

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.

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WHOLE NO. 166.

THE FORECAST.

Ride on 'neath canopy of silk and burnished gold,
As haughty barons once did ride, in times of old,
Bid fawning servants, to the hungry mob convey
That you by right command, and they are to obey;
What odds if some who struggle in the van for bread
In tears, and rags, and cold, go supperless to bed!

You were born to conquer, and must not conquered be,
The poor were born to yield, and humbly bend the knee;
God willed that titled lords should crush poor bleeding
hearts;

What signify to you the many pricks and smart
Of those sorely beaten in this mad race for life,
Some must be trampled under in the savage strife.

Load your iron coffers with tears and dying groans,
What matter if the weak such savagery bemoans,
Pursue the pirate's plan, rob, ravage, and debase;
With hired troops and jails, you're bound to win the
race—;

Imprison, shoot, and hang, do not from murder shrink,
For law does not permit those whom it robs to think.

Hatch your debauching schemes, and call it "rights of
man;"

Debar the plodding herd, the use of Nature's plan,
Show them, legislatures were made express to sell;
That scheme of government, does 'way with need of hell,
Outdo the devil's best to hold the world at bay.
Hold your midnight revels, and glory in your sway.

Shout it from the house tops, proclaim your vested
rights,

Yours divine and holy, sent down from Pisgah's heights,
Let coins of all great Cæsar's back to Cæsar's go;
Did not Christ anointed so will it long ago?

Let toilers understand, that plundered they must be,
Kept from Nature's store-house, locked out by mam-
mon's key.

But hark to coming gale, dost hear strange muffled
sounds?

Hear the approaching storm, like distant baying hounds,
As some wild fury burst—hard labored—surging on,
Or wandering spirit lost, foully set upon?
Now comes a death like calm, the harbinger of storm,
As deepest dark of night, bespeaks the coming morn.

Listen to the echo of hate that fills the air;
Note the angry forecast that speaks its warning there,
Speaking near, yet nearer, ever broader spreading,
Faster dashing onward, to its crimson heading,
Like the frothy billows of tempestuous sea
As it dashes landward in wild and frenzied glee.

Hark unto the medley of the weird-like chorus;
What can soothe the tempest ere it reach and gore us?
Listen—husbands pleading—wives and children dying;
Strong men, brave but helpless, curse and fall defying;
Thus from stormy forecast athwart the leaden sky,
I catch discordant notes from drift-clouds passing by.

Hear you now the tramping of weary marching feet?
See the hungry passing, all footsore on the street?
Comes there no warning here, no whispered word
"beware"?

And shall you haughty wait, this famished mob to
are?

Note how the forecast here reflects the crimson trail!
Think you that hired troops will stand the coming
gale?

Dost think to hold us on the leash forevermore;
To constant drive us on, like herd of swine before?
Shall we like brutes contended be, and never learn,
Forever herd like sheep, like them afraid to turn?
Or shall we some day growing wiser sense our shame,
And fiercely turn about, reverse the robber's game!

Ride on, bold pirate crew, in all your splendor ride,
Haughty and unheeding, in arrogance and pride!
With all your vested rights, backed up with perjured
laws,

You shall not feed on us, despite your legal claws!
'Tis slaves that cringe at threats, but manly men defy.
E'en though you plastered laws from Hell to Sinai.

L. S. OLIVER.

Maywood, Ill.

WAR.

War is upon us; terrible war with its atrocities
and unspeakable stupidity draws near. We hear
its distant echo. Each one of us has friends or re-
lations calling themselves heroes because they mas-
sacre Matabeles or Malagays, Dervishes or Dacoits,

inhabitants of the Philippine Isles or Cuba, colored
men, whites or blacks.

But danger breaks forth around us, it already
presses on us. The Spaniards, our neighbors, and
civilized English-speaking men—North Americans,
rush one another with cries of hatred, coarse words
and deadly weapons. An explosion of hatred and
fury precedes the cannon's roar and the bombard-
ment of cities. The American government appeals
to Edison's genius, to the science of all inventors
in order that they discover new wonders in the art
of exterminating their fellow creatures.

Yet our engineers are skillful and may be con-
gratulated on the success of their works of death.
For a devil who dreams of universal destruction, it
must be a fine sight to see a volley suddenly trans-
form a whole battalion of able-bodied young men
into a quivering mass of flesh torn by dum-dum
bullets! It must also be a refined pleasure for an
enemy of mankind to know that the mere contact
of two wires produces a shock like a thunderbolt
and blows a whole district of a town, with stones,
bricks, brains and limbs mixed up, into space. But
this does not suffice them. What all these warlike
people want now is to cause the total destruction
of man and of his works in an immense space, it is
to outdo the blind power of nature by the conscient
ferocity of man. They must surpass earthquakes
and hurricanes, destroy not only haphazard but by
an infallible method.

"No false sentimentality!" they say to us. "War
is war!" Well then, so be it. It is because war
brings all these terrible consequences in its train
that it behooves us to grasp it in its origin and to
stop all manifestations from the beginning. A vi-
per must be crushed in the egg. What is there as-
tonishing in war breaking out when the whole of
society, as constitutions and institutions have cre-
ated it, rests on hostile interests and that a rum-
bling struggle rages in the depths? Pent up hat-
red must burst forth from time to time, and we
should show bad grace in complaining if we our-
selves contributed to augment this hatred, or if
inert and cowardly before violence and injustice
were complacently let it accumulate day by day.

It would therefore be trouble thrown away to cry
out against Spain and the United States. When
the masses are lashed into an unreasoning fury it
is useless to add your voice to the uproar. It is
vanity to preach morality to men drunk with al-
cohol or blood. What is the use of telling them they
are exploitable material for spirit merchants, for
monopolizers of corn, spirits and petroleum?

But we who are not made drunk by war, are we
not guilty? Have we protested with all our en-
ergy, have we rebelled against initial abominations
that lead to war, do we always make a stand against
injustice, even if it is committed by our country-
men? Now, these social crimes press on us, en-
compass us on all sides. Here in the British Isles
we have the horrors of the workhouse and of the
tread-mill, the great prison of Ireland, and our rich
folk live on the spoils of half the world. In France,
we have committed the crime of our colonial con-
quests, the shame of our magistracy ready for any-
thing, the incubus of our army, organized against
the people, with its staff brought up in the school
of Jesuitism, with its officers that sentence privates
guilty of a gesture to death or to the horrors of
Biribi, while they adulterate traitors of high degree.
And the Italian government? We let them shoot
down starvelings, and put those who ask for bread

for the poor into prisons. As to the Spanish min-
isters, who now drive their people to butchery, they
profit by excitement and disturbances, and forget
to liberate the men they have tortured. And yon-
der, on the other side of the Atlantic, American
judges (of whom the public lazily becomes the ac-
complice) acquit an employer who has caused work-
men to be massacred by the score!

Do not let us forget these atrocities. May war,
with its terrible upheavals, not let us lose sight of
social injustice, that monstrous inequality among
men which is the primary cause of all strife.—
E. Reclus, in Freedom, London.

GOVERNMENT NOT A PROP.

Adeline Champney, in her article "More Light"
in this issue, very ably exposes and disposes of some
flaws in J. W. Gaskine's original criticism of the
"Country of the Future," which through haste and
pressure of business I had forgotten to notice.

Much as I feel gratified at the timely assistance
in the attempt to vanquish this unconscious foe of
human liberty, I am obliged to ward off some blows
aimed at myself in this melee.

To begin with I wish to call our friend's attention
to an error of statement. She says regarding the
"Country of the Future:" "There is one curious
thing about that 'Country of the future': All the
people seem to have the same tastes, the same
ideals of social life." This is incorrect. The Coun-
try of the Future, far from being onesided and
authoritarian, is on the contrary in favor of varie-
tism and extremely libertarian, as the following
citations prove: "There everyone does as he or
she pleases." "Few of them (houses) are alike in
size or appearance." "Of dress there is much
variety, for people dress to please themselves, to
suit their occupations, their taste and their
physiques." "Everyone consciously seeks his or
her happiness, and nearly everyone finds it in his
or her peculiar way. No one blames another for
not going his or her way."

More than that. The following passage is abso-
lute proof of the anxiety of the people of the Coun-
try of the Future to guard against authority:
"Everyone is very sensitive lest some other should
construe any of his or her words to mean a com-
mand, or any of his or her actions to mean a re-
straint upon others' harmless actions."

Great pains are taken to even rear the children
with as little restraint as possible, as is shown by
the following passage: "The most intelligent par-
ents are sometimes much troubled because they
have to restrain their offspring while very young."

Nay, more than that. The author even shows
her utter detestation of authority by the cynical
remark: "No one blames another for not having
the same colored eyes as he or she has."

Can anything be plainer?

Friend Adeline in attempting to criticize my
position regarding government betrays an error-
neous conception of that power. Government means
the subjugation of one or more persons to the will
of others: control; coercion. To abolish govern-
ment, therefore, would mean to abolish coercion.
That certainly can not "entail suffering on a great
many." On the contrary, it would do away with
suffering. Let Adeline reflect for a moment upon
the one matter affecting her sex most severely—
coercion in sex relations, and let her say whether
the abolition of coercion in this matter would not

do away with instead of "entailing" untold woe and suffering.

Equally so in every other field of human activity. Government hampers the freedom of expression and action directly by the suppression of free speech, free press and freedom to bear arms, as guaranteed by the constitution of this country. But its greatest injuries are perpetrated indirectly by protecting and fostering the monopoly of the natural resources and the medium of exchange which forces one portion of the wealth creators or would-be-wealth creators into idleness and semi-starvation and the other—the working—portion into competition with the latter, thus reducing their earnings almost below the ability to subsist—driving woman into prostitution for the sake of enabling themselves and their relatives to live, and crippling children in factories and workshops.

Anarchists do not aim by coercive means at the abolition of government for those who "desire to be governed." They object to being governed themselves. It is true it is necessary for obvious reasons to enlighten others upon the baneful effects of authority; to reason with and persuade them. But if others are so blind as to wish for a condition that condemns themselves into idleness or starvation; that cripples their children in factories and workshops; that drives their women into prostitution—pitiable as their blindness may be, it is no reason why those who keenly realize such degrading and damnable conditions, should themselves tamely and quietly submit without even a protest.

I differ with Adeline as to the necessity of "props." Let her read the pertinent and able article of Henry Addis of last week's issue entitled "Is Anarchism practicable Now?" and become convinced that there is no necessity for "props."

Government is not a "prop." It is an ulcer—a cancer. It means restriction of natural healthful human desires; a check upon normal ambitions; a grave of the most beautiful, most ennobling and sublime aspirations of the human being.

Well do I realize with my sister Adeline that this baneful authority has not come and cannot be thrown off in a day; nor do I share the opinion of some of my hotheaded friends that freedom can be ushered in by physical force. Once did I think so; but calmer reflection and study has convinced me that all progress is a matter of slow, gradual growth—of evolution. Ages may pass before our ideals will be fully realized.

What then are we agitating for? Simply for the satisfaction we derive from it. We live in our ideals, and it is a sufficient reward for our efforts to enjoy the anticipation of our ideals—to know that our humble efforts shall have been instrumental in some distant day ushering in the grand and glorious time of human emancipation from all prejudices and superstitions; from ignorance and woe—the new era—the era of Liberty and Peace.

S. D.

REPLY TO THE CRITIC.

Of liberty says Edmund Burke: "Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty adheres in some sensible object, and every people has formed to itself some favorite point which by way of eminence becomes the criterion of their happiness."

To understand why there must be a criterion or standard of human conduct, as disputed by S. D., it is only necessary to reflect that human beings do not enjoy their existence as solitary Robinson Crusoes on islands far separated from each other, but that they live together: a relation exists between human beings, all those ties, that intercourse, we call social.

Now, what is this existence which we call social? It is the contacts of individuals; the sum of these contacts constitutes society.

In his profound work "Degeneration" Nordan makes the following reflections upon the "Ego": In ultimate analysis, the consciousness of the "Ego", and notably the opposition of the "Ego" and the "non-Ego," is an illusion of the senses and a fallacy of thought. Every organism is related to a species, and over and above that to the universe. It is the direct

material continuation of its parents; it is itself continued directly and materially in its descendants. It is composed of the same materials as the whole environmenting world; these materials are constantly penetrating into it, transforming it, producing in it all the phenomena of life and consciousness. All the lines of action of the forces of nature are prolonged in its interior; it is the scene of the same physical and chemical processes in action throughout the universe. What pantheism divines and clothes in needlessly mystic words is clear, sober fact, namely, the unity of nature, in which each organism is also a part related to the whole."

Is not this true? Are not these contacts a reality? They are; human beings touch each other.

Now, can you think of human beings touching each other without there being a way in which they touch? It is impossible. Again, we cannot think of anything existing—having form—without a cause. Society is a form. The units of this form—the individuals—have a contact with each other. What is the cause? Why is it that they touch each other in this defined form? It is because of attraction they like to. What the like is then the cause of the form—what they like, is expressed in their conduct to each other as conscious beings—what they like, is thus the criterion of their conduct—without this criterion it is impossible to think of them in contact at all.

We look at a pile of stones rolled together: some external agency, the wind, a current of water, the hand of man has gathered them together into a pile.

The pile of human beings, we call society, has not been so gathered by external force; it has come together because of the feelings in its individual parts; in these feelings they have agreed. A pile of human beings—society—is an adjustment of individuals to each other through agreement—not the preconceived agreement of Rousseau, but that agreement which has gradually come about in that state of growth we call evolution.

Can we think of the social units remaining together for any other cause than this feeling, in any other way than that in which they agree?

And how is this expressed in ordinary term of speech? It is expressed by the word conduct. Society is only conceivable as the relation of parts to each other in a whole. There must be a way in which those parts are related to each other and that way is known as conduct. Human beings can only live together on the provision of a kind of conduct upon which they agree. Whatever this agreement is, it is a standard, a criterion of conduct. A society, a state, is inconceivable without a criterion of conduct—unless we admit the paradox of the State of Anarchy—a State certainly—the inconceivable State.

The critic S. D. immediately finds the obstacle of form confronting his effort to think of society without form—that is without rule of conduct, so free, that there is no criterion of right about anything. Not able to see how this could be—no rule to regulate human relations—he proceeds to construct one directly: he calls it "non-invasion," "the only rational principle for the safe guidance of society."

Following this, it should fall to S. D. to give his definition of rational, which I should think he would find difficult, after declaring that there is no rational standard about conduct, and quoting another writer to the effect that no one is prepared to say "when we are sane, when we are normal."

Don Quixote, however, knew better than that; before sending Sancho to Dulcinea del Toboso with the tale that he was mad from love, he stripped to his shirt, and cut some somersaults in the bush as an object lesson. What somersaults in undress some modern Don Quixotes do cut to be sure.

Goethe makes these rhymes:

"A fellow says I own no school or college,
No master lives whom I acknowledge,
And pray don't entertain the thought
That from the dead I'er learned aught.

This, if I rightly understand,
Means I'm a fool by own command."

To do as one pleases is certainly necessary to happiness. In the Country of the Future "few please to do hurtful things." Why? What are hurtful things? If they are such things they must be capable of description. If they can be described, then their avoidance must be part of a criterion of conduct. Why do only a few do hurtful things? There must be some reason, either from education, artificial selection after birth, or by heredity producing inoffensive characters. No doubt it was accomplished by education. What

were hurtful things was found out by experience; parents taught them to children, explained to them why it was good to do certain things and hurtful to do others. Under the influence of these ideals formed in their minds in childhood the youth grew up to please to do those things which were not hurtful to do. Practically the people of the Country of the Future are restrained by laws. Their liberty is regulated because of necessity; it has its expression in the form of the society; that form holds them together in a unity, which is in fact a submission to the form.

Yes, the standards of human conduct do shift, they do shift continually, and more and more they shift to a rational standard, for the reason that more and more the race accumulates knowledge: the rationality of action depends not on the power of a being to reason; but on the correspondence of mental deduction with objective reality.

It is only as we know that we can be reasonable. If S. D. denies knowledge, as he seems to, there is no argument; the lower animals whose knowledge is limited to the ways of getting food can hardly be looked to for a criterion of conduct.

Governments are related to the citizens of a State precisely as parents are related to their children; they communicate to the citizens ideals of life. Some parents are very stupid and cruel; so are some governments. The objection to government is not that they are unnecessary but that they are more or less unreasonable. The same with the institutions of society. The criterions of conduct to which they force conformity, have their base in imperfect knowledge or illusion; or they have sprung up and found a continuance from the habits of barbarians, as illustrated by Felix in the letter on love.

When we attain to more rational or entirely rational criterions of conduct there is reason to suppose we shall have more liberty and more happiness. As man's comfort in nature depends upon his correct understanding of what it is, so that he can adapt himself to its realities, so in relation to his fellows real knowledge of what they are, the history, the experience of the whole race, is necessary to a comfortable, a happy adjustment.

The writer feels it due to himself to disclaim the titles of free thinker and free lover which S. D. assigns him. He is a free thinker only in being an independent thinker; he belongs to no school. If he understands the position of the free thinker, it is that turn of thought which regards religion as the invention of a priestcraft, assails it as an unmitigated evil and believes if it had not descended upon the race through the designing priests and as a misfortune that we should have escaped many sorrows and have been far more advanced to good times.

The writer has a contrary opinion. He regards religion not as an invention, nor as an accident in the development of opinion, but as a natural and unavoidable illusive apprehension of physical phenomena preceding that of positive knowledge, as the fancies of the child precede the actual knowledge of the man. He believes, too, that it has done a great deal of good; perhaps the greatest good that it has been the chief influence in lifting man above the animal. His attitude to religion is a respectful one, but it is a respectful attitude for what it has done in the past. Religion, as it were, lifted man upon his feet, but now being erect and with a fuller vision he must go on from the true knowing of what is about and before him.

Nor is the writer a free lover: the free love conception of the sexual relation takes to two ideals—one, the old ideal of exclusive love, but without the form of a public bond—the other ideal variety.

The writer conceives of love differently, he conceives of it as freed—freed from the personality, though the union to the person gave life to and developed it. Finally, love comes to a point where continuing ardently sensuous it finds itself allied to a self-inspecting mentality. It then discovers that it has become a freed emotion; it has escaped from the ego—in simplest terms: it is love not of one nor of many—it is the love of beautiful womanhood.

Love is the charm of sex. Freed love would seek this charm in free society, for it is at once the greatest happiness and the greatest stimulus to energy and goodness.

J. W. GASKINE

REJOINDER.

Friend Gaskine is on the warpath. He wants to annihilate me, which, of course, is the legitimate business of all warriors. True to his governmental instincts he seeks the alliance of other fighting powers. He goes to Spain and to Germany and traverses the whole globe to escape—Reason. But he can't do it.

In spite of Nordan's "profound" Degeneration; in spite of D. n Quixote's (and his own intellectual) somersaults; in spite of even Goethe's fool, he is still to prove—what is the gist of this whole controversy—that authority is justifiable and expedient and that its antithesis—Liberty—is unjustifiable and inexpedient.

I am far from being a millionaire and am obliged to snatch the little time I can devote to this pleasure from my regular business of keeping the wolf from my door. Neither am I learned enough, nor has this paper space enough to allow my indulgence in pleasure-trips to the moon or in long winded dissertations about the origin of species, the immorality of the soul, etc. etc. I must therefore remain upon terra firma and will attempt to reason the thing out with friend Gaskine in as few rounds and with the loss of as little valuable time and space as possible.

Suppose there were only three persons in this world—J. W. Gaskine, A. C., and S. D. all of us attend to their own business. Directly J. W. G. comes along exclaiming: "S. D., I am tired of seeing this vulgar, nature-created body of yours in its nudeness; I want you to put rags around it so as to hide it from my view." "Why," replies S. D., "this is my own body, and it is none of your business what I do with it. I am not injuring you and propose to mind my own business, and wish you would mind your own as well." "But," says J. W. G., "here is A. C.; she, too, abhors nudeness, and we have concluded to don rags, and that shall henceforth be our criterion of conduct." "Very well," retorts S. D. reasonably, "that is your pleasure. You may suit yourselves regarding it. If it hurts your esthetic eyes to look at what nature was base enough to create don't look at me and go your way; if you have entered into a compact to don rags and make that a criterion of conduct for yourselves, I have not the least objections to your being guided by your foolish criterion, but you must not force it upon me. I do not wish to don rags and wish to be left to do as I please, just as I am willing to leave you to do as you please." "Hold on," says J. W. G., "you must and shall don rags at once, for we are two; we are superior to you in physical strength and will coerce you."

Let friend Gaskine extend this illustration to the billions of human beings composing what is termed society and he can form a fair estimate of the results that must inevitably follow from the application of the two different principles. In the one case—voluntarism or Anarchism—it will be the simple unhampered operation of the natural law of attraction and repulsion—normal development. In the other case—Coercion or Government—it will be the suppression of natural desires and inclinations—retrogression and decay.

Reader, which do you prefer? It would be a waste of time and space to enter into examination and discussion of Friend Gaskine's tweedle-dum-tweedledee expatiations of his freethought and his free love. For me it suffices to know that he is in favor of absolute freedom of the individual—both man and woman—in the adjustment of their religious and sex relations. If he were only logical enough to carry his conclusions in these matters into other fields of human affairs we could both drop our swords and present a more solid front to our common foe.

S. D.

BIBLE TEACHING UP TO DATE.

"There is no fear in love: but perfect love casteth out fear, because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love."

How contradictory this is to the teaching of the churches and Sunday schools. Their power over the ignorant, is the fear of damnation, hell, brimstone. They go so far as to threaten the punishment, for, "having two eyes, to be cast into hell fire; where there worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." Few would join any church but for this tormenting fear instilled into the undeveloped minds of children. This false teaching dwarfs, and in too many cases quite destroys the power to think in after life. The same book tells us God is love, and God is true.

Henry Thoreau inimitably describes the conditions thus: "It is remarkable that notwithstanding the universal favor with which the New Testament is outwardly received, and even the bigotry with which it is defended, there is no hospitality shown to, there is no appreciation of, the order of truth with which it deals. I know of no book that has so few readers. There is none so truly strange, and heretical, and unpopular, to christians, no less than Greek and Jews;

it is foolishness and a stumblingblock. There are indeed, severe things in it which no man should read aloud more than once. 'Seek first the kingdom of heaven.' 'Lay not up for yourself treasures on earth.' 'If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.' 'For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?' Think of this, Yankees! Verily I say unto you, if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.' Think of repeating these things to a New England audience! thirdly, fourthly, fifteenthly, till there are three barrels of sermons! Who, without cant, can read them aloud? Who, without cant, can hear them and not go out of the meeting-house? They never were read, they never were heard? Let but one of these sentences be rightly read from any pulpit in the land, and there would not be left one stone of that meeting-house upon another."

Anarchists endorse this to the letter; we desire such conditions that the fear of government with its hosts of tax collectors may vanish; thus abolishing moral and other policeman—those with stars and clubs as well as those who fill their pockets by pretending to provide fools with gold crowns and a future residence among the stars. Then fear would depart, and love prevail.

We desire, and ask, to be allowed to wake each morning at least as happy as a sparrow. Under natural conditions we should, but now how vastly different! The fear of man-made land laws, tax-laws, usury-laws, crushes love and truth, morning, noon and night. But the mustard seed of Anarchy grows, and it will remove the mountain of iniquity.

The writer was brought up in superstition, christened in long clothes. Two doses of school and two or three sermons each Sunday, with just as many collections as the inventive genius of the combined forces of parsons, stewards, and lay preachers could scheme, compatible of course with a fair prospect of drawing the coin, the "collection" being looked upon as a passport to heaven, for "the Lord loveth a cheerful giver." In addition to the Sunday sacrifices of comfort and common sense came a weekly sermon, a weekly prayer meeting, and a weekly "class meeting." This latter exercise was presided over by a mother or father confessor. The climax of superstitious vagary is reached by the monthly Lord's supper, when they make believe body blood of Christ are partaken of, to the mumbling of "do this in remembrance of me, for this is my body," etc. etc., by some elder, who will be up early on the following morning, if he can make a few dollars out of a poorer brother, even if the operation is contrary to the teachings of love or truth.

These Methodist "means of grace," are wicked inventions of the knowing ones, by which they may live on the ignorance of others. Judging by past personal experience a church-member's life is full of fear and torment, too acute and varied to allow of intelligent recapitulation. This fact impels me to urge others to try complete separation from all churches thus be "born again" into that freedom, which allows one to realize truth.

Congregations may be divided into four parts: those who wish to appear respectable; old women of both sexes; tradesmen for the business it brings; and young persons who have been brought up on superstition.

Churches, although formally dedicated to god, truth, love—are monuments of hypocrisy and robbery; they belong to Labor who created them. The coin Labor received for their work was the very tool by which they were bunced out of their productions.

If we are to be made perfect in love, we must not be subject to any government, be it theocratic, plutocratic, republic democratic, socialistic, or majoric; only the minoric—Ego—even if that be erratic, will bring forth that which is true.

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.

Notice.

A. Hamon, editor of L'Humanite Nouvelle, requests authors or publishers of books, pamphlets, newspapers, leaflets, etc., on Socialism or Anarchism or pertaining to the social question generally, to send him sample copies of such literature for review.

His address is: A. Hamon, 3, Boulevard Berthier (XVII), Paris, France.

"E PLURIBUS UNUM."

What is that, pa?

That is a motto adopted by the United States, my son, and means that in union there is strength.

Why did they adopt that, pa, and why do they put it on money?

Well, they adopt it, my son, for the significance it has, or the truth it contains, and they put it on the dollar so that it may be a frequent reminder to all the people that our strength as a nation depends upon our remaining united.

Why does a nation need strength, pa? Do they want to fight other people?

Well, yes, if necessary. Most of the nations of the earth practice what is called an aggressive policy, or a policy which has for its aim the subjugation of other countries: hence it is the part of wisdom for the people of any country to be united for self-protection, which is called the first law of nature.

But, pa, why do people want to fight each other?

Well, it is generally for gold or its equivalent, that nations engage in war with each other, though the leaders always frame some other excuse, in order to stir up the masses, who are working people, and who have no interest in the war at all, but have to do the fighting all the same. The leaders, or instigators of the war, get it up for the purpose of making money out of it. Nearly all wars are gotten up for this purpose.

Well, pa, if the leaders of this country were to get up a war with some other country to make money it looks like the people ought not to unite and help 'em; they ought to let the men who got it up fight it out themselves.

Yes, but the men who get up the wars are always the rulers, and, being in power, have a way of compelling the poor people to do all the fighting.

Ain't there more poor people than rich, pa?

Yes, very many more, my son.

Well, why don't the poor people unite with each other, pa, and not let the rulers have a war?

You are too hard for me there, son. I don't know why they do not unite.

Are you rich, pa?

Yes, I suppose so.

Do you help get up wars, pa?

No, son. Wars are not always profitable to those who are rich, at least not to all of them.

Was there a war down at Hazelton the other day where some of your men got killed, pa?

Oh, no. That was a little labor trouble. There were only a few killed.

What were they killed for, pa? Because they wouldn't work?

No, not because they wouldn't work, but because they wanted to persuade others not to work.

Well, wasn't that trying to get the others to unite with them, pa? and wasn't it about wages? and ain't wages money, pa?

Say, it's time you were in bed. You'll be able to understand such things better when you are older.

Pa, do you own the coal mine?

Yes, half of it, my son.

How much is half of it worth, pa?

Oh, several hundred thousand dollars, son. Why do you ask such questions?

How much was it worth when you bought it, pa?

Oh, not very much. I believe I gave ten thousand for it.

What makes it worth so much now, pa? Have you put any more coal in it?

No. I have taken a great deal out of it. It is worth more now because it is developed. It was undeveloped when I bought it.

What is developin', pa?

It is opening up, and getting the coal out.

I thought the workingmen did that. Do they, pa?

Yes, they get the coal out. Ain't you sleepy?

The workingmen have made you rich, then, haven't they, pa?

Oh, go 'long to bed, and hush asking such questions. —Exchange.

"Physician in the House."

As a special premium to any one who will send us five dollars and the names of ten yearly subscribers to Free Society or Free Society Library we will send the large volume entitled "A Physician in the House," price \$2.75, written by Dr. Joseph H. Greer, a well-known Chicago physician of the reform school, and who has been an earnest friend and generous helper of The Firebrand and Free Society.

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

NOTE AND COMMENT.

If the readers of Free Society who are in arrears with their subscriptions will pay up, they will enable us to publish Free Society Library regularly, otherwise we will have to suspend the publication of the Library until we are assisted financially.

"When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice, in a contemptible struggle," says Burke. The fact is the combination of the "bad" men forces the "good" to associate: it is a matter of self-preservation—self-interest.

"No revolution ever rises above the intellectual level of those who make it, and little is gained where one false notion supplants another." These words of Carlyle ought to induce us not only to defy false notions in speech and press, but also by action.

It is a significant commentary upon the errors of popular prejudice, that the Anarchists, associated in the public mind with bombs and murder, are opposing the war and upholding the sanctity of human life and the brotherhood of man, while on the other hand christian clergymen are most thirsting for the blood of their fellowmen.—Justice.

If the people had taken the trouble to investigate Anarchism, they would have found out long ere this that the Anarchists are the only consistent advocates of "the sanctity of human life and the brotherhood of man," for all governments rest on force and violence. It is an encouraging sign that the Single Taxers of Philadelphia, Pa. protest against the present war and its atrocities, but they still deal with the effects instead of attacking the cause of the evil—government.

"Having the power any Anarchist would abolish government," says Adeline Champney in her article More Light, "and entail suffering on a great many." This is an impossible proposition unless an Anarchist would have the ability to enlighten all the people and thus create a desire to be rid of government. On the other hand, if it were possible to abolish government by an external force, it would by no means "entail suffering on a great many," for governments do not exist because people desire to be governed. I have not met a single man yet who wanted government for himself, but in their ignorance they think that the "other fellow" needs to be governed. The Anarchist in jail does not want to abolish government immediately: he simply refuses to be governed, and is in so far a consistent Anarchist, not infringing "on the rights of those who want a prop."

If J. W. Gaskine had put his thinking apparatus in operation when he wrote the "Reply to the Critic," his own arguments would have led him to the conclusion that government is the disturbing factor in society and that society exists in spite of authority. His statement that human beings have not been gathered by external force, and that society is an adjustment which has come about by growth, is the strongest argument he possibly could make against government. Authority is an external force and has always done its utmost to prevent people from "gathering" and "touching" by attraction and growth. No Anarchist will wage war against a conduct of human beings which results from natural growth or evolution, but as soon as such conduct is made a standard for all to go by it becomes a stumbling-block to progress and causes hostility, persecution and prosecution. What Gaskine would call a proper conduct is condemned by his christian neighbors, but if his neighbors have no power to prosecute him, things will adjust themselves peaceably if his conduct is not of an invasive character. The publishers of

The Firebrand, Ruedebusch and Berrier, et. al. had injured no one, but they tried to go beyond the fixed standard of society's conduct and were prosecuted. To speak of a "free society," as J. W. Gaskine does, and contend for a government in the same breath is simply ridiculous.

Reflect for a moment upon the following sentence: "Governments are related to the citizens of a State precisely as parents are related to their children; they communicate to the citizens ideals of life." I had a hard time to get rid of the prejudices and superstitions my parents had inculcated into my brain, and I could only develop and grow out of them when I was able to resist their "ideals of life." Parents' authority is as detrimental to the development of the child as the authority of a few individuals called government is to its subjects. But parents, sometimes at least, try to reason with their children while governments impose and enforce their "ideals of life" upon the citizens with clubs, penitentiaries, etc. The historian, Buckle, was not an Anarchist and still he found that governments had always been a stumbling-block to progress; that mankind advances in spite of and by defying governments; that legislators had never done any good to mankind except when they repealed laws. Remove restrictions, Mr. Gaskine, and you will have natural growth—evolution.

I don't claim to know anything about poetry, still I think some of our poets would serve the cause much more if they would confine themselves to prose.

According to our German contemporaries comrade Lucy E. Parsons held eight lectures in Pittsburg Pa., and vicinity. The largest and most enthusiastic meetings she had among the coalminers. Considerable literature was sold and over 1000 copies of Free Society and Solidarity distributed among them.

It seems to me that Comrade Morse in his "Key-Notes" has not found any other key than that which has brought Anarchism into life, i. e. the consciousness that the forces which are active in the universe or in nature will also adjust human relations, and that to interfere with these forces must be detrimental and create inharmony.

Edward Bellamy, the author of "Looking Backward" and "Equality" died lately after a lingering and painful sickness. He was born 49 years ago at Chicopee Falls, Mass.; attended several colleges and traveled also in Europe to develop his education. The Star of this city, very appropriately remarks in reference to the influence of the book "Looking Backward." "That noted work, which has reached a circulation of nearly a million copies, and has done much in arousing thought on social wrongs and exciting hope for an industrial millennium, might have vastly extended its scope had its ideal been along the lines of free development, instead of institutional collectivity."

Prof. Letourneau, in his latest work, "The Evolution of Slavery," calls wage-slavery the last form of bondage. He designates it a temporary phase in the modern process of evolution, to be followed by a communistic form of property. He says: "As soon as the wage system is completed educated humanity will be perfectly free. Then, and only then, will it be prepared for physical, moral and mental perfectionment, and it will realize for the first time the full meaning of life's Happiness."—Commonwealth.

An incident recently happened at our national capital which strongly emphasizes the disbelief of one of the legislators in the efficacy of government as corrector of theft. Senator Mason of Illinois, having lost jewels to the amount \$4000 from his residence, instead of appealing to the police, published a letter in which he promises to the gentleman who broke into his house to pay him for a scarf pin and watch more than he could receive from any body else, these articles being presents and much valued by him. The Senator also gives the "gentleman," his word of honor that in communicating with him he will not run any risk of capture.

I find the following paragraph in the Star of this city, cited from comrade Emma Goldman's speech:

"What we want is the liberty of each individual to build his or her own system, and heaven upon earth,

according to their own natural desires and inclination; the same opportunity that the bird has to sing, the plant to grow, the flower to bloom and blossom without restraint. Let us have that liberty and the human race will work its own destiny."

The bankers of Europe have refused to loan Spain any more money. It requires money to carry on a war, and as Spain has chosen war, it is presumed that she has received financial aid from some quarter. It is rumored that on March 23 Spain sold her oil privileges to the Standard Oil Company, and that the price paid runs into the millions. The Standard has been trying to secure these privileges for some time, and probably took advantage of the situation. We should remember that the Standard stockholders are all American citizens, and that they depend principally upon America for a market. We should also remember that the date of the rumored sale was eight days after the Spaniards blew up the Maine and war between the two countries was an assured fact.—Indianapolis Union.

The Hazleton legalized band of murderers—Sheriff Martin & Co.—during the famous or infamous farce miscalled trial for the willful murder of unarmed and inoffensive citizens, boasted of their readiness to be the first to take up arms for the defense of their country in case of need. Yet we still have to learn of anyone of that "brave" band having volunteered their services in the present war. However, the Spaniards have something to return the Hazleton murderers on—slaughters with which accidentally might hurt some of that gang, while the Hazleton strikers were unarmed. That's a horse of a different color.

The New York Sun lately contained some humanitarian gush regarding the motives actuating this country in the present war in which the following passage occurred:

"We are the first nation since the crusade that has declared war for the exclusive benefit of an oppressed people, without a selfish view towards aggrandizement. As the christians of Europe at one time requested the infidel Saracens to vacate the holy land because their presence there was a horror to the christians, so did we demand of Spain the vacation of Cuba, simply and solely because the Spanish atrocities against a defenseless people have wounded our humane feelings."

In the very same issue this humanitarian humbug gives a statistical calculation of the financial benefits that would accrue to American monopoly from the seizure of the Philippines.—Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung.

"Women fighting in the streets of Milan for their children are a warning to the world, a death warrant to Italy. Whatever the land, whatever the government against which the mothers array themselves in battle that their children may live, that land shall be torn by revolution, that government shall fall.

"Taxation, shrewdly and purposely devised to fall most heavily on the poor, the monopolization of land, the erection of an enormous military and naval edifice, the ponderous burden of which rests with crushing force on the bent backs of underpaid workmen struggling with monopoly on every side—these are the abuses which have at last opened chaos at the foot of Humbert's throne."—New York Journal.

Yes, and we don't need to go to Italy to find these evils; we have them all right at home. The time is approaching when mothers in this country will "array themselves in battle that their children may live."

After the traditional manifestation of May 1. at Heyde Park, London, the English workmen unanimously endorsed the following resolutions:

"The workmen gathered here in a great mass-meeting, send their fraternal greetings to their fellow workers all over the world. They affirm their resolution to overthrow the regime of wages and capitalism, and to establish by common efforts a system of co-operative international Communism in which all the tools of production shall be in possession of the producers, and all shall have equal opportunities to live a prosperous and happy life."

HE IS STUNG.

"It is with regret I learned that a worthy gentleman has stopped his subscription to the paper

which prints my stuff, and has done so because of some recent remarks of mine about Emma Goldman. I trust, however, that he is not governed by the idea that his act is to be regarded as a calamity, for, indeed, he is the only sufferer. There are more logical methods of seeking revenge. Some people desirous of expressing disapprobation send me poetry."—San Francisco Call.

It would be refreshing to learn that at least one person has been found in this community energetic enough to resent the insult and impudence of the Call—scavenger. But in all probability there were quite a number of protestants, for Jimmy's master is not of the tender kind that would make a fuss over the loss of one subscriber.

No, of course it is no calamity for the Call to lose one subscriber. In fact it would not be "regarded as a calamity" if the Call went out of existence entirely. Jimmy, the scavenger, might be out of a job and his master Claus might have a few sleepless nights over it, but the useful members of this community would be rid of a pest.

As for sending the scavenger poetry, that would not suffice. Such cases require heroic treatment—a battle of Hay's cologne is the best disinfectant for scavengers. S. D.

PATRIOTS SHOCKED.

After Emma Goldman had completed her too brief visit in Los Angeles I was requested to write an account of it for Free Society. As I took no notes at the meetings, and no paper in the city gave anything like a fair statement of her addresses, I shall not attempt a report, but will briefly comment on the impression made here.

It is probable that not one twentieth part of the people of Los Angeles knew anything of her visit. The three leading newspapers here, Republican and Democratic, are owned by the same stockholders—that is, the same persons own all the papers. The three journals are conducted on lines laid down by the stockholders to meet (in a measure) the demands and cater to the prejudices of various classes, commercial, religious and political. Neither truth, justice, nor the real interests of the people are considered in the management of these three dailies. What could such a truth-loving and truth-telling woman as Emma Goldman expect from such a press? Their policy was to ignore her presence, and when that was no longer possible they resorted to misrepresentation; while another daily calling itself independent (not in the trust) made extra efforts to get ahead of the "syndicate" in the line of mendacity, its "reports" being pure inventions.

The Socialists (with a few exceptions) did not take kindly to Comrade Goldman—did not recognize her as a co-worker, and seemed quite fearful that she might bring them as well as herself into disrepute. Her first lecture, on "Patriotism," was purely socialistic. Socialists could not reasonably find any fault with it. About 600 people were in attendance. The next evening, her presence having become more generally known, the hall was well filled, 1200 or more being seated. She was listened to with thoughtful attention, the respectful silence occasionally broken by vehement applause, and only once was there marked dissent, when cries of "no," "no," greeted her assertion that the red flag has a better right to the regard of free men than has the star-spangled banner. So much noise was made by the "patriots" that the reasons she gave were lost to all except a few near the platform who understood her as claiming that the red flag stands for the brotherhood of humanity; that it represents the rights of free men, wherever they are on the face of the earth, while the flag of one's country is, at best, the emblem of but a section of the human race.

This and other truths shocked a portion of her hearers, but if, by such shocks she can startle them out of sleep and into thought she is doing good work. Her hardest blows perhaps were given to the "supreme ruler" superstition, and against the conventional ideas concerning the popular relations of the sexes. The "almighty fiend" called God and all restrictions against freedom in love were denounced by her in fitting terms. The Church and the State have, for centuries, endeavored to perpetuate these two ancient superstitions, which Comrade Goldman regards as barriers to human progress. She exposes their absurdities in a style so effective that worshippers of these relics of barbarism

are amazed and angered as they see their idols ruthlessly destroyed. No wonder they squirm in their seats, and cry out "no!" "no!"

Among the criticisms following the last lecture the most plausible was that made by the Socialist leader, Mr. Job Harriman, to the effect that Miss Goldman's gospel is not the gospel of peace. In reply, Comrade Goldman said that, although a lover of peace, she recognizes the fact that the forces at work are beyond the control of the advocates of peace.

Mr. Harriman declared that the remedy for the wrongs we suffer is in the intelligent use of the ballot; that people who do not know how to use the ballot cannot know how to use the bullet.

Emma Goldman replied that the ballot is simply a means for the transference of the rights of the people to the control of rulers; that it is not well to give to representatives the power we should exercise ourselves. The facts portend conflict; out of the conflict freedom will advance. We need not trouble ourselves at present concerning the kind of governmental organization that may follow our present unjust and demoralizing system. It is enough to know that good will evolve out of evil. As for government the less we have of it the better.

The effect of her last discourse was such that a large crowd of people remained in the street in front of the hall, warmly discussing the questions involved until after midnight.

Comrade Goldman is, as I have told some of my friends here, "a woman after my own heart," and if I were forty years younger than I am, I like her, would take to the platform in advocacy of individual freedom coupled with cordial co-operation. I see no inconsistency in the two. W. N. SLOCUM.

Los Angeles, May 21, '98.

AN APPEAL.

We inform all those that are anxious to see Comrade Berkman released that his case will be brought before the Board of Pardons next July, and will come this time to a definite decision.

But there are not yet sufficient means on hand to defray the necessary expenses, and we therefore appeal to all friends and comrades to send in their mite immediately. Let us do all we can at present. We hope that our efforts will be rewarded with the liberation of our young comrade.

HARRY GORDON, Treasurer.

P. HERBERT, Secretaries.
H. BAKER, Secretary.

73 Springarden Ave.

Allegheny, Pa.

THE FAMILY A BAR TO LIBERTY.

If my experience in the family relations of my parents had not been of such a deplorable nature for myself, I would have very likely paid as little attention to the solution of the sex question as I see the majority of my friends are doing. Being as I was from my early childhood of an inquisitive mind, I was led to enquire into the why's and wherefore's of things in general and the relations of my being to those around me in particular. My powers of observation were developed in proportion, as satisfactory answers to my questions were denied me. It so happened that I groped in the dark for fully 21 years, lacking means and freedom to study the social question so as to come to conclusions that would guide me in my efforts to enjoy life.

The first principle I learned, necessary to enjoy life, was "to mind my own business." Not that I had been interfering in other peoples' affairs; on the contrary, other people had done so in my affairs and most always to my detriment.

Becoming conscious of this principle I set to applying it in my reasoning regarding things as they are, and I find that in family relations it is always and continuously violated, verifying the adage that familiarity breeds contempt.

When I consider family relations and their bearing to the solution of the social question, I keep only those of the working people in my mind, as those of the non-producers, especially the rich, are none of my concern. Mating or marrying is done for the gratification of sexual desires, first and always. The production and rearing of offspring is second.

The status of companionship for life is fostered by external influences, customs, prejudices, superstitions, laws and mercenary considerations. "Exclusive family relations are responsible for the maintenance of

the system of private property at large." This, of course, applies more to the wealthy than to the poor for obvious reasons, which is the primary cause for the obstinate opposition to its abolition at large.

Van Ornum says: "The reason, and the only reason for the marriage relation, as it exists today, is to bolster up the present system of private property." Very well! Educate the young on the line of freedom in sex relations and let us of a more advanced age set good examples that will encourage the young, and the system of private property will grow extinct in the degree as New Ideal sex relations develop.

The reason why the young people enter into legal monogamous marriage relations is that they don't know any better, no other system of sex relationship having so far been developed and become known to them. And I expect in the immediate future, such a system will develop and become generally known by virtue of these discussions.

In a group or crowd of associated New Idealists it is natural that the system of private property will vanish as the individuals become more and more conscious of the significance of their mutual relations.

The principal force of a noble character to a continuous enjoyment of lasting happiness, is love between the sexes, expressed in a life-long courting of the females by the males. In the present system of mating courting ceases with the marriage ceremony and whatever harmonious action exists between the pair is due solely to the exclusive comradeship gradually developing, shutting off the world at large in the degree that their sexual desires harmonize. Their private interests become paramount to the detriment of their friends and neighbors, but more so toward strangers. Private property is enthroned.

Let us look at the resultant facts as they exist today, manifestations of an immoral society. In this city of Chicago alone there are at least a thousand widows with from one to six or seven children, deprived of their mates, either by death, law or abandonment, left to shift for themselves and bring up their children. Anybody is able to observe their unhappy condition; but who is willing to help them? If the woman is given over to prudery and false modesty she will find no man to give her a lift. She may become the victim of charity, but she will have no cause to rejoice over her happy existence.

Now all these women married their choice of the men, because it was and still is customary. Both had the best intentions regarding their mutual interest in the future. But, being uninformed and misadvised, they made a botch job of it. Their lives are wasted, their hopes are blasted and their happiness foisted. Suppose now, that all these widows could be won for the practicalization of the New Ideal and an even number of men with the necessary qualifications also; what would be the result? They would in due time upset mother Grundy's standard of morality and by their economic actions be the entering wedge in the system of private property. Who will maintain argument to the contrary? What an object lesson this would be for the young as well as the old!

Is it not a fact that the realization of such a proposition is hindered by the women more than by the men? If only those women who practice varied sex relations on the sly could be induced to throw off their hypocrisy and assume a mind-your-own-business attitude toward their sisters in drudgery and benighted bigotry, a long step in the right direction would result.

As a member of the wealth producers struggling like the rest for an existence, I am unable to lend material aid to anyone in particular; as such aid is always lost to my welfare. All that I am able to do is to point out the way and help abolish the system of sex slavery concomitant with the system of wage slavery. Independent observation and thought will stimulate self-reliance which is necessary for the women to gain before they can abolish their sex slavery and the men their wage slavery; one without the other is useless.

RODENDYKE.

HE EXPLAINS.

Believing that some of the readers do not fully comprehend my views and actions in remaining in jail when I might have gone out on my own recognizance by signing a bond as Comrades Addis and Isaak had done, I will explain my position.

For more than fifty years or ever since I arrived at the age of manhood, I have been fully convinced by observation and reading that the government of man by man is productive of great misery, suffering and

unhappiness, and is a great hindrance to the best and most exalted condition of man's progress and all that pertains to man's development. Therefore I never voted for a maker or enforcer of laws or government officer.

In a large degree I have actively shown my disapproval of government by non-recognition and passive resistance. That was my position during the time of my connection with the Firebrand, and now, when the opportunity arrived to prove our faith by our works, I cannot and I hope I never shall shirk on account of any danger of punishment from those claiming the right to inflict on me for proclaiming what I know to be right and for the greatest production of happiness of my fellow-man.

I said to the United States officials when called up before them to sign a bond for \$200 on my own recognition in place of one for \$2000: "I can not sacrifice a principle that had sustained me and kept me happy for the past fifty years, by signing a bond, thereby recognizing that the United States had a right to govern me."

The Declaration of Independence proclaimed the grand truth that all men were born free and with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that the people of America were sufficiently developed to govern themselves. But a few monarchical aristocrats met in secret conclave and concocted a constitution in opposition to said Declaration which plunged us into our present deplorable and sad condition. Hoping for a change for the right.

Portland Ore. A. J. POPE.

WITTY AND WISE.

Anthony Comstock, a professional liar and sneak, in whose society no self-respecting white man was ever willingly caught, whose very presence is nauseous enough to inoculate a Digger Indian with the black death, and whose obscene mind is in a constant state of indecent exposure, has not been heard of since a jury estimated the total value of his character to be six cents, a ridiculously extravagant sum for a vacuous non-existent. It is hoped that his silence is a good omen, and that he either stunk himself to death, or has at last, in a fit of temporary sanity, suppressed the most obscene thing ever permitted to pollute a community outside of hell—which is Anthony himself. If dead, his last resting place should be a vacated skunk hole, with the following for his appropriate epitaph: "Here lies Anthony Comstock—phew! Let no tear-drop fall."

Reader, had he lived, then you hadst been a victim of his gall."—Dallas Coming Era.

ATTENTION.

Comrade Turner and I have recently succeeded in persuading comrade W. Tcherkesoff to make a tour to the principal cities in the United States, to speak in French and Russian, especially Russian. Providing the necessary arrangements can be made, he will come in September or October. I need not tell our Russian comrades who Tcherkesoff is, for he figured in the revolutionary and Anarchist movements in Europe for over thirty years, and his name is well-known to all readers of Russian and French revolutionary literature and of London Freedom.

His articles during the past three years in "Les Temps Nouveaux" of Paris, entitled "Pages of Socialist History" wherein he attacks the concentration of wealth theory of Karl Marx and the shams of Social Democracy, have shaken the very foundation of the Marxian theory and have succeeded to such an extent that Prof. Vanderveld of Brussels, one of the brightest men in the Social Democratic movement in Belgium, has within the past two months in a lecture delivered by him admitted that the theory that Marx put forth as to the concentration of wealth has certainly been exploded. I need not enter into details, for Tcherkesoff is as well known among Russian revolutionists as Kropotkin; but what is not in all probability as well known is that Tcherkesoff is a polished orator in both Russian and French, and although past fifty years of age is still strong enough to undertake the tour if arranged. He lectures here in Russian very often for our Russian-Jewish comrades. In addition to the many Russian comrades in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago there are places like Patterson

N. J., several places in Pennsylvania, Spring Valley Ill., and St. Louis, where there are quite a number of French people, and I am sure were Tcherkesoff to come he would do much good. I would like to hear from comrades in the various cities mentioned as to their opinion on this subject, and if they think as Turner and I do, then to get together and combine for this purpose. I would especially like to hear from Comrades Rinke, Berman and Lelivie of St. Louis.

Address all letters to J. Turner, 7 Lamba Conduit St., London W. C., England.

H. M. KELLY.

MORE LIGHT.

Do not imagine that I set myself up as an incandescent lamp and believe I am about to banish the darkness and reveal the truth in unmistakable outline. Not at all. I do not even make pretense of being a tallow dip under a bushel. It is for myself as well as for all that I cry, "More Light!" We thinkers often fight in the dark. Our ideas and opinions are so sensitive, perhaps because they are new, that they resent every disagreement, and we hit out at the offender, blindly. Let us, I say, turn on the light and see if he has not some good thing to say to us. Or if not to us, then perhaps to some one else. We are not all alike!

There is one curious thing about that "Country of the Future." All the people seem to have the same tastes, the same ideals of social life. Is that conceivable under any conditions but those of authority? As we attain freedom, as we grow more enlightened, our tastes become more and more varied and complex. We lose the ape-like tendency to uniformity and imitation. We branch out in many directions. The writer forgot, in the enthusiasm of his own ideal, that each individual has his ideal, and in freedom there will be very great diversity in the ways of living. I, too, am looking for a "Country of the Future," but I do not dream that all the people will live according to my ideals.

There is a tyranny of private opinions that is strong even in the most non-invasive. They tell us that Jesus preached non-resistance. They also tell us that he got mad and scourged the money changers out of the temple. Why? Because of a different opinion as to right and wrong. I fear there are many Anarchists who wouldn't be any easier to get along with. Here is one lying in jail for his consistent advocacy of individual rights—and he says, "I demand immediate emancipation from all government of man over his fellow-man." How now? There are a great many people who don't desire to be emancipated, they adore government and consider it a great good. Do you say the greatest good of the greatest number demands—hold on! They say the greatest good of the greatest number demands that you should stay in jail and the "vile paper" be suppressed; and having the power they do this. Having the power any Anarchist would abolish government and entail suffering on a great many. If each individual has a right to his own desires would not the abolition of government invade the rights of those who desire to be governed? It is a matter of difference of opinion, of more or less of ignorance or wisdom, and each thinks the other in ignorance.

Here is J. W. Gaskine who tells us that—"Liberty follows as the result of the knowledge and experience of reason. The child once fitted out with the experience of the parent is set free, but not before. Liberty thus comes into being, not as a natural growth, like the hair or the stature, but as a bestowal, bestowed by the parents." How is this? Liberty, "the result of the knowledge and experience of reason" is not "a natural growth but a bestowal." Are knowledge and experience, then, not to be attained, but bestowed? Pray, Mr. Gaskine, direct us to the bestowers of these desirable possessions that we may no longer strive and suffer but may fill our pockets and grips and lay in a supply for life-time!

But, joking aside, what child was ever "fitted" out with the experience of the parent? Experience is strictly non-negotiable. We must make our own mistakes and learn our own lessons. The experience of others is meaningless to us until we repeat it in our own lives; or, in a very sensitive nature, it may be lighted up by that sympathy of the mind that constitutes a similar experience, reaching similar results. And knowledge, what is knowledge? Knowledge is recognition of reality, and must forever remain rela-

tive. There is an absolute reality but knowledge, which is man's perception of it, is fragmentary, crude. Every hour makes it more exact, but absolute it is not. Where then are we to obtain knowledge? From the past, our predecessors whose opportunities were less than ours? All that they learned we may appropriate, but if we stop there we are ignorant indeed. The "mental deduction" can not be made to "correspond with the objective reality" save through persistent individual thinking. It is not to be bestowed by our predecessors for they haven't it to bestow. As well say the hair and the stature are not a natural growth because the elements that constitute them are drawn from our environment, as that the "knowledge and experience of reason" may be bestowed upon us. We restrain our children in infancy not that we may bestow knowledge upon them, but that we may prevent their injuring themselves while they are gaining the experience of reason that shall enable them to enjoy liberty, rather than to be destroyed by it.

Gaskine would have us believe that authority alone can educate us and prepare us for freedom, and therefore authority is the great good. Will he be so kind as to mention who and what this authority is that can bestow knowledge upon us? S. D., on the other hand, would have us believe that authority has wrought all the evil and suffering in the world, that without it we should be and should ever have been free and happy. Will he be so kind as to state where this authority came from? These "standards" he finds so reprehensible, whence come they? Let us not go to extremes. This authority is the restraint under which the infant race has grown up to experience and reason. These standards are the safeguards of beings afraid to stand alone who must make artificial props for themselves. That is all right for weaklings. There are plenty who need them still. The problem is—how shall we who can stand alone, must and will stand alone and govern ourselves—how can we achieve our liberty without infringing on the rights of those who still want props, but without curtailing our own freedom to be and to enjoy? ADELINE CHAMPNEY.

Sea Breeze, Fla.

ANARCHIST LEAFLETS.

LAW PERPETUATES STEALING.

The standing argument in favor of government is that laws are required to protect well-disposed people against criminals. If there were any truth in this assertion, those crimes most legislated against should have been most serviceably curbed by law. The crime most legislated against, is, beyond all question stealing—not such stealing as kings, priests, landlords, lawyers, and monopolists, do—but the common petty kind. Have all the laws against this sort of stealing effected anything towards suppressing it? On the contrary, they have perpetuated it. It is axiomatic among penologists that the receiver of stolen goods makes the thief. The receiver is the capitalist of this unlawful trade; the thief is only the proletaire who works for him. Fagin "employs" the Dodger and Bill Sykes. What gives Fagin that power over Sykes, by virtue of which he assigns the latter tasks, and limits his wages to that rate set by competition? The law gives him this power. Fagin can make Sykes work, because he can at any time give Sykes up to legal punishment. If there were no laws against stealing, there might still be pilferers; but there would be no professional thieves. The law, therefore, does not prevent stealing, but cultivates it.

THE BENEFITS OF FREE MURDER.

In these days of "Evolution" it is commonplace that every thing regarded as evil serves, in its own order and season, an useful function. If this be true of the crimes committed by governments, as all evolutionists agree in showing it is, it is no doubt equally true of those crimes which governments profess to prevent. One of these crimes is murder—not the sort committed by soldiers, policeman, militia, landlords, judges, hangman and other such sacred characters—but the common kind, committed by private persons, from vulgar motives, such as anger, lust, jealousy, or cupidity. This kind of murder has a useful function; with which laws against it, or rather strong public feelings against it—for without them the laws are impotent—can only interfere. The function it serves is eliminating, through natural selection, the quarrelsome and dangerous class;—for, in each generation,

members of that class are murdered, naturally, at a far higher percentage than other people. In Italy, assassination was a national crime as long ago as Drusus' time; and, being a national crime, it was seldom punished, notwithstanding laws against it. Its good effects, in eliminating the quarrelsome, must be manifested if we compare the ferocity of the ancient Roman with the gentleness of the modern Italian. In England assassination has long been a most unpopular crime. And the effects of thus checking a self-correcting vent for temper, is that the English are the most quarrelsome of nations.

C. L. JAMES.

A WHIP.

The Platte, Neb., "High School Item" is a regular visitor at our office. It deserves a great deal of credit for its commercial enterprise. Of four pages of its contents about three are devoted to advertisements and the balance partly to items regarding the preparations for the wholesale slaughter of human beings called war and two pictures of the principal butchers called officers participating in the slaughter, etc., and partly to personal items.

Our young friends ought to remember that the prime object of human beings is to live harmoniously and not to slaughter each other. Progress consists in construction and not in destruction. Education, therefore, if it is not to be mockery, should be carried on along the line of construction. From High Schools above all, then, we look for intelligence pertaining to the progress of the world.

"Get onto yourselves!" young people, and let us hear something about science, art, inventions, discoveries, and above all about the great social movement that now permeates the thinking world. Let us have something elevating and ennobling instead of degenerating and brutalizing. Wake up!

S. D.

KEY-NOTES FOR FREE SOCIETY.

I assume that the precise and exact mathematical order and immutably fixed relations of the degrees or tones of the musical scale and the corresponding order of the relations of the seven primary colors are so fixed and governed by immutable law, representing the uniform nature in the processes of unfolding, and that this immutable law is universal in its application, at least for the purposes of the present inquiry. It applies to the relations of human beings, especially to the relations of the sexes, as is unmistakably indicated and proven by the wonderful fact that the voices of men and woman exactly counterpart and perfectly harmonize at the relation of the octaves: 1 and 8 of the musical scale, and presumably in every other department of being: physical and mental, corresponding to both concordant and discordant relations of musical sounds.

It is reasonable to conclude that we have here discovered an important key by which the religious, political, social and industrial relations of human beings can be adjusted and harmonized as certainly and naturally as can all the notes of the musical scale be so adjusted and harmonized in a simple tune or in the most elaborate and complicated composition, so that no jarring discords can find expression. The numeral 1 with its responding counterpart 8 or double 1 are always the key-notes of every musical composition, and all other relations are calculated from them. But every other note or degree of the scale is also a key to a complete and perfect scale of its own, having its own conjugal octave and other concordant and discordant relations as well, and is therefore just as important and valuable as any other.

This comprehensive fact existing in the very constitution of nature, when applied to the great scale of human relations wherein every man, woman and child correspond to the individual notes or degrees of the musical scale, furnishes a natural basis for the logical recognition of a complete and universal social democracy—a universal brotherhood. The mental atmosphere is pulsating and throbbing with its quickening and coming life and growth.

Of course, no reference is here made to any past or present political organization with its supposed to be necessary cast-iron constitution and by-laws, arbitrary parliamentary rules and regulations, with penalties imposed upon law-breakers with or without their consent, endeavoring to foster and promote discord by force, but on the contrary an exhortation to study and consult nature's methods and follow where science and good sense may lead.

But here comes the important question: How can

this knowledge be practically utilized; how can we expect that men and women can voluntarily be placed and stay where harmony and happiness would naturally and spontaneously result from the unobstructed operation of this immutable process of natural relationship between the sexes and in their social and political relations as well? This question might be answered in part at least by asking another: How are men and women who have become musicians placed, and how is their consent obtained to stay placed and to faithfully perform their assigned or even voluntarily accepted particular score? A foolish question this may seem to be, but no more foolish than the other. In a state of complete personal freedom, such as the voluntary compliance with any natural law would require, every one would naturally and spontaneously gravitate to the position measuring their choice and capacities by and through their attractions, which would also stimulate them to cultivate their natural aptitude and innate abilities, and to improve their opportunities. United interests in a co-operative commonwealth would afford all desired opportunities.

M. E. MORSE.

A PROTEST.

When the name of Freedom is invoked to sanctify oppression and humanity made the excuse for inhuman deeds; when revenge assumes the mask of justice and patriotism is degraded into hatred of a foreign people; it becomes the duty of loyal followers of freedom, humanity and justice to protest against crime committed in these names and they that love their country no less because they also love the stranger are called upon to bear public witness to the unity of men.

For the rejected doctrine that the "king can do no wrong" the attempt is made to substitute the equally pernicious formula that the "state can do no wrong," and to raise about an accidental majority the divinity that no longer hedges the personal ruler. Majorities have the power to do what they will but they have the right to do right only.

While submitting to a wrongful decision of the majority the minority retains its right of dissent and is in duty bound to agitate for a reversal. The heroes of English speaking peoples from the time of Magna Charta are those who have refused to accept as final statutes contravening the principles of justice. The greater the issues involved the more sacredly should this right of the minority be cherished.

Moved by these considerations we, the undersigned members of the Single Tax Society of Philadelphia, solemnly record our protest against the war which the government of the United States is now waging against the government of Spain and offer in support of our position the following reasons:

War in itself is so great an evil and brings in its train so many other evils that unless clearly the only means of defence it can not be justified. The Cubans have been engaged in a justifiable revolt against oppression and all who love freedom must sympathize with them and hope for their success. Many citizens of America have tried to show the reality of their sympathy for the cause of free Cuba by contributing their means and risking their lives in its support; but the government of the United States has used all its powers to prevent them from so doing, has seized their ships and stores of war and has prosecuted and imprisoned their leaders: thus violating the natural rights of its citizens and indirectly aiding the cause of Spain.

This wrong cannot be atoned for by committing other wrongs. In declaring war to make Cuba independent the government of the United States exceeded its functions and violated its traditions. It commits robbery not alone by the seizure at sea of the property of inoffensive Spaniards, but also by the misuse of public funds which cannot rightfully be used in a war unnecessary for the defence of the owners of those funds. It imposes additional burdens upon the workers of the present and future generations by increase of the public debt and the imposition of new forms of taxation. It causes the shedding of innocent blood in the East as in the West. It sows the seed of international hatred whose fatal crop may not cease to be reaped for centuries. In ignoring the offer of the Spanish government for arbitration of the dispute arising from the destruction of the Maine it gives the lie to its own professions of desire for justice and assumes to act as prosecutor, witness, judge, jury and executioner.

The revival of militarism tends to retard the establishment of equality and freedom by inducing toleration of arbitrary authority and by lessening the regard for property rights and for the liberty of the individual. It distracts attention from domestic evils: offers new excuses for special privilege and encourages corruption, public and private. While fostering privileged classes in the hope that a strong standing army may be established to be used for their benefit, the danger exists that the impulse given the use of force rather than reason in the settlement of disputes may likewise arouse a mob spirit, hitherto rare in America, and precipitate the armed social conflict that reformers are endeavoring to avert.

From every standpoint there is to be seen much evil and little good to the world and to America as the outcome of this unjust and aggressive war.

(Signed)

A. C. PLEYDELL,
G. F. STEPHENS,
EDWARD D. BURLEIGH,
FLORENCE A. BURLEIGH,
SAMUEL MILLIKEN,
ETHEL P. BAILEY,
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CAROL SCHUTZ TURVEY,
JOHN LOVE GOULD,
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WM. L. PRICE,
H. V. HETZEL.

Germantown, Pa.

Various Voices.

Thalla Ray.—The "Progressive Age" has this to say of Mr. Berrier's crime: "Mr. Berrier takes the ground that children should not be born unless well born, and they cannot be well born unless desired, and that the haphazard, indiscriminate breeding of children is a wrong committed against society; that intelligence is necessary to improve the quality of horses, swine and kine, and it is even more needed to improve the human bipeds."

For teaching these and similar facts, Mr. Berrier has been considered by the judge to be too dangerous a criminal to run loose, and sentenced to two years in the penitentiary and a fine of \$500. It is an outrage. We are in the same position as the much-talked-about Cubans. They knowingly allowed Spain to infringe their rights step by step until the laws were unbearable and then they surged in for liberty, which they were entitled to all these years.

We are informed that Americans are enlightened. If so, I fail to see any signs of it, when any innocent citizen can be decoyed, then arrested and jailed and his business broken up, etc. Who is injured?

It is simply idiotic for the people to tolerate this kind of an American Inquisition. Don't mention Spanish cruelty! Mr. Berrier is simply using his right as an American citizen, to honestly earn his living and supplying people of mature age with instructive books.

This Comstock law clearly infringes the rights of all people to buy and get by mail or express, the reading they wish, for if ignorance can be enforced by law, it is time to cease calling this a free country!

Let the people be their own judges as to what to read, and if any one is injured, let him prove it and claim damages. Who was ever injured by reading The Firebrand? Yet the three editors have suffered immensely on account of this bad law, and no one is ever expected to come to life again after being Comstocked!

C. P. Shaw, Riverside, Calif.—Dear comrades—Enclosed find M. O. for one dollar which you may use where most needed. It beats the devil that the comrades are so ignorant as to not see the need of furnishing enough money to keep our little paper in circulation. A person doing any work at all can surely send in ten cents a month, if not they had better charge jobs or do something else. I think it is only due to ignorance (there are exceptions, I know). An average of ten cents a month would be quite a nice little sum, as we have quite a number of readers. What I give, I give freely and cheerfully and consider it no sacrifice although I am poor. I have very little money or land, but in being free from superstition and prejudice I am rich. There is nothing that I worship (unless it be helpless humanity, and it is mostly so because it does so much worshipping) for I understand that right is only so far as I can see or feel and others have as good a right as I have. My Anarchism is to mind my own business and let others alone, outside of that I don't care what they do.

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If we would only dress our soldiers in butchers' blouses, the eyes of mankind would at once be opened to the true nature of "glorious war."—Channing.

Teaching little children to bow themselves low before the national banner of a country, while refusing to teach them how to bring about better conditions over which the flag should float, is ridiculous, criminal and debasing. It was the unthinking and ignorant worship of the eagle of Rome that finally led to the downfall of that nation.—Appeal to Reason.

In Knoxville, Tenn., a barber was arrested and fined \$25 for working. In many cities men are fined for not working. So you see people may be fined if they work and fined if they don't. We have some very peculiar laws in this free country.—Rights of Man.

The ballot, however much it has been eulogized, has been beaten to earth by corruption, and as a weapon cannot be relied upon to execute the will of the people while they are in industrial bondage. Brains and books are the most potent weapons for Socialism, and through books there is a vast amount of work for brains to do, a mighty revolution in men's ideas and motives to be accomplished before the commonwealth of man is attained.—Eugene V. Debs.

It is just as useless to fight against Socialism as it was to fight against the abolition of Slavery. The new abolition of economic slavery is just as sure as tomorrow's sunrise.—H. W. Young.

The law is a web where the weak are caught and the strong break through.—Bacon.

Liberty is glorious. It is liberty that gives human nature fair play and allows each singularity to show itself. For one unpleasant oddity which it brings forth it gives the world ten thousand great and useful examples.—Montesquieu.

Liberty, and plenty and ease will not come to us as does our life; we must seek it, work for it and take it. And if we get it, must watch it or it will be stolen.—Comming Nation.

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The People's Union, a free discussion club, meets every Sunday evening at 935 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.

Social Science Club, Lee's Hall, 61 E. 4th St., New York City. Free lectures and discussion every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.

International Workmen Association, of Buffalo, N. Y., meets every Sunday morning at 10 o'clock A. M. at Blume's Schweizer Hall, 483 Broadway.

The International Group, Chicago, meets every Thursday 8 P. M. at 642 Ashland Av., Cor W. 14th St. Also on every Sunday evening lectures will be made by eminent speakers. Free discussion. Admission free. The object of the group is to spread Free Society and other radical literature.

Wendell Phillips Educational Club will meet every Saturday 8 P. M. at 31 Robinson St., Providence, R. I. Pamphlets in English, German, French, Jewish and Russian languages on hand.

DR. FOOTE'S PLAIN HOME TALK

EMBRACING

MEDICAL COMMON SENSE.

For the information of those who may be interested, I would call attention to the popular edition of this book, that has been a standard of information, and a source of knowledge to tens of thousands of families for many years. The popular edition has been brought out to meet the ability of the poor to buy, and is sold at the remarkable low price of \$1.50.

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