bern, Switzerland, they admitted that he was the worst chief the city had had for a long time past, and when the Socialists elected all the councilmen in Marseille, France, they expropriated the municipal funds in such a barefaced manner, and boodled in the city council became so prominent, that the citizens demanded their resignation.

The Citizen has yet to learn that it is the system which causes such evils, and not the political views of individuals.

"Man out of work and out of money, long time in need, with a family, will work at anything, if only 50 cents a day; good appearance with reference. v 17, Item office."

Thus runs an advertisement in the Philadelphia Item. The chattel slaves had to be captured by brute force in Africa, and were sold for a high price to those who needed laborers. Today the slaves offer themselves voluntarily and yet nobody wants them. The quicker such a system is swept off the earth the better; even if the sweeping should cause some disaster.

According to the latest reports an investigation is to be made by the Spanish government into the cruelties and tortures perpetrated upon some alleged Anarchists in the Montjuich prison. After this case had created universal sensation, three conservative Spanish papers, "El Pais," "El Progreso" and "El Nuevo Regimen" started an agitation and published articles under such headings as, "The Inquisition in Spain," "A National Disgrace," etc., which gradually brought such pressure to bear upon parties directly and indirectly concerned in the perpetration of these barbarities, that they are at last obliged—in order to at least preserve the appearance of a disposition to fairness—to cause an investigation. That this investigation will be any fairer than any other class proceedings of this character is hardly to be anticipated, but it is at any rate gratifying to notice the honest tendency of the public this case.

The regular meeting of the Universal Equity Club, held at 997 Market st., Monday evening Feb. 14, was the most successful and enthusiastic ever held since the club was organized. All sides represented their views with that earnestness and vigor which betokens a desire to discover truths and facts without respect to persons, creeds or long established superstitions which deny the freedom of thought. All "isms" were extended an impartial hearing before the "bar of justice" and left to fall or stand according to their merits. One christian woman drove a nail into her coffin by declaring (at the close of the meeting) in words to the effect that the chairman "ought to be a christian or be killed by the Devil." A few other women could not stand the truth presented and left the hall, but they were of the "cultured class" and are entitled to our pity. But it was gratifying to see a number of the young intelligent girls acting as true heroines in taking part in the discussion and remaining to the close of the contest.

Several persons were under the impression that freedom of love means the prostitution of woman's person by every libertine who chooses to propose to her, but they were given a "clincher" by the closing speaker who informed them that freedom of love meant independence for woman, and her privilege to repulse the advances of any and every man. J. A. G.

On Friday evening the 18th inst. Comrade Klemen-

cic delivered his third lecture, taking for his subject "Labor Unions in a Future Society." The speaker was very logical and made several very good points. An interesting discussion followed. See announcement on 8th page for the last lecture. J. W.

Various Voices.

Daniel Funk, Larned, Kans.—You ask all non-paying readers of FREE SOCIETY to report and give their reasons for their non-payment. And now, as a great many other men do, I must lay my cause for delinquency upon someone else, my victim being Viroqua Daniels. Through her acquaintance with a brother of mine in Oregon, in whose neighborhood she used to live, she sent me some of her Anarchist literature. I was pleased to receive it and much pleased with the courtesy of the girl. I know very little concerning Anarchy except that which was given by its traducers and their ignorant and wilful misrepresentatives. Some years ago I learned that the proper way to investigate any subject was to read and investigate the literature and arguments of those who were advocating the cause. I read for information, and now I have a pretty clear idea of Anarchist-Communism. I am not an Anarchist for the reason that I can not see that human nature is ready for it, yet I concede that it is the highest type of society that this world can ever attain, and could it be put in practice, we would then have the millennium on earth as spoken of in the bible.

I have been much interested, and it has caused me to be a defender of Anarchists and "Philosophical Anarchy," as I call it to those with whom I talk. When The Firebrand was started, Miss Daniels sent in my name and I received it up to the time it was suppressed and always read it with interest. When The Firebrand asked for word from those who were not paying, I wrote to the group in very much the same strain that I have in this, and further saying that my circumstances were such that I did not have means to spare, as I am very much of a cripple, not able to work; have three small boys to clothe, feed and educate, and have to depend solely on the income from a little millinery store my wife keeps down town. My situation is unchanged; I said to the Firebrand that I did not like to be a "dead beat" and receive something for nothing and to drop me. I received a very kindly letter from Henry Addis, saying, as I was interested, they would continue to send the paper, which they did. And I say to you that I feel it is not right that I should continually receive your literature without contributing to the cause, so for your own good, you would better drop my name; and I continue to represent Anarchists and Anarchism in the true light all the same.

I am very sorry for the Firebrand group, and condemn all parties interested in their persecution, for prosecution it is not, as they have violated no law.

I always especially admired all articles and criticisms from the pen of Henry Addis, and would write to him if I knew his address, and had any assurance that he would get it instead of being intercepted by his persecutors.

There is an impending crisis near at hand, and I fear a bloody revolution. A change for the better must come soon; if not in a peaceable manner, then it must come in the old way.—Success to your cause, and may it cause mankind to read, think and investigate until they can reason, instead of following blind and ignorant prejudice.

Mrs. A. E. J., Dunbar, Pa.—Since there are so many Anarchists who claim that the ticklish sex question will solve itself as soon as the economical problem is settled, I will submit to them the following questions:

- 1) Will the economical question ever be solved, if we do not discuss the merits of government and monopoly?
- 2) Will we ever realize a free condition, if we do not try to rid the minds of the people from the superstition of God, king and priestcraft?
- 3) If it is a good policy to leave the sex question alone, is it not just as logical for the S. L. P. to ignore religion and other topics of social relations?
- 4) Since the time of Plato many attempts to solve the social question practically have been a failure, even where they repudiated private property. The Socialist historians tell us that the communistic community in Bohemia was a great success economically, but failed on account of family life. Why did these people not establish essential sex relations when they had solved the economical question? Was it not superstition?

THE EMANCIPATION OF SOCIETY FROM GOVERNMENT.

BY DALLAN DOYLE.

(Continued from last week.)

CHAPTER II.

So much horror is being heaped upon the ancients, so much darkness is being attributed to the primitive man, and in such hideous colors is the life of savages being described by the christian maniacs, that the average man cannot but speak with contempt of those who lived before the christian era. And yet, while we boast so much of this civilization of ours, while we grow so eloquent on the so-called justice and integrity of our existing institutions, and while popular government is considered the greatest achievement of the age, it might be well to look back to primitive social life. It may as well be said right here, that popular government was in vogue much earlier than we think it was. Long ere that memorable event which has been so much harped upon by Fourth of July orators, had occurred; long ere the Hon. George Washington drove the Englishmen from this blessed land of ours, the savages enjoyed a degree of freedom which might have been a credit to the most civilized communities today.

If we really think that self-government is man's greatest boon in life, then we may expect "the red spot of shame mount our cheeks"—as some one I know would put it—while we look over the pages of ethnography which point out how long ago savages enjoyed the same boon.

L. H. Morgan, in his treatise on "Evolutionary Ethnology" says: "If we are believers in the general principle of self-government and consider it the greatest achievement of the modern man, then we shall be astonished to find out how often it has been obtained by nations which we deem much inferior to ourselves. Savages live in a degree of freedom and enjoy an absence of restraint which well may kindle the enthusiasm of the youthful reader of Fennimore Cooper, and promote melancholy reflections in many a people who feel overgoverned." (1.)

Such freedom, and such absence of government interference is characteristic of the primitive social life, that one must be either ignorant or unwilling to admit the truth to question the possibility of social life among civilized men without government restraint.

Thus we see that there were times when savages, barbarians—as some are fond of putting it—have lived without government. Even their chiefs who were chiefs only in time of war, found their occupation gone after the war was over. But as time rolled on the man in power began to find more employment. He had to look out, if not for the general welfare, at least for the benefit of some powerful class whose influence was necessary in order to retain the position of the chief. Property then became a more potent factor in society. It went on increasing in amount and in quality. Property increased in proportion to the increase of intelligence and the facilities of work. With the increase of property there was an increase of riches and an increase of poverty. Some had too much and others had nothing. Some had more than they could use and others had nothing to use. Here government begins to peep in with all its hideousness. It is only a new born babe, but with prospects to live and grow. It cannot perish. There is some occupation for it. There is accumulated riches and abject want. There is a desire to accumulate more and more, and a desire to gratify the natural wants. Here government finds a necessity to exist and it begins to grow. The necessity to protect invaders in their ill-gotten wealth makes the authority of a chief more permanent. "The men in authority, the strong, took more than their shares, the weak growing constantly weaker, the poor becoming either paupers or slaves." (2.)

Thus we come to a new phase in human society. When riches became abundant and the men in power impoverished and enslaved the weak, the interests of the members in human society began to grow diametrically opposite. The great merits which were the seeds of social life and the intense sympathy which subsequently resulted from the relations of man with man were being gradually destroyed.

That natural factor which is undoubtedly the most considerable in the maintenance of peace and harmony in human society, was finally trampled under heel; human solidarity gave place to class distinction.

Gradually the friendly and sympathetic feelings of man to man, were subdued by the desire to accumulate wealth and power. The good feelings of olden days became a thing of the past. It was no longer a matter of personal satisfaction to see all neighbors free and independent. It was now a matter of command and obey. Some wished to command and others had to obey. The history of government dates from then. From that time till the present age we see a constant movement, in which we observe two classes, one struggling to gain power, while the other is trying its utmost to revolt against that power and be free. The history of that double movement is tragic in the extreme. No one will ever know the worst of that tragedy, for, over the suffering of all the helpless there hangs a silence which no one can conquer. Only now and then some historian points out the horror of government, and these horrors are enough to arouse the contempt and indignation of every man whose mind has not been totally darkened by political superstition. Incomplete as the histories of governments may be, in as much as the most wicked crimes thereof have been suppressed, still, while tracing it with an independent mind we can see that even the most plausible justification for the existence of government is a mere palpable lie.

What becomes of the plea for government, which is based upon the assumption that governments exist for the purpose of preserving nations from civil wars, when we find that the history of England is full of civil wars? If the only justification for the existence of government were its best one, say if the justification of an existing government were its ability to maintain peace, what becomes of that so-called sacred institution, when we find that no less than "thirty kings and two minors have reigned in England, that distracted kingdom, since the conquest." (3.) Does government fulfill its promise when instead of peace it creates war? "Since the conquest," says Thomas Paine, "no less than eight civil wars (including revo-

lutions), and nineteen rebellions have taken place in England." What then? What, when instead of peace it creates war? Does it not then destroy the very foundation upon which its most plausible justification places it?

Again we see what a mere superstition it is to speak with reverence of an institution which has not only failed to do any good, but has so positively wronged the whole human race. But the power of superstition, caused by undisturbed association of ideas, is lulling all objections of the heart and of the brain, and bids good morning to the most unpardonable wretches who manage our government. In spite of the endless chain of the most positive evidence furnished by science and by history, few people are able to believe that anything short of a standing army can strongly influence a people. In spite of all facts of history to the contrary, a majority of people still believe it is necessary to have a police force and a standing army to influence the people. And yet we need only look over the pages of history to see how inefficient a police force is to influence a people; while the force of ideas was at all times a factor which defied even the instincts of nature. That the force of prevailing ideas is a power which directs the whole tenor of human life is shown by numerous instances. I will, however, relate only one instance which is being so seldom mentioned in our current literature for the purpose of showing how vast the power of prevailing ideas is in determining human conduct.

When sacrifices of children were made to Moloch, we are told it was necessary that parents should offer them voluntarily; otherwise the gift was of no avail. And the result was as George Rawlinson tells us—"The parents stopped the cries of their children by fondling and kissing them, for the victim ought not to weep, and the sound of the complaint was drowned in the din of flutes and kettledrums. Mothers, according to Plutarch, stood by without tears or sobs; if they wept or sobbed they lost the honor of the sacrifice, and their children were sacrificed notwithstanding." Such is the power of ideas! Year after year the great metal image with its fierce internal fire, stretched out its arms, and mothers without the feeling of pity so natural to the mother of today, brought their innocent babes and delivered them into the fire which so mercilessly burned away all the beauty, all the loveliness with which a child adorns its mother nowadays. Such is the power of superstition! It seems almost incredible and yet it is true.

As soon as man had lost his right to be free as a matter of custom, that is to say, as soon as he had lost his right to resist his chiefs or the chiefs' appointed, his downward path was certain. Gradually all respect for those who were weak and poor has vanished. We find, therefore, that nothing becomes too bad for the slave. To kill a slave because he brings a bad message to his master, is the most ordinary thing. No mercy, nay more, no justice for the poor. And the present cruelties from which there is no appeal, the present hardships for which there is no remedy as a matter of fact, are direct descendants of the past. The fact that a poor woman unable to earn a loaf of bread takes one without paying for it and is put to prison heedless of all crying appeals for justice, proves beyond any doubt that we pass all the cruelties to which the poor are subjected with the same impunity as that which characterized those who regarded the killing of a slave for no crime at all as an ordinary thing. The fact that we call ourselves civilized does not do away with that heartlessness with which we look upon the treatment of a poor man, nay an honest one gets in the clutches of law. Just as the mother of the past chloroformed by the superstition of her age, looked on without shedding a tear while her child was being burned to death, so do we, chloroformed by the superstitions of our own age, look on at the manipulations of a Mark Hanna machine called a "court of justice," without lifting a finger to stop its bloody deeds. Even today, civilized as we may be called, there are men who profess to be liberal, men who profess to be honest, who have the audacity to say that a thing is right till the court finds it to be wrong. After looking over all these facts of the past and of the present, I ask, is there a power which regulates human conduct more vigorously than the power of established ideas?

1 and 2.—See "Ethnography"—Encyclopedia Britannica.

3.—See David Hume's "History of England."

CHAPTER III.

That ideas have at all times had the most powerful influence upon the social relations of men is true, but that they were fundamental and eternal is not true. That man has always made a custom of what appears to him right is true, but that such customs have never been changed, is not true. In proportion as he progressed man was at variance with the established customs. And we might without difficulty fill volumes with instances tending to show how baseless it is to believe that social life has at all times necessitated the existence of government, as it is common to assume today. That the existing conceptions are beyond question is one of the most gigantic fallacies upon which the necessity of government still rests in the minds of some. Not only do races differ in social relations, but even their conceptions of right and wrong, heroism and cowardice, beauty and ugliness, differ so materially that one might despair of ever finding a rational conception of truth. What was at one time considered right, heroic and beautiful, was at another considered wrong, cowardly and ugly. Hence these beautiful sayings—"The infidels of one age have often been the aureoled saints of the next." "The destroyers of the old are the builders of the new." "The history of intellectual progress is written in the lives of infidels." "Liberty has been achieved by traitors, and intellectual light by heretics." (1.)

In short, scanty as our histories are, they are filled with stubborn things otherwise called facts, facts that force us either to deny the truth or to give up our reverence for the old and welcome the new. Having submitted to that painful sacrifice of abandoning that which we have cherished from childhood, we say together with the great positivist, August Comte, "the mind has consented to be the minister of the heart, but that mind shall never again become its slave. We are tired of worshipping the old. No good can come from following the hypocrisy of the Church or the tyranny of the State." Thus by casting aside the old we find a new idea which born from conviction, urges us onward, right onward, with the earnestness and zeal which truth alone can inspire.

We find that our clinging to the old is simply a stumbling block which ob-

structs social progress, and instead of making human nature a perpetual obstacle to change, as we have hitherto made it, our nature may become the very instrument for the realization of new ideas, new thoughts and new social relations. There is hardly a factor in human society which can more powerfully influence our relations than the pseudo imitating ideas.

In the course of human development ideas have undergone many changes, changes that would seem at first sight incredibly absurd. These changes, however having occurred, it is not difficult to demonstrate them. Proceeding from the generally recognized truth, social evolution, which Herbert Spencer has so positively demonstrated, we can now assign causes to nearly all changes hitherto discovered. We have no difficulty, for example, in finding the cause of religion. We can, comparatively speaking, easily assign a cause to the existence of harmony in societies where neither government nor religion reigns. Evolutionary science, headed by Charles Darwin and the best known scientists of our age, has not only brought to light the admirable adaptivity of organisms to their conditions of life, but it has also illuminated the way of the ensuing development of such faculties as to render social and individual life so complete that all arbitrary interference of government will be a thing of the past.

Evolutionary philosophy has familiarized us with the circumstance that throughout the period of human development man becomes more capable to carry on life in common, while he becomes less capable to gratify his natural wants apart from the community. We see that Herbert Spencer, whom we may consider one of the greatest exponents of the philosophy of evolution, comes to the very same conclusions about the individual and society to which Proudhon and Bakunin came.

But those who follow the path of evolutionary science are apt to run into the let-them-alone policy and imagine that they are scientific followers of the natural laws. They are apt to think since corn grows unquestionably, and no corn can grow from the seed of potatoes, of what good is it to care and try when once we place the proper seeds in the proper places? Nevertheless, every agriculturist knows that the let-them-alone policy is not advisable, and that the crop directly depends upon the intelligent care paid its thriving. Our children also grow, and it may even be admitted that in nine cases out of ten it would be better to let them grow alone rather than to submit them to the attention of a good many public and private schools; but can we assume that no education at all is preferable to even the smallest amount of rational education? (2.)

Of course we cannot say that because two things are natural it would be advisable to let-them-alone even though we know positively they will destroy each other. Hence, a man with an independent mind can utilize the researches of a Charles Darwin and a Herbert Spencer to demonstrate the inefficiency of their conclusions. We can make use of Herbert Spencer's "Data of Ethics" to demonstrate that the growth of moral conduct among men is natural and that government and religion have only been obstacles in the way, which have prevented men from achieving the most perfect conception of morality—a conception that comes only from natural causation. We may also use Herbert Spencer's "The Study of Sociology" to demonstrate the possibility of social life without government interference. We may utilize Herbert Spencer's "Specialized Administration" to prove that "the truth, that in conditions of mutual dependence brought about by social life, there invariably grow up such arrangements that each secures his own ends by ministering to the ends of others, seems to have been for a long time one of those open secrets which remain so secret because they are so open." But, when we follow Herbert Spencer, we must also bear in mind that there is a slippery road which leads to the let-them-alone policy—a policy which becomes a mere absurdity when applied concretely.

One thing, however, seems certain according to all the leading exponents of evolutionary philosophy, namely: that however varying the course of progress may be, its tendency is to higher developments and greater achievements notwithstanding all oppositions of superstition and tyranny, religion and government, the Church and the State. In spite of all forces which try to keep us down to the old, there is a constant drifting away from it, which, insignificant as it may seem at first, is quite considerable when we compare the ages. There is no denying that man is gradually becoming better adjusted to social life, and that he is growing more human and less brutal every day.

Throughout the course of human development, we see that, spontaneously and unconsciously, man co-operates with his fellow men and his gain from such co-operation becomes greater every day. We then see him become conscious of that gain, contract freely and fulfill his contracts without fear of either Church or State. (3.)

Such, in short, is the course of human development, and the Church and the State are institutions for which there is no room in society except to protect invaders and plunder the non-invasive for the gratification of scoundrels and thieves who are too lazy to work for a living. Otherwise there is no room for government. Social life always kept on its course without government. The truly human and natural conception of morality has grown, not only without the aid of government, but even in spite of all government hindrances and government burdens. The greatest achievements in industry, literature and art, are the results of "spontaneous co-operation." Every function for gratifying the needs of man is here, much against the ingenuity of government. Take engineering, medicine, astronomy and their consequent achievements which so immensely serve us today, has not the government done its utmost to crush them out? Take the newspaper—"From the war correspondent whose letters give to the very nations that are fighting their only trustworthy accounts of what is being done, down to the newsboy who brings around the third edition with the latest telegrams; the whole organization is a product of spontaneous co-operation, and this agency, without which the government would stumble daily in the performance of its functions, the government did its best to down. (4.)

Analyze our noblest and loftiest institutions, and you will find back of them spontaneous co-operation of private individuals aiming to benefit themselves. Spontaneous co-operation, though ever existent in human society, is marked by a great enlargement in this century. Nearly all great achievements of this age can be traced to spontaneous co-operation. Besides, this feature is so significant that

agencies too vast to be conceived by a single mind are at work, performing their functions with the utmost regularity, as a result of free co-operation of individuals seeking to gratify their personal desires by ministering to the desires of others. As Kropotkin well says in his "Anarchist-Communism": "If fifty years ago somebody had predicted that railways built by so many separate companies finally would constitute so perfect a net as they do today, he surely would have been treated as a fool. It would have been urged that so many companies, prosecuting their own interests, would never agree without an International Board of Railways, supported by an International convention of the European States, and endowed with governmental powers. But no such board was resorted to, and the agreement came nevertheless."

In a word, the most important objects are being accomplished by persons who never think of each other, nor have they any idea of the great whole of which they are parts. Let some one propose to supply a city with food. Let him consider the immense difficulties presented by the irregularities in the arrival of supplies; by the perishable nature of some articles; by the inconstant number of consumers; by the great variety of tastes; by the endless number of stocks; by the necessity to adjust prices for different commodities; then by the complexity of the process of distribution till it is brought to every citizen's home—and he will find that the greatest human wisdom could not with the most diligent benevolence, attain the regularity with which this object is being accomplished today by men aiming at nothing else except the gratification of personal desires.

The great and complex organizations which supply the entire world with food and other necessities of life are the product of spontaneous co-operation. Not only have these great agencies grown up in our midst without the aid of government, but their growth has been stupidly hampered by the State. The State is an institution which has from time to time done a great deal of mischief. It has always stood in the way and prevented the normal and natural growth of spontaneous co-operation. And as we pass over the origin and development of our industry, we are bound to conclude that for the marvelous efficiency of these agencies we are indebted to private enterprise which had to struggle against the obstacles of government.

The same is also true of all institutions of learning. "But for the spontaneous developed organizations ignorance might have been universal," says Herbert Spencer, who also proceeds to point out that "the spread of scientific knowledge, and of the scientific spirit, has not been brought by laws and officials."

We also see a constant growth of private institutions formed by voluntary agreement, which, in time of emergency prove to be the most efficient agencies in performing their duties. We also see that it is necessary to counsel soldiers to go to war and kill, while members of the Red Cross society freely consent to go to the battle field, heedless of danger, and perform the most noble work of taking care of the wounded and bringing the dying to life. This is not the work of the whip. This great noble-hearted Red Cross society is not a product of law; it is not the work of government. It comes freely, if it comes at all. We need not force men to undertake that which the noblest impulse urges him to do. "The war of 1871," says Peter Kropotkin, "has shown how perspicacious those prophets are who never believe in human intelligence, devotion and good sense."

1.—See Ingersoll—Voltaire.

2.—See "Revolution and Evolution," by L. Metchnikoff, "Contemporary Review."

3.—That this is so is demonstrated by the numerous obligations which men fulfill in cases where it is at times necessary to lose, without having legally bound themselves to do so.

4.—See Herbert Spencer's "Specialized Administration."

(To be concluded next week.)

NEWS FROM ABROAD.

ITALY—Since the bread riots occurred there have been many Anarchist agitators annoyed by the authorities.

The editors of the *Agitazione* are all locked up in jail and the paper was suppressed for one week, but it is published again in spite of confiscation and suppression.

The duty on grain was lowered 5 lire per quintal until May 1. According to another royal decree the soldiers in the reserve from the years 1874 and '75 shall be drawn in till May 1, to be ready for action.

Men and women who were arrested during the riots, are asked the following questions by the tribunal at Ancona: Were you hungry? Do you like to eat bread? These questions were of course answered in the affirmative, and then the judge said: "Now you go to jail and we will feed you on bread." This is the manner in which justice is administered in Italy, no witnesses being allowed the defendants. The Anarchist ideas are spreading more rapidly now than ever, and the Social Revolution seems nearer at hand.

Spain—There was a monster protest manifestation against the inquisition in Barcelona. Over 3,000 people took part in the open air meeting and parade on the streets.

FRANCE—The Dryfuss-Zola-Esterhazy case exhibits the hydra of patriotism in a true light. The holiness of militarism is nothing else but cruelty, rascality, brutality, hypocrisy and blackguarding although it is the chief pillar of patriotism—the pride of the oppressors in all countries. War is a shame to mankind, and all the supporters of war and patriotism are accomplices of the wholesale murderers.

George Etievant, a distinguished propagandist and able writer, became tired of being continually annoyed by the police and shot and stabbed three of them. Before his determined action he wrote a letter to the *Libertaire* about his disgust and his intentions. He is locked up in jail to await—the guillotine. This is the end of a young and intelligent man who could not be broken into the rotten system in which we are vegetating. His life was short, but full of love for humanity, and bitterness against the national thieves, called government.

A. K.

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EMMA GOLDMAN'S MEETINGS.

The Committee on Agitation for West Pennsylvania has arranged for Emma Goldman, who will agitate in Pittsburgh and vicinity from Feb. 23. to March 12. the following meetings:

Feb. 23. Pittsburgh.
 " 24. (South Side) Pittsburgh.
 " 25. (Lawrenceville) Pittsburgh.
 " 26. Monaca.
 " 27. Beaver Falls.
 March 1. Carnegie.
 " 2. Allegheny.
 " 4. Duquesne.
 " 5. McKeesport.
 " 6. Pittsburgh.
 " 7. Charleroi.
 " 8. Roscoe.
 " 10. Newton.
 " 11. Tarentum.
 " 12. Pittsburgh, anniversary of Paris Commune, Imperial Dancers Academy, 10 Wylie Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Please do not use private checks nor bank checks if you can avoid it.
 The safest and most acceptable manner of remitting is by postoffice or express money order.
 Week ending Feb. 21.

C. Sh. Brinton, each \$1.00. Frantz, Sandine, Reidman, Raub, Cohen, Kahl, each 50c. Jones, Wenzel, Voeberg, each 25c. Barnes, 20c. Lelso, 10c. Sales, 10c.

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Total Income.....	\$370 28
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F A COWELL	

San Francisco, Feb. 9, 1898.

Only one single approval of the announced pamphlet No. 4 has so far reached us, but as some objections have been made, we will postpone the publication of "Perfect Motherhood" and "Woman and Marriage." No. 4 will instead be either "Anarchist Morality" or "Representative Government," by Peter Kropotkin.

This is the golden age for capitalists. The next, when they are dethroned, will be the plutocratic age for those who do useful labor. Every age has an end, and the present is rapidly nearing its destruction.—Wayland.

Truth is a torch, but a terrible one; oftentimes so terrible that the natural instinct of us all is to give a side glance with a blinking eye, lest, on looking it fairly in the face, the strong glare might blind us.—Goethe.

MIGHT IS RIGHT; OR THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

NEW BOOK BY HENRI REEDER, LL. D., U. OF C. 178 PP.; CLOTH, GILT, \$1.50; PAPER, 50c. POSTPAID.

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Dr. Redbeard contends that fitness to survive must be tested by the clash of armies: all other tests being fraudulent. Victors in war are naturally entitled to dominate; and the "defeated"—that is the runaways who feared to die—are equally entitled to servitude. Throughout all organic life the chief selective agency is combat. Women admire warriors above all other kinds of m. n. Communities of cravens (and their descendants) are rightfully plundered, taxed, enslaved.

"Right" and "Wrong" are decided not by the Meek but by the Mighty, who, consequently may write laws, creeds, constitutions, title deeds—and re write them at pleasure. Equality ideas are mere sentimental illusions, for all life is strife—a combat to the death.

As long as the struggle for existence is "moralized" or limited by Governments and Gods, the unit and base, instead of being trampled down (as nature intended) are stupidly permitted to set up Imperial Injunction seats and deal out death, bondage and ruin to Highest Types. Thus, by demanding his credentials, Darwinism is fatal to the tyrant. It rings him round with menace and destruction. It hurls against him ten thousand trained rivals. It proclaims to all men: "Nothing is true; nothing is sacred; all things are open to you; blessed be the Vanquishers." Address

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The Independent Educational Club meets every Sunday evening, at 7: 30 p. m. at 1927 E St. Tacoma, Wash.

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Le Temps Nouveaux, a French Anarchist weekly. Address: 140 Rue Mouffetard, Paris, France.

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La Tribune Libre, a French Anarchist weekly. Price \$1.00 a year. Address: Charleroi, Pennsylvania.

Germinal, a Spanish Anarchist weekly. Address: B. Salbans, Casilla Correo 1120 Buenos Aires, Argent' ne Republic.

Miscarea Sociala, a Roumanian Anarchist weekly. Address: Matasarior 22, Bucharest, Roumania.

Sozialistische Monatshefte, a radical monthly magazine. Address: Marien St. 27, Berlin N. W., Germany.

Deinicke Listy is an eight page Anarchist weekly paper, published in the Bohemian language at New York City, 402 E. 71st St. by the International Workingsmen's Association of America. Send for sample copy.

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