

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. 26.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, MAY 8, 1898.

WHOLE NO. 162.

THE WAR SPIRIT.

I hate that drum's discordant sound
Parading round and round and round;
To thoughtless youth it pleasure yields,
And lures from cities, farms and fields,
To sell their liberties for charms
Of tawdry lace and glittering arms,
And, when ambitious voice commands,
To march, and fight and fall on foreign lands.

I hate that drum's discordant sound
Parading round and round and round;
To me, it speaks of ravaged plains,
Of burning towns and ruined swains;
Of mangled forms and broken bones;
Of widows' tears and orphans' moans,
And all that misery's hand bestows
To swell the catalogue of human woes.

—Thomas Paine.

MAY-DAY CELEBRATION.

The May-Day celebration was held last Sunday at Harbor View, and was participated in by large crowds of the progressive labor element of this city that flocked to the place all day. Dancing, singing, games, sports and merrymaking of all kinds were the order of the day. Men, women and children of different nationalities and races were seen harmoniously commingling and making the fleeting hours of joy and pleasure as profitable as possible. There was nothing in sight to mar the happiness of the occasion except—the fellow who contrary to the anarchistic principle of minding one's own business rather prefers to poke his nose into everybody's business except his own—the omnipresent representative of the robber class of society—the blue-coat. But even he was unable to provoke real in-harmony, for fortunately or unfortunately the majority of the labor element have by their early and late training in schools and churches, and in certain political and would-be reform organizations had such a dose of respect for "law and order" and "our grand institutions" instilled into them that they arrived at the conclusion that the grass could not grow and the sun could not shine without the existence and presence of bluecoats and governments. To them this "protective" element has grown to be a sort of second nature and they endure it like the "faithful" wife does her husband to whom she has by social and legal customs and superstitions been wedded for years—a necessary evil.

Not the least interesting part of the program for the day's doings to the reflective mind were the addresses delivered by three prominent labor representatives: Emil Lies, editor of the German Socialistic "Tageblatt," Wilkins, editor of the Governmental-Socialist paper The New Charter, and Emma Goldman, the travelling Anarchist Lecturer.

Emil Lies addressed the gathering in German. He said he was glad to see such a large concourse of workers turned out to escape their slave dens and seek what little happiness a few fleeting hours could afford them. He believed that merrymaking, pleasure, enjoyment, happiness and peace were the legitimate promptings of man's normal desires; that the spirit that sought expression in the opposite direction—inharmony and strife—was the outgrowth of abnormal conditions; that under normal, healthy social conditions human beings all over the world would recognize the solidarity of the human race and would spurn the narrow spirit of patriotism; that the war spirit was retrogressive; that it meant a return to barbarism and was an obstacle in the upward tendency of the civilization of the race. He condemned the present war between the

United States and Spain as being waged in the interest of a comparatively few bond-holders and monopolists—labor oppressors. It was held, he said, by many well-meaning but short-sighted people to be a war for the object of freeing Cuba from Spanish oppression. As far as the attack upon Spanish government was concerned, said the speaker, a government which by its revivification of the inquisition against the Anarchists, Socialists and Freethinkers at Montjuich has become notorious and infamous in the eyes of every genuine lover of fair play—he would certainly hail with joy its destruction and blotting out. But it should be remembered that in the first place Cuban victory, though it may mean Spanish defeat, did by no means imply the economic independence of the Cuban people; for the Cuban insurgents had expressly declared in their proclamation that they were not fighting the present system of property relations, in other words that they were not fighting monopoly but only political phantoms. Secondly, the Cuban people were not the only people groaning under the yoke of oppression; that were these "chivalrous" braggadocios who pretend to fight for an oppressed people really anxious to do so, they need not go so far away from home; they might find right here, under their very noses, in this land of plenty, five million people who are obliged to roam and tramp all over the country in a vain search of employment whereby to procure the means to fill their empty stomachs; that they might find millions more of overworked and underpaid toilers who with their families are dying a death of slow, gradual starvation. He protested vigorously in the name of humanity against the present war and requested the audience to signify by a show of hands to what extent he had their support of his protest. The protest was unanimously approved. The speaker then concluded his address by admonishing his hearers of the old battle cry of Karl Marx: "Workers of the world, unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain!"

The next speaker, Wilkins, opened his remarks by a declaration which, if carried to a logical conclusion, would inevitably land him in the Anarchist camp. He said that there were two labor days observed in this country, namely one a national day enacted and foisted upon the working people by law as a sop of politeness which only ignorant and slavish workers observed; and the other May-Day which was adopted voluntarily and observed universally by the intelligent masses of all countries and was the proper one to observe. He then followed in the strain of the preceding speaker. He related a pathetic incident in the history of the late rebellion during which the people living at both sides of the river constituting the line between the two contending forces were so charmed by a melody started by some one on one side of the line that gradually all of the people on both sides fell in and that for the time being at least the savage war spirit had given away to the elevating sentiment of human solidarity. He implored the audience to foster this spirit of solidarity and to persevere in their struggle against the common enemy until their object of the establishment of the brotherhood of man was realized.

Emma Goldman who had during the earlier part of the proceedings been invited to a seat of honor upon the platform was then introduced as the famous champion of human liberty who, although a

visitor here, had won the hearts of the workers throughout the breadth of the land by her courageous and intrepid advocacy of the cause of the oppressed of the world. Unfortunately the speaker was hoarse and her address was therefore necessarily limited to a few remarks only. She said that the modern slaves of the factories, workshops and mines of the world who were ground under the iron heel of the exploiters and robbers of labor turned out today to seek oblivion from their yoke—their sorrows, their miseries and their woes. That though she enjoyed their mirth, though she delighted in their sparse pleasures and enjoyments, she besought them to lend a moment's reflection to the underlying object of this holiday. It was a day for registering the strength of the proletariat; for mutual reassurance of allegiance to the cause of justice to labor. This was the first of May. It was spring-time. It was the time of the year when certain forces of nature re-awoke from their slumbers and revived the earth with green fields and blooming flowers. The slave of factory, workshop and mine knew no spring; for him there was nothing but an unceasing round of toil from early morn' till late at night, year in and year out, and all that to support an army of idlers in broadcloth who lived at the toilers' expense; it was perpetual spring for the idlers, but eternal winter for the workers. But the time must come when a new regime will ensue—the social revolution. It behooves the workers to prepare for that day. That day will not be a Sunday of frolicking like this; it will be a day of reckoning; a day upon which stout hearts and strong minds will be required to usher in the reign of justice—of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

The speaker received deafening applause. S. D.

HENRY GEORGE AND THE CHICAGO CASE.

It is quite probable that many of the readers of Free Society will have become interested in the theory which it advocates within less than ten years of the present time; many were no doubt too young to take a deep interest in the stirring events of 1887 and the year or two previous; many who see reference to the course of Henry George in relation to that matter have no clear idea what that course was. As there has been so much eulogy of Henry George since his death, the review given below is worthy of reproduction in vindication of the truth of history, and to aid the present generation in acquiring the familiarity that all should have with incidents of the deepest interest, the importance of which to human progress is more and more evident every day. The following letter was sent to Henry George by registered mail:

Jan. 23, 1888.

Dear Sir:—

I have your circular calling attention to the fact that the term of my prepaid subscription to the Standard expires December 31, 1887, requesting a renewal, and inviting me to aid in procuring other subscriptions. I have received each number of your paper from the first one, have read most of them studiously, and have carefully preserved a complete file which I have at this moment before me bound for future reference. I have been deeply interested in your movement and in your personal welfare, but am constrained at this time to respectfully decline your invitation and request. I cannot consistently with the views I hold of your course in the management of the Standard, further contribute to its support in any way or aid in promoting your credit as a teacher or leader.

I freely confess that I lay down the Standard with regret, but the times demand more definite utterances

than those to be found in its columns. I do not gladly step out of the class that has willingly owned you as a teacher, and retire from the ranks of those that have looked to you with hope as a leader in the grand struggle at hand—indeed already opened. But that struggle imperatively demands as leaders on the side of humanity men of clearest judgment, unflinching courage and unhesitating decision. In some one or more of these qualifications, and I much fear in all, you are sadly wanting.

The first number of the Standard was issued more than eight months after the "Haymarket riot" in Chicago. During that interval of eight months you had ample opportunity to fully inform yourself of the undisputed and indisputable facts of that affair. They had been the subject of an unusually extended judicial investigation, they had been widely discussed from every conceivable point of view, and every circumstance and incident necessary to the formation of an intelligent conclusion had been brought to light. Your interest in the subject was unquestionably sufficient to induce you to give it the most thorough study, and during the interval referred to you must certainly have taken time to form an intelligent opinion on a case that you well knew to be one of the most important ever considered at the bar of public opinion. Even before you began the publication of the Standard, and before you assumed the prominence of a political leader, thousands looked to you for guidance and inspiration, and thousands awaited expression from you before resting with confidence in their own unaided conclusions.

Previous to that period you had had time, and had taken time to form a definite opinion, else, realizing your responsibility, you would not have permitted yourself to speak as you did in the second number of your paper, condemning in the plainest language the manner in which the Anarchists had been convicted. In the Standard of January 15, 1887, you declared that the jury in that case was "chosen in a manner so shamelessly illegal that it would be charity to suspect the judge of incompetency." You then knew, for you spoke without qualification, that many of the jurymen had "confessed fixed opinions against the accused." You thought then, and said, that lawyers conceded the proceeding was "a mere subterfuge to punish men for opinion's sake;" and that in truth "the trial was a legal farce." The article from which I am quoting concluded with the inferential assertion that the law had been used "to mangle the law itself in an endeavor to silence doctrinal advertisers." Thus spoke a noble and patriotic soul blazing with an honest indignation; a free mind uncorrupted by the allurements of political aspiration, and uninfluenced by the petty animosities engendered by political controversy.

In all expressions up to the time of this publication you had displayed a degree of confidence in your own judgment and dependence upon your own conclusions not unbecoming in one possessed of a great mental power and consciously filled with a desire to arrive at the truth whatever it might be. You had spoken bravely in the cause of the poor and disinherited, and while all friends looked for the exhibition of equal independence and courage in dealing with this case, they were gratified by the realization of their expectations. In repeated instances afterward you condemned the spirit and methods that controlled the prosecution and secured the conviction of the Anarchists, in distinct language.

Time went on, and as the representative of a great political movement you were very nearly chosen chief executive of one of the greatest cities of the world. A little later you were called to the principal place in a like movement involving a great state. No new facts had in the meantime developed in the Anarchist case, but argument had been made and the case awaited decision on questions of error raised in the highest court of the state. The case and the issues involved were still the subject of general discussion, but the scanty reference to it in the columns of the Standard was cheerfully excused on the plea of local interests connected with the political campaign. As late as July 4, 1887 you sent to the convicted men in their cells an expression of your personal sympathy, coupled with a pledge of anything and everything in your power to secure their release. Notwithstanding your sparing reference to their case in your paper, all looked for prompt, clear and bold expression when occasion should demand.

The occasion came with the decision of the supreme court of Illinois denying a new trial, and what had the Standard to say? The first issue after the an-

nouncement of the decision was searched in vain for reference to its proposition—perhaps the announcement was too late for that number. But the second issue was equally silent, and the readers of your paper were still kept in suspense as to your views. The third issue comes, and we have—what? A most ridiculously lame and impotent attempt to sustain the decision on the ground that the perfect agreement of the seven judges was inconsistent with the theory that the accused had been unjustly convicted!

Oh! what a falling off there was!

Who that has read your books, dauntlessly assailing theories cherished by political economists of highest authority for generations, and unhesitatingly challenging conclusions maintained in the intellectual arena until almost universally accepted, will believe in the subordination of your opinion to that of the seven Illinois judges? The idea that any new light was thrown on the case by the discussion in the opinion is simply preposterous. Equally so the proposition that the judges were so far removed from the excitement of the occasion, and so little affected by the pressure of public opinion, as to assure a perfectly unbiased decision. You know well that judges are but men, with all the interests of "common men," actuated by similar motives and affected by the same influences that induce other men one way or the other. These judges did not see nor hear the witnesses, but had before them just what you really had long before you wrote the article of January 15, 1887—the records in the case. The arguments addressed to the judges were fully reported in the newspapers, and you were as well qualified to weigh them as the members of the august court.

Then you refer to the application of the Illinois law to the case, in full consciousness that the general understanding of "law" is statutory enactment of the legislature. But the fact is the potential law in this case was declared by the judge presiding at the trial, was made for the case, founded on precedents drawn from the armories of despotism and tyranny sealed up for centuries, blood-rusted weapons long since laid aside in nations where it is generally assumed that liberty is less carefully guarded than in America.

When, in reviewing the execution, you reinforce your reliance upon the opinion of the seven judges by reference to the letter of your friend Judge Maguire, you do not strengthen your view in the least. His pretended resume of the evidence is filled with perversions and misrepresentations vying with those of the prosecuting attorney and supreme court judges. Your incidental assertion that "Anarchy is an importation into the United States" displays egregious ignorance of history, for proof of which read any life of Jefferson, particularly the latest, by Mr. Morse.

Suppose for a moment that I really believe the adoption of the Single Tax on the land to be of paramount importance at this time, and that I propose myself as a means of promoting the movement to secure that end to aid the circulation of the Standard. How can I know that you may not some day, on authority of a tribunal outside your own conscience, throw the whole matter overboard and recant all you have said? Or that you may not at some critical juncture, when all look to you for the word of counsel of instant necessity, hold your silence for a time while you determine the question of policy? Or that you may not, in the heat of a conflict, change your battle cry and throw your friend into confusion as to which side you are really on, because a small party choose to attack the common enemy from a different point than that which you have chosen for attack, and not under your leadership?

However guilty Parsons, Spies and their associates were, the only question here considered is: Were they fairly and properly tried and regularly convicted? As one bringing every operation of existing society to merciless test in the crucible of right and justice, consistency demanded of you that you should not consent to the conviction and execution of these men until every legal right—however slight and technical—had been accorded to them. One of the judges of the supreme court of Illinois admitted that there were errors in the record, and will you say that any error was too slight when weighed against the lives of seven men? Then if there were errors, however slight, these men were unquestionably entitled to a new trial, no matter how guilty they may actually have been. And a new trial having been refused by the court, with an admitted error, the wrong should have been righted to some extent, at least, in commutation of the sentence by the executive. Their guilt was not

conclusively proven in a strictly legal way, and their lives were not justly forfeited.

While the appeal for clemency was pending before the governor of Illinois the power of arousing to action on the side of mercy thousands of individuals rested with two men. Had the efforts made in other quarters been reinforced to any effective extent by these men, influences would have been set in motion that would almost certainly have changed the result. These two men were T. V. Powderly and Henry George. The former to his everlasting infamy obstructed the effort by every means in his power, while the latter maintained a shameful silence.

Your fatal error in this case however is not, after all, the heartlessness of withdrawing from the condemned your powerful sympathy once pledged; it is not the cowardice of yielding up your own opinions for fear of adverse effect on your vote in New York; it is not the petty meanness of changing your ground because the most active friends of the condemned were opposing your political advancement; it is not even the indecision which for weeks prevented you from giving any utterance on a question of instant and paramount importance. The inexcusable fault, which utterly incapacitates you for the position which a few months since was fairly within your grasp, is your total blindness to the fact that yielding the right of free speech and free assemblage to absolute police control is the knell of all hope of reform. And the supreme court of Illinois, whose decision you unqualifiedly sustain, declares that a policeman, on the mere motion of his own will or whim, may disperse any meeting, anywhere, at any time. Here are the brief sentences in which the most cherished rights of American freemen are blotted out:

"If the police officers had improperly intruded upon the meeting in question, such intrusion would have furnished no justification for the attack hereinafter mentioned. Persons injuriously affected by such improper intrusion or illegal dispersion have their remedies at law for damages sustained, or they could have demanded an investigation before the proper authorities, and upon proving their charges could have obtained the dismissal of officers guilty of infringement upon the rights of citizens."

If any officer says "disperse!" good citizens are to disperse and not reason about it. To refuse to disperse, even passively, is to resist, which resistance calls for the use of the ever ready club, it may be the revolver. The court declares no limitation on the means by which the officer may enforce dispersion; but distinctly limits the remedy of the citizen to action for damages, or demanding an investigation. Faugh! I have not powers of ridicule and sarcasm fitly to characterize the proposition.

In giving your assent to this preposterous theory of law you have forfeited the confidence of all clear seeing men. You know too well that the police authorities everywhere are only too much inclined to avail themselves of the singular powers conferred, and that the demand of the hour is for limitation and not for extension. Yet in sustaining this infamous decision you have voluntarily placed yourself from this time on under their strict censorship.

Henry George! the issue of today is not the Single Tax, it is free speech. If this is lost, all is lost—all hope of reaching a peaceful solution. Some months ago you declared to the workingmen of America that the time was at hand when they must "Change the law, defy the law, or be crushed by the law." What will you do with this law?

Alas, you have already declared your acceptance of it. You are no more prophet of mine.

This letter was never replied to in any way whatever.

ALDEN S. HULING.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

VII.

Thus have we seen that government through granting certain privileges to some and through invading the rights of others, creates monopolies in industries when monopolies are not otherwise possible. We have seen that where some are given the right to manufacture and to sell certain things, while others are prohibited from manufacturing and selling the same things even though they can do better than the former, the consumers are forced to pay tribute to the trust. We have also seen that nearly all monopolies owe their existence to government. That monopoly which is made by the State fears no competition and

it taxes the people to the utmost. Nevertheless, the government is to have control over all our industries in order to escape the evils of monopoly.

"Why, look at the post office! What a glorious institution." This institution is ever thrown upon us as an illustration of what the government can do for the people. We are told of the hardships which our ancestors had to contend with before the government got hold of the post office. Then we are told of the blessings of municipal ownership, and the marvelous experiment of that scheme in our post office.

Well, I accept the challenge. Let the post office be our subject of consideration. Let us see how far that institution advanced through its being owned and operated by the government.

Many years ago, Wells Fargo & Co. were carrying our mail at the rate of five cents a letter. The government was then charging only three cents for carrying a letter. But out of the five cents charged by the Express Co. the government got over three cents in taxes. This left the company's work done for less than two cents. Nevertheless the company had rendered for less than two cents prompt and more secure delivery and their business steadily grew. The people were willing to pay five cents to the Express Co. rather than three cents to the government, because of the difference in the services performed to those who hired such services. This shows how great the difference of the government work and that of the company, for in spite of the lower rates charged by the government, the people nevertheless preferred to patronize the company. In other words, it shows that private enterprise, although stupidly hampered by an unreasonable tax of over three cents per letter, was the first to develop the transportation of mail at the rate of one and a half cents per letter, and that it was the most successful in maintaining this institution at a high degree of efficiency.

But then it may be said that this is due to the government which was in direct competition with the company, and prevented it from charging monopoly prices. If so, why then did the government tax the company three and one half cents per letter, thus compelling the company to charge five, while the government, without paying any taxes charged three? If the aim of the government was to furnish the people with a low rate of postal service, why didn't it reduce its rates to one and a half cents and thus show that they are doing as well as the company? Again, where does government competition come in here? If the government forces its rival to pay in taxes more than the government charges for the services, are they both on an equal footing? Is this competition? This is monopoly. It allows me to do the same work which the government does, provided I pay for the permission of doing it a price which will render it impossible for me to operate my business except by charging my consumers more than the government does. But, had the government not taxed its rival at all; had the government simply entered to compete with the private company, what an unfair competition that would be! While the company supported by free and voluntary enterprising individuals would have to charge something above actual cost and make up for deficiencies out of their pockets, the government, supported by compulsory taxation could, if it chose, carry the mail at a loss, say for less than cost, and get the deficit out of the people by taxing them.

But, as we have seen the government had no intention, as a matter of fact, to furnish the people with postal service at cost. The government was in this business for the purpose of making it possible to plunder and to rob the people by way of doing them a favor. That is why they charged more than the services actually cost. Nevertheless, this same government prevented and still prevents private corporations from entering the field of competition.

The people paid and still keep on paying for inefficient services whatever price the government may see fit to demand. The people are helpless in the hands of so complete a monopoly as municipal ownership. They must submit, there is no way out of it. In spite of the fact that the Adams' Express Co. offered to carry our mail for one cent a letter, the government keeps on charging two cents a letter, and the people can't help it. The Adams' Express Co. might have made a fortune in running the post office and yet we would have to pay no more than one cent per letter. The government, however, keeps on charging two cents a letter and still the post office loses from seven to fourteen millions on this enterprise. Read the report as given by the government itself and you will

see how successfully the government manages the post office. If all our institutions are to be run in this manner there is nothing saved and a great deal lost in taking industries out of private monopolies and handing them into the hands of government monopolies. If there is any remedy under the present system, it is that of abolishing monopoly of any kind and making freedom of trade to take the place of monopoly.

The remedy is with the people and not with the government. The people must run our industries, but these industries must be free. There shall be no charter and no law to prevent any one from entering whatever industry he may choose. Under such conditions the cheapest man would get the most patronage. No one would be obliged to buy where it did not please him. It would then be in the interest of the seller to please the purchaser. Probably cheating would be reduced to a minimum. Some might really say "honesty is the best policy," because, having tried both, he came to that conclusion from experience. It would be of no use to charge up money not invested in a certain enterprise so as to draw dividends on watered stock. The man who would charge too much for his goods would be unable to find a market, the people would not pay two dollars for that which they could get from the next man for one dollar. It is only now, when the next man willing and able to sell the same thing for a dollar, is not permitted to do it, that people overpay on their purchases. It would be different, if that man who wanted to sell the same thing for a dollar would not be prevented by the government from doing it. How many days do you think would it take for the gas companies to furnish us gas light at 60 cents per thousand, competitors fellows, who are willing to do it, were allowed to go into the market? What nonsense these assembly-men are talking when they try to convince such companies, that it would pay to furnish the people of New York with gas at \$1.00 per thousand! Whose business is it to enquire whether it would pay them or not? Advertise today or tomorrow that "any company willing and able to supply gas light in the city of New York can come and do it," and you will see how quickly the very same company which now insists upon \$1.25, will furnish gas at 60 cents and less if that should be necessary to retain the trade.

Apply the same remedy to street cars, telephones, telegraphs, etc., and you will see how quickly all the evils of high rates will disappear. What prevents the people from refusing to pay such exorbitant prices is their inability to gratify their wants in any other way. And for that the government and not the corporations are responsible. Without the government these corporations would have to face the music of the people and dance accordingly. Without the government competition would be free and the buyer would patronize the one who is nearer to his ideal. Prices would then rank much lower than they are today, and if, under such conditions, the merchant would fail, the people would not have to pay for it in taxes as the case would be under municipal ownership if there were too many thieves in office. The trouble that arises comes from government interference with the freedom of commerce and against that, all honest men should fight. The remedy lies not in tyranny, but in Anarchy, not in slavery, but in liberty.

DALLAN DOYLE.

(The end of this series of articles.)

EMMA GOLDMAN IN CHICAGO.

During two weeks, from March 20, to April 2, Emma Goldman was here, in Chicago, lecturing almost every evening on social and economic questions, effecting a great agitation.

Sunday, March 20, Comrade Goldman lectured at the Economic Educational Club, which consists mostly of Americans, on "Authority." The hall was well filled by an intelligent audience. The discussion following her lecture contained much food for thought and our comrade stood the test of the critics perfectly well and maintained her position.

Monday, March 21, a meeting was arranged for by the Brewers' and Malsters' Union No. 18, which was well attended, in which she spoke with great success in the German language on "Trades Unionism."

For Tuesday, March 22, the Painters' and Decorators' Union No. 275 had arranged a meeting in which Comrade Goldman addressed the audience in German on "Trades Unionism" again. After the lecture several

* I mean the man who gives the most for the money paid him.

questions were asked, which the lecturer answered very promptly.

A reform organization, The Co-operative College of Citizenship, had invited her to speak before them on Wednesday, March 23. She spoke there on "Patriotism." Several "patriots" took occasion to respond, but soon found out that their feelings of patriotism were a humbug. Emma handled the subject skillfully and was invited to speak again on her next trip to this city.

Thursday, March 24, Emma responded to an invitation of the gymnastic society, Turn-Verein Vorwaerts, at whose hall she spoke on "The New Woman." She intended to speak on her favorite subject "The Basis of Morality," but was requested to change her subject. The lecture seemed to please and caused the applause of the audience with the exception of two or three well fed "gentlemen" who left the hall with disgust on their "intelligent" faces.

Our comrade also lectured before Group I (German) International Working Men's Association on "Charity." A large crowd filled the hall, and the lecturer was well pleased with said meeting. Questions were readily answered by her, and everybody was satisfied.

On Saturday, March 26, she spoke at a mass-meeting in German on "Passive Resistance" under the auspices of The Bakers' and Confectioners' Union No. 2. The hall was thronged with workers. From the applause which our comrade received it was apparent that the audience realized that only a general strike could relieve our troubles and make us free. A good many non-union men joined the union after the lecturer concluded.

Tuesday March 29, Emma spoke at a meeting of the gymnastic society, Gut Heil, in Avondale, a suburb, a small entertainment being arranged for her benefit. She spoke on "Charity" with the usual success.

For Wednesday, March 30, the International Group, organized to spread literature like Free Society, Solidarity and other revolutionary papers and pamphlets, had arranged a meeting in a neighborhood composed of a mostly Jewish element. She spoke there in English, on "The Basis of Morality," the meeting being well attended.

The Bohemian Labor Organization had arranged a meeting for Thursday, March 31, which was well attended. A pretty Bohemian female comrade recited a Bohemian poem, after which Comrade Goldman addressed the audience in English on "The Inquisition of Our Postal Service," reviewing the outrages perpetrated by our postal officials, in suppressing the Firebrand, convicting its editors and prosecuting a fearless liberal writer, Emile F. Ruedebusch of Mayville, Wis., and suppressing his book "The Old and the New Ideal." Great applause followed.

On Saturday, April 2, a farewell meeting was held by the Committee on Agitation of the Progressive Labor Organizations of Chicago, in a centrally located hall, which was also well attended. Comrades from all parts of the city and of all nationalities were present to listen once more to our eloquent and fearless comrade, advocating the great cause of humanity. Her subject was again "The Inquisition of Our Postal Service." Moses Harman then offered a resolution condemning the "Comstockian actions of our postal government," which was unanimously adopted. It was decided to have the resolution printed and sent to all labor organizations of this country.

In spite of the silence of the capitalistic press regarding these meetings our comrade has shown by her restless agitation, how to put our ideas before the public. Comrades, everywhere, let us do likewise; let us help to bring to fruition the seed sown by her and to hasten the advent of justice.

THEO. APPEL.

A CORRECTION.

I have read the translation of "A Fateful Leaflet" which appeared a few weeks ago in Free Society, and notice that it is not complete, to wit:

Comrade Carl Nold and myself were sent to the penitentiary for five years for distributing the leaflet among the strikers, and in addition I was sent to the county jail for sixty days for contempt of court, because I would not reveal the names of the other two comrades who were with me at Homestead.

H. BAUER.

Freedom will never be given voluntarily—it must be taken by each individual, man and woman. To the extent that we defy authority, whether it be exercised by officials or by husband and wife, we have freed ourselves.

A. L.

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

NOTE AND COMMENT.

We received two letters from French comrades of Mystic, Iowa, illustrating the distinction between a big and small thief. Having left their positions and gone on strike with the miners they finally were without means, and one day they decided to go hunting in order to procure some game for their families. Finding their efforts futile they decided to shoot a turkey on the premises of a rich farmer. They were caught before they committed the crime and are now serving a sentence of several months in the penitentiary. Had these men been able to steal the whole farm by some legal trick they would, of course, be considered "smart business men." In Russia poor men are very seldom convicted when it can be proven that they stole in order to provide for their starving families.

The "ladies" of the Chase Art school, it is said, have sent the president the following telegram: "To hell with diplomacy!"

In the American press this dispatch is considered a "historical" document. This is evidently a typographical error and means "hysterical."—San Francisco Tageblatt.

The articles "Evolution of Socialism," and "Egoism and Altruism" appearing elsewhere in this issue contain theories and assertions that are not in accordance with facts, but lack of time prevented me from commenting upon them this week.

At the time of writing, the question of peace or war between Spain and the United States remains unanswered; but not so the question of whether Cuba wants "liberating." The insurgents are willing to take philanthropic help, and plenty of it; but they are as averse to Uncle Sam's "protection" as to that of holy Spain. All they want is "independence," and that is the one thing in the world which, whatever may befall them, they are the least likely to get. The attitude of congress reminds one of the fierce and hungry travellers who quarreled about the oyster:—
Dame Justice, weighing long the doubtful right,
Takes, opens, swallows it, before their sight.
The cause of strife remov'd so rarely well,
"There, take," says Justice, "take you each a shell.
We thrive at Westminster on fools like you;
'Twas a fat oyster—live in peace—adieu."
—The Clarion.

War is death to reform; it arouses passions and hatred; it strengthens the power of government and weakens the power of the individual. Therefore it has always been a favorite device of governments, when their subjects became restive under oppression, to divert their attention by a foreign war. That this should succeed with the unthinking is not strange, but it is pitiable to see reformers falling into the trap. Their motive is different; they are animated not by a false patriotism but by an ardent sympathy. But sympathy untempered by judgment is like Charity without Justice; in its blindness apt to do more harm than good.—Justice.

"The Socialistic proletaire knows only one enemy: international capitalism; and only one great, mighty aim for which he joyfully is willing to sacrifice his life: the international revolution of the proletariat against capitalism."—San Francisco Tageblatt.

What about the tyranny of religious superstitions and prejudices? What about the tyranny of ignorance prevailing all through the country? What about the tyranny of perverted morality and the tyranny of a Comstock? Ignorance, Mr. Editor, is our greatest enemy. We may arouse the people against capitalism and overthrow the system of production and distribution, and still have greater tyranny than we have at present. "By your works shall ye be known," and if

this is true, then heaven save us from the tyranny of a social-democratic "administration of things." Pope DeLeon already exercises a power over his deluded dupes that must repel every intelligent individual. I know very well that Socialism is not responsible for DeLeon's tyrannical conduct, but the forbearance of the party toward this tyrant is ample proof that the S. L. party has enemies besides capitalism.

According to the latest news the editor of Appeal to Reason has been driven out of Girard, Kan., by a "patriotic" mob, because he dared to disapprove of the war and called the American flag "a painted rag tied onto a stick." It is dangerous at present to criticize the government, but there are still Americans who are courageous enough to face tyranny and bigotry. The Star of this city says under the heading "Free Speech is Treason":

"General Schofield, in an interview with a press reporter, stated that any adverse criticism of the administration, the army, or the navy, would, during the war, be considered treason and punished as such. That is to say, if a conscientious editor, for instance, should give his readers plain truths, instead of flaunting lies and buncomb 'patriotism'—if he should fail to praise the heroism of the high officers in command—he will be a traitor and summarily hanged. We'll be 'hanged' if we submit to any such order of things. We have a right, inalienable and according to the constitution, to freely express our opinions upon all subjects, and we mean to exercise that right. In these columns, General Schofield himself will receive criticism or praise, as he may deserve. As a beginning, we denounce him now as a traitor to his country, for expressing his intention to deprive the people of free thought and free speech. America is not France, where high army officials are looked upon as little less than divinities.

Comrade Emma Goldman is not only an untiring propagandist of Anarchism in conversation and public speeches, but she is also an active worker for the benefit of individuals and the cause in general. She has collected money in this city for a consumptive Socialist of Chicago, and also has arranged an entertainment in order to raise a fund for the publication of Robert Reitzel's work which will spread the ideas of freedom and at the same time help to assist the family of the deceased.

EMMA GOLDMAN,

Who is at present visiting San Francisco, is doing noble work in the great battle that is everywhere being waged against superstition and ignorance; against tyranny and oppression of all kinds. She is making the best use of her powers to arouse the working people of San Francisco from their lethargy and indifference, to a realization of their condition, believing, that when they are conscious of the position they occupy in society, and of their powers, if started on the road to correct thought, they will soon gain such a comprehension of the causes which led to their oppression and misery that they will be impelled to combined action for the speedy removal of such causes. Their efforts being so intelligently directed they shall become free in the broadest sense: free from both the authority of gods, and the authority of majorities; free to use natural resources; free to associate or not to associate, for any or all purposes; free to live their own way, and at the expense of their own efforts; and free to die if they so choose. Freedom for all limited only by the freedom of each.

Comrade Goldman has delivered four lectures in San Francisco on topics pertaining to liberty, beside a May-Day address, in less than a week, to large audiences; and if she were to discontinue now, her work would be well done. Such enthusiasm has been displayed by her audiences; and such an interest has been manifested in her lectures that Emma Goldman seems to be discussed everywhere, not excepting the ubiquitous journals fostered by the "powers that be," the daily newspapers. One of them in its report of Comrade Goldman's first lecture said: "You can better afford to miss hearing Melba (the great singer), than Emma Goldman," thus praising her and her work, and a day or two later the same paper would hang Emma Goldman. But this has been conducive of good, as many other factors have been in arousing an interest in her lectures.

That Comrade Goldman has already done much good since her arrival in San Francisco in the cause

of liberty, no observing person can deny, especially so, when it is considered that the Statists have manifested a fear to meet her in combat, while many who have not yet enlisted in such prejudices as to preclude adverse evidence, defy their leaders and publicly show their approval and appreciation of her propaganda. Another evidence of the good she is doing lies in the fact that the Individualists of the philosophical school, and even Single Taxers who are not hide-bound, are defending and assisting her in her noble work, however much they may differ with her on some points.

But she is not done with Frisco yet. She is to deliver several more lectures before leaving us, and while it is not likely that she will convert all the preachers and politicians to Anarchism before taking her departure it is safe to wager that these distinguished citizens will have to exercise their powers of authoritarianism over a few more rebels.

Anything like an approximate knowledge of the good done in furthering the cause of freedom and justice by our comrade's present visit to San Francisco can only be known in the remote future, but that she is making history which will be read and appreciated by the generations to come, long after she has ceased to be, is an indisputable truth. She has got to be heard, however, to be best understood. While she does not go much into abstractions, nor analyze any too close, she couples a little of principle with a lot of hard practical facts, and presents them to her audience in a very forcible and straightforward manner, sending with them a personal magnetism and genuine ring of honesty, that demands attention and consideration by the most conservative, even by those who complain of her bitter denunciation of the representatives of authority in high places. J. T. K.

MUSTY THEORIES.

In No. 23 of Free Society Comrade J. H. M. takes pains to characterize my reasonings concerning the aim, or lack of aim, or object, in life as a whole as a "brand new philosophy," and indicates that the fact of newness detracts from the merits of the argument.

No argument can be carried on intelligently unless definitions are agreed upon, and it was for this reason, and no other, that I had so much to say of definitions.

Comrade J. H. M. completely ignores the fundamental arguments that I brought out and adheres, perhaps unconsciously, to the musty theories of the past that have been brushed up a bit and labeled anew. I contended, and still contend, that happiness is no more the goal, or final object of existence, than is heaven: that a goal, a supreme object, is not a proven fact. This he does not notice.

He defines happiness as "a highly pleasurable state," and then ridicules the idea of being in a condition of quiescence, thus advancing the argument that we must be either in a "highly pleasurable state," or happy, or else in the opposite extreme. But it is useless to spend space and time in exposing the must and mould in these apparently plausible theories. Let's get down to fundamentals.

The study of biology and psychology has shown the complexity of the human body and brain, and explains many paradoxes and apparent inconsistencies in human action, but Comrade J. H. M. being apparently ignorant of these sciences and their result upon the philosophy of life, seeks to stigmatize theories that accord with these sciences by calling them "brand new." This only shows what a hold the musty theories of the past have on him. That is shown by his sentence "how unhappy he would have been to have seen a fellow being perish without being able to render assistance." I explained my position on that fully in the illustration given, and anyone whose mind is not beclouded by the must and mould from antiquated theories could see from it that contemplation and a thinking of the sentence just quoted was impossible, and that the act was done in response to an impulse given by what Kropotkin, Darwin, et. al. call the instinct of race preservation. This instinct Comrade J. H. M. ignores, and by implication denies the existence of. In fact his whole article leads us to the conclusion that he reduces man to a very sim-

ple being, and instead of the devil on one shoulder, and an angel on the other, as referred to in "Anarchist Morality," he places happiness and misery—outside the man, one to pull him and the other to push: One he seeks to follow and capture, the other he tries to run away from.

"Misery loves company" is an old saw, and a true one, and as I pointed out before, persons of intense natures find satisfaction in the "UTTERNESS" of misery, for it is well known that many persons will, when miserable, work themselves into a condition of "utter wretchedness," and it is only necessary to know a little of the science of psychology to understand that paradoxical operation of the mind.

When Comrade J. H. M. has learned that we are complex instead of simple beings, played upon and impelled to action by instincts, passions and emotions and influenced by inherited tendencies, as well as by deliberate consideration and conscious choice, he will not be found so ably and warmly championing the musty theories of an age in which most of the modern sciences did not exist. But further discussion between us on this question will be absolutely futile if he persists in the attitude displayed in his last article. HENRY ADDIS.

AN APPEAL TO EDITORS.

The collection of Labor and Socialist journals in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, at Madison, is believed to be the largest in America. Its nucleus was a collection made by Dr. Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, for his private use, but later presented to the Society. Since then, the list has been greatly extended by the Society, which desires still further to add to it.

This collection is in daily use by investigators—chiefly by professors and students connected with the school of economics, political science and history, in the University of Wisconsin. The steady increase of labor organizations in this country, and the necessity of possessing materials for the study of so important a movement, impel the Society to seek the collection of all the organs of these organizations, in order that every vital factor therein may be properly presented.

Nothing reflects passing events so perfectly as the newspaper, but nothing is quicker to disappear and leave no evidence of its existence; books are easily preserved—newspapers are seen for the day, and then disappear from view. It is important to preserve them for the future, because of their really permanent value as mirrors of the time of issue. This duty, the Wisconsin Historical Society endeavors to fulfill. Unfortunately, the Society is not at present possessed of a fund which is available for the purchase of past files, or for subscriptions to current issues, of the rapidly-growing list of representative labor journals; it must, therefore, appeal to their editors for the voluntary contribution of such, on the principle that it is desirable to the journals and trades themselves, to be represented in this collection. All files will be promptly bound, and preserved for permanent use by students of history and economics, as well as by the general public.

The Society cordially invites the managers of all labor papers to co-operate in this work of perfecting a collection of all periodicals connected with the movement, and not only to place the library on their free mailing lists, but to contribute as full files as possible, of past issues. The Society will cheerfully pay transportation charges upon any package sent to its address, and acknowledges all gifts in its Annual Reports.

Please address the papers: State Historical Library, Madison, Wis.

R. G. THWAITES,
Secretary and Superintendent.

EGOISM AND ALTRUISM.

I received a few days ago a notice from the postmaster of Chicago that by sending a two cent stamp I would receive a letter held there for want of postage. I sent the stamp and received a mutilated copy of Free Society containing my article on "The Insulators of Thought," with marginal criticisms and questions all around it, evidently from some pessimistic crank, mad at mankind and all things else.

Instead of taking me at what I meant, he quibbles about the meaning of words and asks, "who are the greatest and best men and women? Are they mobs

of cranky paupers?" "What is a criminal? Who are the basest?" "Is not a working man a baser beast than a millionaire?" "Power was obtained by the sword. The cowards were smashed under as is right." "What is right?" "What are the better emotions?" "How many slaves can reason?" "All is fair in war, and all life is war." "You also are as bad as them. You are a priest of a new lie." After the paragraph beginning, "I heard a sermon today" he writes in the margin, "You are doing the same, or trying to do the same by writing these half truths and running this paper." "These were sins to him." "These are sins to you only." "The church runs it's business for its own advantage, just as you do."

Of the anti-slavery agitators he says, "A set of slaves and cranks who ought to have been shot." "Barnes, your humanitarianism is but a new and more degraded form of superstition." Of charming Emerson and Buchner he says, "All of them christlings—preachers of slavery like you." "Revolted against government in order to set up a ten times worse and more despotic government."

The above is the greater part of the comments, questions and criticisms he made on the margin of the paper around my article.

I trust that nearly if not all who read what I said, understood me as using words in their usually accepted sense. It was not a scientific treatise on sociology or I should have defined the terms used. Words, language is so imperfect a medium through which to communicate thought, that to be understood one must define if possible many words he uses, and there are some thoughts for which there is no definable word to express. Take the word right—as "all men have equal rights." The word is used more than any other, and is nearly always used in a sense that no dictionary defines, and no dictionary can define it, yet millions of people use it in the one indefinable sense. Yet there is a sense in which the word is used, definable as just; contrary to wrong. When I said "power and authority are abnormalities in nature and cannot be right," I meant, of course, that they were wrong, unjust, as infringing on the equal freedom of others. Nothing is right, in the best sense of the word (as opposed to wrong) but a recognition of the equal rights of others—the freedom of others. Nothing is wrong but the infringement or aggression upon the right to equal freedom of others. When right to the equal freedom of all is recognized, there will be no wrong, no evil, no crimes as we now understand these words. My pessimistic critic has no faith in the powers of persuasion, of love, of good to overcome evil. For fear he or some one else may ask "What is evil?" I will say, it is the absence of good, a negation, an unripe condition. Good is positive, it is freedom, it is happiness. My critic would thresh the green peaches off the trees because they are bitter. He believes in coercive force; he believes in pure egoism; he has no place for altruism. While egoism is primary in the struggle for existence and always necessary in degree, yet a balancing of egoism and altruism is necessary to a perfect social state. I will not say, for I do not know, what will result from a "stable equilibrium" of egoism and altruism. It would imply a cessation of motion, and motion is life, and consequently it may imply death. Anyhow, the tendency of our evolution is in the direction of freedom—a cessation of competition and war.

"Nothing is good nor ill, but thinking makes it so," says Shakespeare. "As a man thinketh in his heart so it be," says Solomon. I hope my pessimistic friend will experience a change of heart (mind), and look upon all as good, and upon seeming evil as simply negative good, and unite with the optimistic Anarchists with hope in the evolution of the race to a time when "swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks, and we shall learn war no more."

All the world needs is education, out of its negative ignorant condition. It has not yet learned its own interdependence, one upon another as social beings. Man is naturally gregarious—social, yet governments and their agents, the priest and politician keep people isolated through authority and power. Let us persuade the people and educate them to see the twin banes to progress in society, Church and State, which imply authority and physical force, superstitions, obedience to priest and politician.

My critic ignores all moral, all intellectual force as a factor in evolution and would depend on brutal physical force entirely, if I understand him. Physical force reigns now—it is a reign of terror. Why did the

United States government send a battle ship to Cuba but to terrorize? Why does it send battle ships to any country but to terrorize? Suppose all our manufacturing war equipments and our forts had been burned ten years ago, and we should go along and attend to our own peaceable business, would there be any danger of any attack from any government? No government on earth would have any pretext or excuse even if so disposed to attack a peaceable nation. Any nation doing so, would fall under the ban of every other nation and lose its respectable standing. Suppose all the war equipments in the United States government and the States governments were thrown into the rivers and lakes, and the militia were disbanded, would we have any labor troubles? Is not the militia the strength of the rich? Would not a peaceable adjustment of wages be soon arrived at and the rights of labor soon recognized but for the militia? What are the militia for but to protect the rich minority against the poor majority? We can only educate the majority to discountenance and protest against war and any preparation for war abroad or at home. If a sentiment could be generated in the minds of the majority against war, where would the soldiers come from? It is men who have no homes, no country, that are lead to slaughter those against whom they have no grievances, and put themselves up to stop bullets for the rich, for a country that belongs to the rich. If no one volunteered to go to war, could any be drafted into war? I think not. How could a draft be enforced without soldiers?

How discouraging it seems to one working for the upbuilding of the race to see nearly all the poor men who have no homes, no country, no freedom; men who have no recognized right to life outside a prison or a poor house; who may tramp till they fall from exhaustion and are taken to a hospital or other public institution, or if they steal are taken to prison; men who have no enmity against those they volunteer to kill; men who never expect an office in the butcher business, for the petty promise of provender and \$10 a month enlist in the worst of slavery, an army.

But he who opposes war must to be logical oppose government, for government is based on and implies war.

Hindsboro, Ill.

J. C. BARNES.

Various Voices.

A. L., St. Louis, Mo.—Comrade Emma Goldman's series of lectures in this city were indeed successful as far as propaganda is concerned.

Many of our comrades, in almost every city, make the mistake of looking for a financial success. Of course, money is necessary, but the main point is to spread our ideas and make new converts. Emma's lectures were attended by young women who were not seen before at any Anarchist meetings. Besides half a dozen critics came there in order to contradict and ask our valiant comrade questions. The debates always lasted over an hour, and Comrade Goldman showed a quick perception and answered with intelligence and conciseness.

O. A. Verity, Lake Bay, Wash.—For the benefit of a few who are wary of co-operation in any form, since their own mode has proven a failure, I wish to state that we have made considerable progress here under the voluntary idea.

Ours, however, was the outgrowth of knowledge gained during two years of practical working under State Socialism, i. e. "Bellamy's Looking Backward," etc.

From experience we found that while we could accumulate wealth rapidly, yet under State Socialism freedom, the basic principle of progress, was a myth; that the individuality of the minority was swallowed up by the authority of the majority.

From out of the many and varied experiences of the two years' labor, a few of us formulated the present agreement whereby the individuality of each is given the widest scope compatible with our resources.

Three families of us located here two years ago with only a \$20 gold piece as our united capital. We bought our land on time, which left us \$205.25 in debt for land and \$100 for material for houses.

Now we have grown to 12 families and four single men. We have built houses, cleared gardens, bought two span of horses, and are out of debt. We have 21 adult members, 14 workers, and a total population of 62.

Our industries so far are cutting cord wood, and getting out piles and logs for the market. We exchange logs at Lake Bay mill for lumber for our houses.

One of our most urgent needs is a saw mill. We have been compelled to let several large contracts go by for lack of men to handle them.

The utmost freedom is given individual, and their beliefs range from the orthodox to the New Ideal.

After a two years' trial of voluntary co-operation we find hundreds of troublesome things disappear that under State Socialism could not be eliminated.

REFLECTIONS.

There are some who tell me that I am inconsistent, that I say one thing today and take it back tomorrow.

Well, what of it? Shall I be bound by my own actions or words, when I deny to others the right to restrict in any way whatever the execution of my desires? Shall I refrain from doing things I wish to do, because at some time in the past, that which I intend to do did not seem to add to my self-gratification?

Can a rigorous adherence to certain principles as a guide for my actions be harmonized with the conviction that the individual should shape his course through life free from all restraints and in conformity with conclusions arrived at, at the time being? I think not.

Again there are those who try to conform their actions to the opinion of the people at large or a certain faction thereof: "What will the people say, what will the comrades say?" is always their first consideration. Such are men with little individuality; hero-worship is their cult; the herd is their home; to be led or driven, their fate; but the man with a strongly developed individuality goes his own way wherever it may be or lead, not caring if others do or do not go in the same direction. The opinions of his fellow man do not affect him; isolated or among the multitude he always chooses his own course.

I know some will tell me that man's actions are shaped by his environments in conjunction with heredity, temperament and prenatal conditions, and that there really is no such thing as shaping one's own course; but I differ. The ideas a person holds are of much more importance, and a change in his ideas about his relation to his fellow-man will effect a complete change in his actions. Striking examples of it can be found in religious circles. What effects the change from the drunken, degraded loafer, to a sober, industrious member of the Salvation army? Environments, heredity, prenatal conditions, temperament, tended to his former course of life; but a change of ideas, of thought, a glimpse of higher enjoyments than the simply sensuous, has overcome these, by some considered, all-powerful tendencies.

There are others, who consider the participation of a comrade in politics as high treason to the cause of humanity. I differ. It gives me the greatest satisfaction wherever I have an opportunity to relieve an office-hungry politician of some of his cash, through some skillful pretensions on my part. And wherever there are a sufficient number of comrades in a certain locality, they could easily help all our journals out of their perennial hard struggle with poverty, by banding together and selling their votes to the highest bidder. Form an organization, send your emissaries to the different political headquarters, take money from all sides and vote for none. Do like Kropotkin tells about the Nihilists: take the money from our enemies to support our cause.

I dare say this advice will cause a howl among certain comrades who consider Anarchy their religion, as some one once expressed it; who are so very idealistic that they fail to see that we are engaged in a war to the bitter end with the exploiting classes and that it is an old rule, that all is fair in war as long as you can get the best of your enemy.

The comrades in Chicago and New York could easily raise several thousand dollars, if the thing was managed properly, and they could put all their papers on a substantial basis, and have the satisfaction besides of knowing that our foes contributed the cash.

CHAS. DOERING.

EVOLUTION OF SOCIALISM.

(An address delivered by J.T. Kewish, before Columbian Branch, S. L. F.)

The speaker showed by way of introduction the principles of evolution, and continued as follows:

Suppose, then, we examine these principles regarding their significance in determining the science of sociology, and let us see if governmental or compulsory Socialism is practical and scientific as its advo-

cates claim, or if it is impractical, ideal and unscientific as some of its opponents contend.

If we closely observe the phenomena of the universe we will see that there is an increasing redistribution of matter and motion. On the one hand we see matter integrating—contributing to make a coherent whole or aggregate. On the other hand we see that all forms of matter are ever being disintegrated; are ever breaking up and going apart. The process of integration or the changes from an incoherent to a coherent state causes other changes that are different according to circumstances. These processes of integration and differentiation combine to render these changes not simply from the plain and simple to the compound and complex, or, as Spencer calls it, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, but from an indefinite homogeneity to a definite heterogeneity; and increasing definiteness is everywhere seen to accompany increasing heterogeneity. Since we cannot think of any mass, or homogeneity that is infinite, but can only conceive of it as a relation to some other thing we immediately see that any mass, or aggregate, must ever be subject to surrounding forces; and we further see that the forces falling upon any mass must be subdivided, and thus differentiated proceed to work a variety of changes, each of these changes producing others. Carrying this process a step further we see that things which are unlike are separated, while those which are like are united, and this continually serves to make definite all differentiations.

The final result of these changes or transformations is a state of equilibrium: a state of rest, or balanced forces; and while ultimate equilibrium is never reached it may pass through a kind of transitional stage of balanced forces, such as we see in a living body. Just so soon as it has reached this stage, however, dissolution sets in, because the mass being limited it is exposed to incident forces; and all the parts of the aggregate are thus brought into competition with these outside forces. Now, these transformations are exhibited in all things. We see them in organic and in inorganic bodies; we see them in the mind; we see them in society; we see them in all the products of social activity.

To apply these principles in such a manner as will enable us to get a correct idea of what constitutes the science of society, let us begin with the lowest, or earliest, form of society and work up to the highest. In this way, I think, we will find the importance of Socialism. Societies originate from the grouping together of units, at first few and simple. The process of growth being from increase of units within itself and from the joining of other such groups, a process which is about the same as the growth of a living body from a simple germ. As the society grows its structure and functions change. The wants and desires of its units being few and simple it is comparatively easy for all to perform each other's functions but as, no two of the units are exactly alike, differences increase in proportion to the growth of the society; and these differences, after awhile, bring about a specialization of functions. With the increase of special functions we see other specializations. As the units of the society assume different functions and develop traits of definiteness there is also developed a mutual dependence. One of the principal agencies of the mutual dependence of the units, I think, will be found to be emotional and intellectual language, for without language there is no way to convey ideas from one to another.

These traits of specialization and mutual dependence are ever modifying the actions of each of the individuals and the aggregate, and they are not confined to the actions of the units composing the society, but can be seen in all the products of their activity.

From each individual being, lumberman, fisherman, farmer, etc., it is but a step in progress until some become specially adapted to hunting, some to fishing, some to farming, some to manufacturing, etc.; and as individuals become adapted to special actions they lose adaptation to other actions, so that, as specialization and mutual dependence advance, modification also advances. There is the grouping together of those with like functions, and the going apart of those with unlike functions, societies thus growing within societies. There are other modifications, due to the nature and limitations of the habitat: climate, soil, mountains, forests, etc. These modifications act and react on the individuals and on the aggregate, and thus check both the individual units and the aggregate from assuming too much, while at the same time creating circumstances that virtually compel those who lag too far behind to come up to the scratch or get out of the race.

Out of these transformations there are evolved two distinct types of society: one, the compulsory co-operative or military type, the other, voluntary co-operation or the industrial type. As a society grows to a coherent state, and increases in mass, it is compelled by circumstances to spread out from its limited habitat and thus come in contact with other societies. This encroachment leads to conflict. The society proving itself successful in war will still further spread out, and under the pretense of protection will become coercive and invasive.

Warfare then becomes its special function and this leads to the idea that the individual exists for the benefit of the society, and must be forced to co-operate. Authority and officialism follow. As authority and officialism spread, and their powers increase, they become harder to resist. A few organized and disciplined can control and coerce a great mass of unorganized and undisciplined, and so it happens that in addition to coercion for defense against outside societies there is evolved a system of coercion for defense against the enemies within the society. This is government. Having overcome resistance to a certain point government also organizes to resist further innovation, and perpetuate itself at any cost; and so its functions become coherent and specialized. Along with this specialization or growth toward a coherent aggregate in the compulsory type of society we observe that co-ordinating agencies are ever working analogous changes in the industrial or voluntary type of society. From carrying on industry in a kind of indiscriminate manner functions are specialized by voluntary combined efforts, and in many cases become confined to some particular locality. Farming takes different phases in different localities; manufactures of various kinds become located in various particular places. From simple and crude trails we proceed to build roads. From a crude bartering we proceed to the market place, and to a reliable representative of value. In the distribution, general and special, resulting from these changes we find that all the units in the society appropriate for their individual use as much as they can, leaving the balance to pass to the next, thus ever competing with each other while at the same time being interdependent and voluntarily combining efforts according to desires and circumstances. Competition we find to be ever present and it is seen to be one of the main factors working throughout all these changes in the adjustment of relations and in the determination of what is necessary for all parts of society.

Compulsory co-operation and voluntary co-operation are extremely different and antagonistic. They ever compete with each other in such manner that various factors are produced which prevent either one ever reaching its extreme limit. The competition between the two types bring out their best qualities; and their relative merits are demonstrated by their contrasts. If, then, the voluntary or industrial type of society has evolved to such an extent—and I think it has—that the contrast between it and the compulsory type is indicated by the inversion of the belief that the individual exists for the benefit of the State into the belief that the State exists for the benefit of the individual, it is because voluntary combination and competition have proved to be fundamentals necessary in the progress of society.

Close observation of the evolutionary hypothesis as regards its significance in determining the science of sociology shows that competition must ever remain as an important factor in demonstrating superiority and fitness; in demonstrating the relative merits of all things according to conditions.

Yes, I think competition must ever remain a factor in the changes of universal phenomena. The changes in society are analogous to the changes taking place in the universe, both inorganic and organic; and a society very much resembles a living organism. If we compare a society with a living organism we find that the origin, growth and all transformations in both are analogous. In a living body, such as man, we see evolved a complex being, with many parts, nearly all of which are specially adapted to certain functions, the development of which can be traced back to a simple germ. It is the same in society. As each organ in man becomes specially adapted to certain functions it loses adaptation to others. It is the same in society. Each organ in man grows to depend largely on each other for their welfare. It is the same in society. There is a general distribution of the elements necessary to sustain the whole in a living body, just as in

a society. And, mark you, in this distribution each organ takes all it can assimilate, leaving the balance to pass on to the next just as in a society. There is no center regulating what is necessary for each part, and thus we find again that competition is ever the regulating factor just as in a society.

Although the changes ever taking place in a society are analogous to the changes ever taking place in a living body, there are vast differences between the two which show that they can never be alike.

In man the units or organs of which he is mainly composed are so developed that they all converge to a center from which they are so governed that the destruction of the center means the death and dissolution of the whole organism. The units of a society are not so banded together; and there is no common center, or sensorium, having control over their functions, but, instead of consciousness being concentrated in a center or small part of the aggregate, it is diffused throughout the whole; each of the units having a consciousness separate from each other, and all having capacities for happiness and misery in approximately equal degrees; the welfare of the whole not being an end sought for apart from the welfare of the units. A living organism, such as man, we see, is a concrete mass, which advances to a state of equilibrium between the forces which all of its parts are exposed to and the forces these parts oppose to them, and then, on account of being limited and exposed to surrounding forces that are not equilibrated, and which it is unable to resist, it immediately dies and dissolves. A society, we see, is a discrete mass which cannot arrive at a state of equilibrium and death as does a living body, because, each of the units having a separate consciousness, you would find it impossible to so band them together that surrounding forces would dissolve society without first destroying all the units. These differences between society and a living body are worthy your close attention. I believe that on a thorough comprehension of them depends a knowledge of the importance of Socialism as a factor in the science of sociology. So far as we have gone in our application of the evolutionary theory to society what can we truthfully say of Socialism viewed from this standpoint? We have seen that all societies begin by grouping together of small and simple bodies; we have seen that the formation of a larger society results from the grouping together of smaller societies as well as from the increase of its own units; we have seen that as societies grow the differences of their units increase and become complex in proportion to their growth, and that these differences together with the differences of their circumstances change their functions and structure; we have seen that these changes lead to specialization and mutual dependence; and we have seen that these traits are ever modifying the actions of the individual units as well as the aggregate. We have seen, too, that from the very beginning there has been a co-operation of parts, and that a society in many of its details is analogous to the relations existing between the parts or organs of a living body. Should we stop here these observations might justify a belief in the inevitable production of a certain type of society having all its parts bound together in close contact, with a common center regulating all its necessities: co-operation under state control. We cannot stop here, however, as there are other observations to be noted which carry us much further. In addition to the above mentioned changes tending toward a co-operative society under state control there are other changes to be observed which are antagonistic to such organization and which lead in an opposite direction.

From the very beginning of our argument we have seen that the processes working throughout a society are the same as those working throughout universal phenomena. Differences, we have seen, ever exist and ever produce antagonism, and thus cause increasing differences; we have seen that differences cannot exist without competition; we have seen that competition between the things that are different is the main factor which brings out their best qualities in contrast, and determines their relative merits; and we have seen that while these changes lead to the combining of units with like interests or like functions, they also lead to a separation of those with unlike functions or interests, and thus lead to further antagonism and competition. When an aggregate has evolved to such an extent that its forces are balanced, the surrounding forces which are ever in antagonism with it, we have seen, increase in proportion to the increase of its exposures and sooner or later cause a dissolution of the aggregate. We have seen also that the co-operation of

units existing to some extent from the very beginning of a society has been both compulsory and voluntary, and that the antagonism between the two always produces intermediate factors necessitating compromise. The State, we have seen, is a compromise, making its appearance after society has made considerable advancement. Now, is not this enough to show that governmental Socialism is impractical, if not impossible? I think it proves even more. It also proves, to my mind, that while government may have been, and may now be a necessary compromise in society it is not an indispensable feature. Governmental compromise is in itself compulsory. Government can at best only assume to perform certain functions better than can be performed by all or a part of its members by voluntary combination. Having assumed such powers it compels opposition to stop. As its functions increase its resistance also increases. Could it demonstrate its superiority in competition with the voluntary society it would not need to stop opposition, and it would necessarily survive, but, having overcome all resistances, the transformations as above instanced would disappear and your society would die or revert to its original condition. To make a concrete illustration: Suppose you let a solid body of a given size fall from a state of rest. In the first second of its fall it would have traveled a certain distance, in the next second a much greater distance is covered, and so on, increasing as it travels. But, mark you, the resistance it meets with increases in proportion to the increase of its speed, and there must come a time when the resistance equals the speed. A state of rest is then again reached. The same law holds good in society.

To come back to our argument, suppose now, that the voluntary should demonstrate its superiority in competition with the governmental type of society. The voluntary would of course survive, but would not proceed to immediate dissolution like the other, because the transformations necessary to its well-being are still present. Differences, competition, etc., still remain to prove fitness. As voluntary combined efforts would increase, inducements to compete by similar efforts would also increase. The greater the benefits of combined actions the greater the inducement to compete, the specialization and definiteness resulting from such combined efforts further intensifying the competition between all the units and thus again proving fitness in the general struggle to survive. A voluntary co-operative type of society can exist, then, in the absence of government as a compromise between it and the compulsory type, whereas the compulsory or governmental—which are virtually the same when carried to their uttermost—themselves come to an end when they have put an end to opposition.

Analyzed closely, and viewed from every imaginary standpoint, governmental Socialism proves to be impractical and impossible; is a delusion; and the brotherhood of man is a humbug.

Up to a certain point compulsory co-operation is a necessary factor in the determination and regulation of a society; beyond this point the increase of its powers necessitates increased force, making slavery unavoidable. Carried to its furthest extreme it annihilates itself. Every innovation voluntarily works its way until it has overcome resistance, and then it seeks to perpetuate itself against innovation. Innovation implies competition, and a society that does not recognize this principle must inevitably be a failure. And innovations never did, and never will, emanate from a majority.

The efforts of the State Socialists to better the conditions of the working classes are commendable, though misdirected. Such efforts have been put forth for thousands of years and most likely will be for thousands more, without changing the relative amount of misery in the world. For while pains and pleasures change in degree they do not change in amount. If the common and average man of a thousand years hence be as a Darwin, a Huxley, a Humboldt or a Spencer there would be others just as far in advance as these men now are compared with the mass now extant. All changes are changes of degree and you cannot draw the line between any class. The efforts of the Socialist are precisely the same, in principle, as the efforts of the so-called capitalist. They differ only in degree. You are trying to avoid the struggle for existence by gaining as much as possible with the least effort. The capitalist is doing the same thing. Your efforts, their efforts, as well as the efforts of all others combine to bring about changes that are ever seen to be present working a transformation of society different to what you anticipate. Innovations are constantly

appearing and continually working their way into recognition; and when recognized doing all they can to perpetuate themselves and resist further innovation.

Socialism is no exception, and could it evolve to such extent as to control government and by this means regulate the production and distribution of all the necessities of its members, it would be compelled by the very nature of things to organize an immense army against innovation and in protection of itself.

BIBLE TEACHING UP TO DATE.

"To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke."

Robert G. Ingersoll gave another spasm in *The Examiner*, April 17, (it would add to the interest of his articles if the price per line were stated) in which he says, "Spain has always been cruel." S. S. Prentice, many years ago, speaking of Spain, said, "On the shore of discovery it leaped an armed robber, and sought for gold even in the throats of its victims." Ingersoll finishes his article (price unknown), "I am in favor of an international court, the members to be selected by the ruling nations of the world; and before this court I think all questions between nations should be decided, and the only army and the only navy should be under its direction, and used only for the purpose of enforcing its decrees. Were there such a court now, before which Cuba could appear and tell the story of the wrongs, of the murders, the assassinations, the treachery, the cruelty, I think that the decision would instantly be in her favor and that Spain would be driven from the island. Until there is such a court there is no need of talking about the world being civilized."

Ingersoll does not think deep enough, or if he does he keeps his thoughts for himself, no doubt not considering them of commercial value. In the article in question, he exposes the cause of all "the wrongs, of the murders, the assassinations, the treachery, the starving, the cruelty," and he need not go so far as Cuba for his illustration, as we have the worst examples here in America, right under Robert's nose, of the utter wickedness of the gold power. This glorious country started without the king, priest and land baron curses, but gold has now such a hold on it, that aliens are squeezing double the amount of gold out of American labor that Spain is able to squeeze out of Cuba.

Oh Robert! an international court selected by the ruling nations of the world, would be elected by gold, don't-yer-know, and just so long as such is the case, Labor will be damned and the world will be uncivilized if civilize really means—to humanize. Gold is king, without the shadow of a doubt; and the very first reform must be to dethrone gold; for some time Labor must exchange their products; we cannot jump all at once into free production and free consumption; we who do any useful work, must, as the only way to obtain our rights peacefully, devise the means of escape from money enslavement, by using a medium of exchange that cannot be cornered, contracted at the will of those who do not produce, and, will not bear usury, by forcing others to work for the lazy. When producers own all their products, the hours of labor will be so few, work will be looked upon as the best recreation possible; then those who now scheme, by means of the gold (or any metal) standard to live on the labor of others, will realize that they, too, can make a good, certain and easy living by, say two hours' daily work, at some useful employment; then would come in the humanizing influences that would abolish Ingersoll's pets—courts—armies—navies; these being the executives of the money power, "the wrongs, the murders, the assassinations, the treachery, the starving, the cruelty" would cease.

Finally, brethren! including Ingersoll and the parsons whom he so often justly ridicules, the first move toward a peaceful revolution, is undermining the money power, and this rests entirely with us who labor. Do let us agree, as a prime necessity for salvation, to use our own medium of exchange, and not the medium that makes us worried and starved slaves. Why should we have to pinch—economize—put up with the worst fare, clothes and houses, when we produce all the wealth? Those who advise labor to be economical, should according to equity, be choked by the very words they utter; those who prate about civilization and liberty, but uphold a metal currency, are incapable and deserve pity. Gold always has been cruel, and will continue to be more and more cruel as long as its power lasts.

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.

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In Hungary there are thousands of villages and small towns without a doctor within ten miles.

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