

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. 198.

A GLOOMY FANCY.

Met thought a great wind swept across the earth,
And all the toilers perished. Then I saw
Pale terror blanch the rosy face of mirth,
And careless eyes grow full of fear and awe.
The sounds of pleasure ceased: the laughing song
On folly's lip changed to an angry curse;
A nameless horror seized the idle throng
And death and ruin filled the Universe.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

OUR GLORIOUS CONSTITUTION.

"In order to form a more perfect union."

This declaration of purpose is, to all appearance, a sincere one. The signers of the constitution were, in the main, honest and well-intentioned men, though so far from grasping those broader principles of liberty which are only now beginning to enter the boldest and most progressive minds. They could not look ahead and see the problems of the future. England had indeed acknowledged the independence of the colonies; but they were yet far from a condition of security. Not for many years was England to renounce utterly the hope of a resumption of sovereignty. France and Spain held large possessions adjacent to the States, and threatening constant territorial complications. The half-subdued Indians were ever ready to take to the war path, on renewed opportunity. And with all this, jealousies among the States themselves threatened turmoil and disaster. From the immediate perils that surrounded the newly freed States, there seemed but one way of deliverance—"a more perfect union." The voices of the few who foresaw, though but dimly, the evils which were to arise from the centralization of power, were soon drowned by the general cry of approbation; and the experiment had begun.

The Union! What memories cluster round that word! How many a sincere, old-fashioned soul shudders from the faintest breath of attack against it, as from the most appalling blasphemy! And withal, what dark and fearful crimes have been committed in its name and under its emblem! It has been the theme of the orator, the inspiration of the poet, the text of the preachers, the watchword of the dying soldier, the pretext of the legislator, the catwail of the demagogue, the idol of the money changer and bondholder, the shelter of the beneficiary of public fraud and injustice. For it men have impoverished themselves, and cast their lives away. For it men have toiled and planned, and women have wept and prayed. From childhood we have been taught to "speak plain the word country," and to cherish patriotism as the most sacred of the virtues.

And now, what has it profited us? What is this Union, this gigantic Moloch, which has demanded the sacrificing of the best blood of the people? The generation has not yet passed away which saw this country rent by a fratricidal war, in order to force a large section, against its will, to remain a sharer in this "more perfect union." Handicapped as it was by the monstrous and hideous institution of chattel slavery, which not altogether unjustly lost for the seceding element the sympathies of the world, the South failed, and still fails, to receive due recognition of the justice of its principal object of contention. Wholly wrong on any rational system of constitutional interpretation, infamously wrong in dreaming that their own liberty and prosperity were compatible with the bondage of their fellow-men, the Southern States were nevertheless wholly right in maintaining the right of freemen to nullify an obsolete instrument by which their fathers had sought to bind them, and to secede from a union which was no longer suitable to their needs and wishes. They themselves, however, had so little conception of liberty that their failure, though enthroneing a false principle, can hardly be deemed a greater calamity than would have been their success as a slave-holding aristocracy.

Without reflecting further on what might have been,

let us ask what the Union, as it is, actually means to us. First of all, it is centrally organized power, nominally exercised by the people as a whole, practically wielded by a handful of politicians, who, with the ringleaders who in large measure control them, and the moneyed men who purchase them, constitute the actual rulers of this nation. Nor can it be otherwise, as long as the Federal government remains a fact. The multiplication of election machinery only tightens the grip of the people's masters. Spasmodic attempts at "purifying politics" are either ridiculous failures, or wholly unprofitable in their temporary success. Witness the efforts to throw off Tammany rule in New York, and the stupendous fiasco in Pennsylvania, where an immense majority of voters declared their approval of public theft and the vilest bossism.

The proposed remedies, the Referendum, the Initiative, Proportional Representation, the Imperative Mandate, Woman Suffrage, rigid Civil Service Reform, are all indisputably just and desirable, if government by majority rule is a right ideal. But to imagine that any or all of these can be any more of a panacea than the secret ballot, so much vaunted before its adoption, is to pursue the merest chimera. A few laws would be altered here and there; some proposed legislation would be accelerated and some retarded; but the whole machinery of government, and its general effect on the welfare of the masses, would remain exactly as at present. THERE IS NO HOPE THROUGH THE BALLOT. This is a lesson which will not soon be learned, but is none the less primary and essential.

"To form a more perfect union." Aye, ye have succeeded, men of the past! The Union is a reality; and we are being choked and ground into conformity to it. The haggard features of the wage slave, the unmanly whine of the beggar, the rags and filth of the sons and daughters of the slums, the fierce glare of the criminal, the painted cheek of the harlot, the pompous form of the millionaire, the sycophantic smirk of the parasite, the faded brow of the wife—the marital slave, the coarse flattery of the demagogue, the myriad lies and snares of every day life, are so many voices declaring the fruits of such a union. The few are crowned with wealth and enthroned in power; while the many, disguise it as they may, live only at the price of servility and unrequited toil, or as social outcasts, spurned like dogs, or hunted down like wild beasts.

Nor yet are our masters satisfied. Imperialism is the order of the day—the Union is to become an empire. Millions of unconsenting men and women are to be held in bondage. Many new prizes are to reward the obedient vassal to his party and his party boss. New and immense fields are to be opened to the unsatisfied greed of capitalism. By degrees, the standing army of the United States is to be increased—that ever-present menace to our few remaining liberties. A fresh impetus is to be given to the growth of a powerful aristocracy among us. The fruits of the Union are manifold. Union in form has bred disunion in spirit. The line of cleavage becomes more and more distinct. The dawn of a better day will come only when we learn that liberty is more than majority rule, and when we discard union of form and force, "in order to form a more perfect union" of spirit and voluntary endeavors.

JAMES F. MORRIS, JR.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

Society is a growth. Our present form of society is the result of all that for trillions of years has been. We, with our governments, politics, church, religion, manners, customs, wisdom, and prejudices, are not the products of an eruption. We are what we are because former people were what they were. Those who will follow us will be affected by what we are. Revolution, by force of arms, is never a cause of social changes. It is but an incident in the process of evolution. It is a system of what is. Help does not lie in that direction. Thought is the cause of social betterment.

As an individual thinks, so is he. As a people think, so are they. Conditions are as favorable they can be under the circumstances. They represent what the mass of the people think. The mass of the people believe in land monopoly, trade monopoly, and money monopoly, and support monopoly because monopolists in thought. If they object to monopolistic systems which now blight the world, it is because they are the victims instead of the fruit pickers of monopoly. The ownership of a thousand acres of land, or a factory whose products are protected by the tariff, or a million dollars in government bonds would promptly transform many a hot reformer into a satisfied conservative. I once knew the voice of reformer to be silenced by marrying a woman with an income. He howled against monopolists until circumstances made him one; then he discovered that all along, in his heart, he had been one.

Take workmen, for example. They say they want freedom, but they vote into power the people who enslave them. The explication of the paradox is that though they feel the sting of poverty, they believe in the system that produces poverty. They interest themselves only in the schemes of amelioration which leave the system intact. The tree drops poison among them. They smart, but love the tree, and will use lotions, poultices, anything—but an ax. Nineteenth of all the people believe that involuntary poverty is a necessary condition of human existence. As long as they believe that, it is so, for as a people think so are they.

Now take women. Some of them think they want to be free, and they make the grave mistake of thinking that but for men they would be; overlooking the fact that most women do not want to be free, and do not want their men folk to be free either. The mass of women like to be petted, pampered, flattered slaves of men who will also be their slaves. They despise the only women who are free. They care for the men only who will be their slaves. She is a rare woman who thinks freedom or would have it. Any one can be free who really wants to be free. Slavery is a state of the mind. But almost no one regards freedom as a blessing. If here and there one thinks freedom would be desirable for himself, he is sure it would be dangerous for others.

If social evolution, then, is the result of thinking and not the result of anything else but thinking, how is the world to become a happier place to live in? How are war, vengeance, anger, inequitable debasing poverty, enslaving monopoly, enslaving thoughts, religious and political superstitions (which are worse), prejudice and ignorance to be grown out of? In the same manner that they were grown into—by thinking. The people have acquired all these things and habits by thinking that they were conducive to happiness; for it is a law of our being that we seek happiness. And they will never relinquish one of them till they think their happiness will be promoted by doing so. Hence the worthwhileness of my turning from other occupations to write all this. We cannot teach any one anything. Each has to learn for himself and from himself. But we may start some one to thinking. It is better to start one thinking than to give him bread, or a bank note, or a blow; for thought is the only power that can enslave a people or set them free. Back of the suns and planets is thought. In the heart of the rose is thought. In the fin of the fish, in the wing of the bird, the foot of the animal is thought. Society modifies itself by thought. There is no way on and up except by the old, old way of thought. We thought ourselves into the labyrinth in which we flounder. We must think ourselves out.—Hugh Pentecost, in The Coming Light.

ERRATA.

In Free Society No. 195, page 2, line 42, the words: "The idols of the ruling classes," were intended as caption for the note which follows them.

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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.

NOTICE!

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

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

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

HUMAN SACRIFICE.

Civilized man thinks with horror of the sacrificial offerings by his heathen brothers of human bodies to their gods, yet he hesitates not in the worship of his own god, Greed, to slaughter his neighbors on the battle field. Nor does the carnage of other people suffice to satisfy his worshipful longings, so he is constantly giving to Mammon lives from around his own hearthstone.

The high priests of Greed choose environments the most pernicious for their victims; they exact incessant service, causing intense mental and physical suffering. When the work performed by the brain or the body of the subject stupifies or degrades or deforms in any manner, does not the drudgery sacrifice the part of the person effected by it?

If the human being fail of the fullest development of which it is capable, what the odds, whether it pander to the palate of one god or another, whether its life be cut short by the sacrificial knife, or waste away from scarcity of food?

The law of Moses and the civil code, Greed's staunchest supporters, presuppose the natural depravity of man. Natural depravity! Can the mind of a close student of nature assimilate the idea of nature wholly or partially depraved? Prior to his investigations of the visible and the invisible, the tenet may be accepted as the wisdom of his illustrious predecessors. It is a portion of his public inheritance, and may remain intact in a critical mind, sharpened by researches in other channels, which discards without a regretful pang other inherited delusions.

Mankind is a wonderful division of the creation. A unite of the division, if he withdraw from the mass appears wonderful to himself; and as he detects a few of his manifold powers his ego enlarges in seeming disproportion to the growth of his intellectual and mechanical faculties.

We behold him in his primitive condition, ignorant, naturally ignorant—naturally depraved? He discovers peculiarities about himself, about his companions, about his surroundings. He is mystified by forces seen and unseen; he is acutely conscious of their reality. His ego prompts him to account for them; this he does, rightly or wrongly. The collection of truth and untruth is transmitted from one generation to the next, and to little by little, torn up, sifted, patched together, passed on from age to age, till at last, accompanying the huge conglomeration of wisdom and un wisdom, we have civilized man, believing among infinite beliefs and unbeliefs in the total and natural depravity of mankind. Depravity, says he, must be kept

within bounds by authority, by law! He who prescribed the first rude rules for the training of associated humanity, and he who guided the enforcement of the rules, discerned the superlative quality in his own individuality, but saw the bulk of mortals as through a reversed fieldglass; to him they were the pygmies they looked to be, quite insignificant. He treated them accordingly.

Laws are revised, elaborated. Class distinctions more clearly marked by time. The importance of the presumptuous ruling egos is magnified in corresponding ratio with the minimizing of the subjected atoms. The truth of the kinship of man to man is ail but denied.

All the forces connected with this planet may be used by man in a variety of ways. They promote his welfare, or cripple, or destroy, as his keenness of vision or lack of insight regarding their properties determines his application of them. If advancement in civilization be unduly hastened, the effect upon the organized body is similar to that produced by administering stimulants to the material body; a reaction equal to the accelerated activity of the organs ensues. The persistent repetition of the process results, finally, in the extermination of the organism.

The annihilation of present social organizations is predicted. The world of workers is bankrupt. What are their sins? What perversions of energies have left ruin in their wake? Only so far as man's powers for discriminating between harmonious and inharmonious principles have developed will the structure of the new society outrank the old in utility. Man's strength has ever been mainly expended in subjugating his fellow man, but there is a safety limit to the pressure of the human species as well as steam. From time to time wordly and bloody protests have arisen from the oppressed against despotism.

Despotism is generally ganged by the amount of plunder controlled by the despot or combination of despots, and is to some extent democratic. Petty tyranny is exercised in the family by the husband over the wife, by the parents over their children. The wife is, in theory, supported by the husband; her labor is counted as naught. Children are, by law, made the dependents of their father or guardian, even after they are old enough to maintain themselves. Authorities multiply and compel object submission and reverence when dispensed by the Church, the Crown, or by Commercial Cabal. Today, the "finished" business man, the financier, takes precedence of and is abetted by Church and State. He may with honor and glory turn into the street, in "free America," hundreds of thousands—a million?—of unemployed; may take away their subsistence and leave on the "verge of starvation," fifty million inhabitants of India; in pride and triumph may his mercenaries march away from the battle ground where lie four thousand slain Derivishes.

The three great institutions of Church and State and Commerce have taken turns at dominion. Fierce have been their conflicts over the "spoil," conflicts in which the lives of the hoodwinked and patriotic dependents were unmercifully sacrificed. Peace brought numerous compromises, one being a partition of the systems of spoliation. Another and more encouraging result has been the filtering of particles of truth through the almost impregnable columns of the oppressed. But woe to him who discovers and uncovers a truth directly menacing the prerogatives of the "powers that be." To the poisoned draught, the dungeon, the gibbet, the stake, the ax, the "still hunt" or "freeze out," has his life ever been forfeited. A martyr goes to his doom, separate and notorious, with a protest on his lips, knowing the reason for his untimely demise; but the masses, as if devoid of feeling, usually bear their lifelong torment with the stoicism of a savage, or, being devout, with resignation.

Dodge the issue as we may, profit is the embryo of our civilization. Macaulay informs us that in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, children of "tender age" residing in the city of Norwich created wealth valued at twelve thousand pounds per annum more than was actually needed for their sustenance, twelve thousand pounds of clear profit to—the owners of the factories! Owners by right of "capital invested" or hoarded profit, and profit is invariably that which is obtained from others without recompense, namely, plunder. Man's necessity is profits—opportunity, as witness, the famine in Ireland. The principle of profit is the same whether it flow into the coffers under the guise of tithes or taxes, is handled in the bickerings of the vulgar, or is scientifically managed by a coal baron.

One who is consecrated to profit cultivates a love of ease, of luxuriant debauchery or of power, else becomes a dupe of avarice. Power, as has been tersely said,

"... like a pestilence,
Pollutes whatever it touches."

and avarice, if it completely master its man, kills every vestige of pity, affection, every sense that makes of man a human.

The Church, in America, occupies the position of lackey No. 2 to the commercial dictators. The contributions to its strong box are, chiefly, what we call "voluntary." However, the law assures the feeling of its clergy by couples contracting marriage who prefer the sanction to their union of a divine to that of a civil official. Ecclesiastical property is granted the "privilege" of exemption from taxation in most of the states.

The revenue requisites for the execution of the civil laws is a compulsory charge upon the citizens, for the dictum of the exalted is regarded by the populace as indispensable for the keeping in "order" of man's evil propensities. The repeating of a marriage ceremony by persons designated by statute is believed to be conducive to good morals. When shorn of superstition and sentimentalism we have left—fees! The contracting parties pay a county "servant" for a permit to engage a priest, preacher or peace-officer to declare them, with more or less flourish, "man and wife." Does the clerk or the clergyman instruct the couple in sex or sociological laws? Are the legal obligations and restrictions relating to marriage made known to them? Then why the fees? What benefit has been conferred? What barrier to immorality has been raised? Is society bettered by withholding knowledge and applying force? Go through the entire catalogue of laws and ceremonials and you find maximum expenditure and maximum return of value. A live "law-abiding citizen" would be a monstrosity excelling in curiousness anything ever caged by Barnum—the laws are so contradictory. Said Wendell Phillips, "government commenced in usurpation and oppression," and "the law has been always wrong," and quite recently an enthusiastic advocate of governmentalism frankly admitted that a poor man could not procure justice in the United States courts. Questions of law are taken into court for settlement, so in the courts is vested the visible power of government, lackey No. 1 as it is to commercialists. If justice be refused the poor man, the producer, he who adjusts the accounts of the human family, why should he longer bow to the court's mandates? To whom are its decisions available? To the professional profit-monger, and, incidentally, to the host of elective government officials, appointed employees and non-official attorneys.

Aided by the half hidden, and to the uninitiated mysterious and perplexing, government maneuverings, the financier defies and legalizes his instruments for concentrating wealth, then cunningly protects his fortune and himself with the civil and military armies he audaciously insists are necessary for the security of the weak commonwealth! By fictitious mediums, fictitious riches are accumulated.

The vigor of the despot depends upon the respect the multitude guarantee to his orders on present and future labor. The orders, devised by the propagandists of profit for the purpose of unlimited aggrandizement, are erroneously conceded to be property. So long as sacred rights of property avowedly supercede all other rights, so long shall we have poverty-stricken workers, so long shall we have human sacrifice.

The order "on demand," money, is of first importance among the weapons wielded by modern tyrants. Money is the lubricator that facilitates the easy shipping of profit, but the belief prevails that it is the "star" actor in exchange. The law is violently strained that life may be infused into the inanimate thing.

As the law has in its keeping no supernatural agencies, it merely succeeds in arranging formulas whereby the shrewd, by manipulating coming interest, etc., may devour all lands and everything pertaining thereto. Could no one amass more wealth than he is able to preserve from the ravages of rats and rust, from fire and flood, the arrogant aristocrat would quickly dwindle to his normal size and be truly measured by all men. Could profit upon the labor of others be eliminated from our social order, and we, individually, be confined in our possessions to what we have, unaided, produced, would we not view with astonishment our holdings? For who can place his hand on a single article that he claims is "mine," and truthfully say, "I made all this?" Was he the first to conceive the form? To discover the effects that follow certain

causes? Did he perform every detail of the work? We, as a race, may have improved upon the precedents or tricks of our ancestors, may be more expert in combining and acting them, but by our very proficiency has our dependence upon one another been augmented.

What changes are inevitable when we free ourselves from the existing commercial form of slavery? It embraces chattel, Church, State, wage, financial—every manner and degree of profit-mongering.

Humanity, says the conservative, may possibly advance a few steps beyond the farthest point yet gained by it, but profit cannot be dispensed with. Oh! Mr. Conservative! what a funny fellow you are! You drive your stakes into this or that ism, tie your ropes to them and declare: "Thus far and no farther." Would a last century conservative have listened to the tale of a prophet who prattled of steam or electricity propelled carriages? Is the electrician standing still? We have grown almost out of the forms of Church and slavery, must we adhere to others? "You may," says a writer, "declare by law a slave to be free; but you cannot by law root out of his nature the education he received as a slave." Think you that the loosening of the fetters will check growth? And may not the growth, fostered by opportunity, "root out" the false of the former education? The repealing of the slave law affects master as well as slave. The master requires room and time to reconcile his mind to his altered circumstances, to cast off the false dignities and feelings of superiority not his due but habitual to him in his old station. Time must be given him to learn that the pleasure of ruling another is a primitive and brutish pleasure, and is abhorrent to the truly refined sensibility as is the drunken carousal of a debauchee.

What is the task the revolutionists have before them in the impending social upheaval? During the transition period clamor and commotion will be prevalent. Worn out tricks of thought must be set aside, for without new brain movements new deeds cannot be done. Paper agitation alone will be inadequate; action should unite with theory. The imperious and hitherto unquestioned jurisdiction of precedent must be renounced, for what past was as is our present?

Food, clothing, shelter; these must be taken under advisement, and it is incumbent upon every able bodied person to assist in supplying them. Transportation and exchange included in obligatory work. Not co-operation for profit, but for mutual benefit, genuine, free co-operation should be preached and practiced, fully and speedily.

The sooner all classes are relieved of the notion that the "Great" are by nature disqualified for manual labor the better it will be for those concerned. The time will come when, if the able shift the burden of securing his livelihood upon the less competent, "public opinion" will denounce the act as disgraceful. Indolence, however ornamented it may be, or whatever style it may carry, will cease to command respect.

Confiscation and redistribution of property follows as a desired or unavoidable consequence of a revolution. The commercialists of France, during the famed "reign of terror," dispossessed the nobles and clergy; the rebellious slaveholders of the South unwillingly helped to replenish the purses of Northern and foreign financiers. In the rebellion that is to be, the rebellion of the laborers against the capitalist system and its blind or unscrupulous partisans, what can the rebels do but to ignore "vested rights," adapt the precedent of confiscation to the times; appropriate and work the land and the factories for the entire people; conduct transportation and exchange—commerce, in earnest, interchangeable co-operation? Parisians, irrespective of rank, dug and built together, harmoniously, for a few weeks, "without money and without price," preparing the National Amphitheatre on the Champ de Mars for a grand anniversary celebration. If this sort of co-operation be advantageous in revolutionary struggles, why discontinue it when the surface quiet called peace returns?

Profit as an incentive to labor is a humbug. The laborer profits not, though he strive to satisfy his wants by his master's methods. The best work is not stimulated by hire, nor is a wage an inducement for ascertaining truth. We cover the fact of the labor factor in an undertaking, say of a World's Fair, with the phrase, "It cost lots of money." Money! a lifeless symbol, brain and brawn rather—aye, with limbs and lives thrown in, for the grandeur of the Fair glossed over many a human sacrifice.

Governments, the best of them, do not furnish food.

The famine among the Parisian poor abated not a jot after the months of wrangling indulged in by the French constitutional conventions, but an insurrection of women ferreted bread out of its hiding places for the nonce—unmixed with plaster of Paris!

Governments protect the idler in his assumed privileges of overseer and spendthrift. What use has a free people for sheriffs to evict? To compel compliance to a contract when it is found to be detrimental to one or more of the parties to it? Land as a source from whence rent may be derived, or whereon hirelings may be farmed, will not be wanted by the man who has learned the lesson of his own and his brother's rights. The right to so much land as he can occupy and use is inherent with every inhabitant of the globe, man made laws to the contrary notwithstanding. The "supply and demand" of common parlance is a cruel practical joke, but with voluntary co-operation in full blast a demand, or request, from one district for an article produced in another will be promptly supplied and vice versa.

Who will "turn on the light" that the workers may see that dependence upon themselves is their first need? Who but they should plan their work or inspect it? Who but they should dispose of the proceeds of their toil? Let but the idea permeate the masses that the object for two to work together is for the benefit of both, not that one may gain an advantage over the other; let the terror of the total depravity of their fellows, so carefully cultured by the mighty of earth, be displaced by the knowledge that there is no depravity except the depravity of ignorance; and the thwarting of the union of laboring men will end, and unconstrained, spontaneous co-operation will begin its mission of civilizing mankind.

We hear in these "hard times" of charity for the "worthy poor." A laborer eating the bread of charity! Preposterous! Charity from whom? From the philanthropist evolved from the exploiter! Then black is white! "Free" public libraries! Dowered colleges! Monumental churches! Built with funds miraculously or "providentially" showered upon a deserving and humble "instrument!" Base creatures, without whose muscle books and buildings could not be, with commendable docility and gratitude accepting crumbs offered in pity and love!

Oh! when shall we dare to demolish those impediments to progress—church, government, commerce? When we so dare there will stop, as a matter of course, numerous "enterprises," such as insurance, banking, etc., braces of commerce. This will throw out of employment a multitude that must be gratuitously cared for while finding suitable places in the new reciprocal co-operative association. As not a single garment nor a mouthful of food was added to the public stores by the occupation of these people, the temporary breaking up of their daily rounds will make the load of the toilers no heavier. Join with the present workers the vast army of monopoly outcasts, those engaged in fruitless drudgery, and the society pleasure seekers, and the hours per day in which they will be busied in the necessary "grind (?) " will be registered in the small figures. None but the shirk can be a thief; virtually the idler is a thief now, though the law endorse him. Leisure will there be for all, and each one may contribute his mite or his mountain of knowledge to the common stock, and draw from it so much as he can absorb, unrestricted by pay, patent, or copy right. Our tastes, real or affected, may be nurtured if we attend to the doing ourselves, without a "pull" or a "squeeze"—or charity!

The "lower orders," as they make room for themselves to expand, copy the fashions and foibles of those in "high life." Instead of eating to live, they live to eat. They dress not for beauty and comfort, but "tog up" for show and to make an impression. But already, paths are "blazed" for better things. Judge not harshly the disinherited if they mistake the paraphernalia the sign to them of greatness for the thing itself. The lowly occasionally mimic their masters in another particular, in terrorizing. When an attempt is made by the harassed at some spot where imposed conditions make life a torture to peacefully break their bonds, do the oppressors think the contestants against privilege can be cowed by the terror of a beggarly existence on the highway, by enforced silent vigils within prison walls, by exile, by the gallows, the guillotine or the galling-gum? When an orderly uprising is met with terrorizing resistance by sin-cures, what course is left the bound but counter terrorism? May we not condone the offense of a slave, whose educational (dis)advantages have stunted his

reasoning faculties, whose every endeavor to free himself has been sidetracked or directly foiled, if he, vaguely surmising the origin of his afflictions, kill and lay waste promiscuously? There are, doubtless, in the oppressing division, many who are unconscious of guilt. If a portion of the bejeweled innocent are numbered with the human sacrifices, is the horror more horrible than that fifty million of equally innocent people should perish of needless starvation?

An "iridescent dream," this, of free co-operation, says Mr. Conservative. Thought is the driving wheel of humanity. If the thought be merely a dream, impossible of fulfillment, why declare the dreamers out-laws? Ah, "the actual final rights of man lie in the far depths of the ideal. Every noble work is at first impossible."

The scheme of free co-operation, or Anarchist Communism, is dreamed and interpreted so extensively, that the authorities in the United States have felt it their duty for the preservation of the peace, to hang or imprison, within the last decade, dreamers of this school who could be convicted of no criminal act. Remember, lovers of precedent, that Socrates dreamed! So, too, did Marat, Cloutz, "Tom" Paine, Thomas Carlyle, Lovejoy, John Brown, and, to the boast and shame of our freedom and civilization be it said, so, also, did eight famous men of Chicago, as yet unknown in their true characters, and, therefore, infamous.

Concisely stated, the ultra radicals of the hour dream of the abolition of the profit systems of Church, State and commerce; of the universal adoption of true co-operation in production, transportation and exchange; they dream of the day when the profit instigated strife for mastership shall be an impotent precedent, and human sacrifice obsolete.

VIRGILIA DANIELS.

TWO GREAT CRIMES OF CIVILIZATION.

George Henry Sandy, aged 71, committed suicide in San Francisco on the 5th of July, under the following circumstances: He was a type-setter, unmarried, who had been unable to obtain employment since the appearance of the type-setting machine. At one time recently he had nothing to eat for three days, he owed for the room he occupied nearly a year's rent, he belonged to the San Francisco Typographical Union No. 21. But what can labor unions do against machines? They cannot save their members from starving and suicide.

Mr. Sandy left some letters of which parts are interesting. One is to the lodging house keeper, who had probably stripped his bed to remind him of the year's back rent. To him he writes that he thinks the union will liquidate some of the debt, and that "the condition in which I found my bed last evening is the final blow that crushes me to earth. I have struggled hard to get employment and earn money, for I wished to live and do something for the good of mankind; but the fates were against me, and I accept death by my own hand in preference to starvation and the mental torture to which I have been subjected to on account of my poverty."

He writes also to his Union soliciting it to pay the landlord who "has allowed me to remain in his house without paying the rent of my room longer than any reasonable man can expect. He is poor and needs the money. Do this for the old man who has been loyal to union principles for half a century, and in defending them always swallowed his medicine without complaint."

In other letters are these thoughts:

I have endured insults, sneers, humiliation, hunger, contempt and poverty until life has lost its charm and now is unendurable.

For the few friends I leave behind in this big city I offer a prayer to the God of the universe, that he may protect them from want and shield them from the bitterness of imitating my last example of relief from wrong.

So the world will ever be, and when the laboring man finds himself crushed in spirit, dependent, hungry, and unable to continue his fight for existence, he will prove his wisdom best by dropping out of sight.

The newspaper reporter who wrote of the case describes him as "a well educated, reticent man, with very high ideas of honor and considerable dignity in his manner."

It recalls the young man out of work in Paris, who killed himself after writing: "Hell is on the earth; paradise is under the earth."

Of all events that could have occurred in these humane United States this one is surprisingly the most singular. We go to war against another great nation

and spend many hundred millions, destroy many thousand lives, to succor its starving colonists, and here in the heart of our own country we permit our own flesh and blood and citizens to die of hunger for the want of a little petty work. This is a greater crime than ever Spain committed against Cuba, because we are more enlightened than Spain. It is the greatest crime that civilization can execute.

But the second greatest crime of civilization was perpetrated by the man who killed himself because this clean, holy, rich, enlightened American commonwealth would give him no way to earn life. That crime was his suicide. And now he do not speak to him, for he is dead; but to many others who are as he was yesterday, we offer words of duty.

That man ought to have destroyed public property, gone to jail for it and lived at the public expense. He ought to have broken a window in the City Hall of San Francisco, as another unemployed man once did. And every time we was robbed of work by the iron law of unemployment he should have repeated the act. Every unemployed man should do this to force the public to perform its duty of giving him work, or to support him as an honest criminal in a public institution. These would be brave men vindicating the right of all to live and toil.

There is now a man in the jail of an Eastern state who is there because he has refused to pay certain unjust taxes. That man is a hero. He far surpasses in courage and nobility any of these war heroes who will be richly paid for all their risks and sufferings: Dewey, Hobson, Wainwright, Shafter, cannot compare with him. Would there were more of his caliber in this country! And we plainly assure the unemployed men that the power to do entirely away with that curse is in their hands. The public cares more for laws than it cares for men, and more for property than it cares for laws. Tease the dozy public by a little breaking of laws and destruction of property then. Teach it in this way that men are more than things. Let it be public property, that private individuals may not suffer, and continue this as long as there is one honest unemployed man who cannot get work. It is the shortest way to awaken the people from their immoral and cruel torpor.—Public Ownership Review.

NEWS ITEMS.

—Even among the police we find decent men. The police inspector of Geneva requested some of his detectives to enter the service of the political branch, the men however declined, saying that they felt it their duty to hunt real criminals, but considered it beneath their dignity to molest and spy people on account of their political opinions, whereupon they were summarily discharged. Of course the police have no use for honest men.

—In Geneva, Switzerland, the Socialists elected their candidate to the city council. His first revolutionary act was the passage of a measure to raise the salaries of the city fathers. It had, of course, the sanction of all the members. A fine fellow this Socialist. He will soon have solved the social question for himself.

—The Swiss, English and Belgian delegates of the anti-Anarchist conference were against the extradition of foreign Anarchists.

—The governor of Madrid has issued an order to legally close all Carlists clubs.

—Our comrades in Portugal have founded a weekly paper. Their mission is twofold: They have to free the people from religious superstition in this Jesuit cursed country, and to teach them to read and write. The city of Rio de Janeiro has a new Anarchist paper, too. In Buenos Aires appear two new Anarchist weeklies, and also a monthly magazine. Our comrades in Argentina have quite a number of weekly organs. Even Greece has a new Anarchist paper. The world moves.

—In Rumania they arrested our comrade Valendrin and gave him up to the Italian government. Valendrin had been editor of "L'Agitazione" which has been suppressed. This extradition which is a deliberate violation of the Rumanian fugitive law and shows that the governments are ever ready to violate their own laws and do anything that answers their purpose, be it ever so dastardly.

—Now that the failure of the anti-Anarchist conference to provide ways and means for the suppression of Anarchy has become apparent, the press prostitutes are advancing ideas and suggestions: The Neue Freie Presse (Vienna) suggests the torture. The Cologne Gazette favors life imprisonment. The Vienna Offizier

Journal would hang all Anarchists. The Jesuit sheet in Spain, El Catolico, thinks they ought to be burned at the stake, and their sympathizers should be branded with a hot iron. The editor of the Stadtbote in Zurich, Switzerland, has become mad, he writes: "Hurrah for the gallows! Hurrah for the rope! Down with the Anarchists." The Observer, Rome, would like to see another night of St. Bartholomew inaugurated, that is, a general massacre of Anarchists. The Moniteur Catholique, France, would have Anarchists sewed up in bags and thrown in the sea. The Vaterland, Switzerland, would drive them into a large field and to be torn to pieces with dynamite. The Geneva thinks they ought to be transported to a barren island and there allowed to starve slowly to death. Surely the representatives of humanity and civilization are not at a loss for methods that excel, as far as brutality is concerned, nearly everything that could possibly be brought forward.

—Comrade Krach has been sentenced to death in Graetz, Austria, because he stabbed a spy to death.

—An Austrian censor wrote under the caption of an article "The Austrian State," that was to appear in the "Swoboda" (Freedom), the word "confiscated." The next day the patrons of the paper read the following: "The Austrian State was confiscated."

—In the pawnbroker shops of Paris are 37,000 quilts and blankets, 10,000 mattresses, 162,000 sheets, 435,000 different articles of wearing apparels. A wealthy lady, whose daughter was about to be married, wished to make the poor of Paris a present. She concluded to redeem all engagement rings. But her astonishment may be imagined when she learned that not less than 63,000 rings were pawned and that it would require over a half million francs to redeem all. The woman then concluded to pay the interest due on the rings for a year, but she was not able to do that either, for the sum needed was 35,000 francs. What an amount of misery is expressed in these figures!

—Not less than 353 Cabinet ministers have been engaged in criminal transactions within the last hundred years in Spain. That explains to a certain extent the systematic exploitation of the Spanish people.

—More than hundred Nihilists have lately been arrested in Russia. Among them were two army officers and one professor of philosophy. B.

ITALY.—The gendarmes in Italy are still engaged in hunting down the Anarchists, sending them from three to four years forced domicile. In Foligno about twenty Anarchists were arrested right after the killing of the empress of Austria, and nothing has been heard or seen of them since. The Italian government surpasses the Russian Czar.

In Livorno the Socialist lawyer Modigliani, who had been arrested, was found innocent, but fearing that he might make propaganda if left out, he was imprisoned for two years. Such is justice in Italy.

In Reggio Calabria, after five day's trial of the Anarchists and Socialists who were arrested in May, the tribunal sentenced each—except comrade Finari—from twelve to twenty months imprisonment and over one thousand francs fine.

In Ancona, comrade Tito, who was imputed in the trial with Malatesta, was condemned for three years imprisonment. He was arrested in Vienna and given up by the Austrian police to Italy. Comrade Falbi, a student of Macarata, who was arrested a year ago and condemned to be sent to forced domicile, is still kept in prison in a small cell because there is another trial pending for him.

At Milan the Republican club called New Italy was dissolved and all its members present were arrested.

GERMANY.—Twenty-four Italian laborers who were working in a tunnel in the city of Worms, were arrested on suspicion of being Anarchists.

RUSSIA.—The peace loving czar of Russia who made the proposition of disarmament has ordered ten new battleships to be built and finished within two years. This proves him to be a fraud and hypocrite who looks for notoriety.

HOLLAND.—Two brothers by the name of Hoogerhuis, laborers, who were arrested and unjustly convicted have now been proven innocent, but they are not set free. Our comrade Domela Nieuwenhuis has promoted an agitation in behalf of these poor innocent victims. Naturally he finds it quite a hard task because he has much opposition. It is the same as in France with the Dreyfus case: the government does not want to expose its fallibility and Nieuwenhuis is now trying to expose the affair of those two brothers in London by holding conferences. He addresses

the meetings in the French, English and German languages.

SWITZERLAND.—Many Italian and Tyrolian Anarchists are being expelled from Switzerland and going over to other countries they meet the same fate. Although our comrades are thus persecuted and driven from place to place they are neither pessimistic nor inactive regarding our ideas. Anarchy, or rather the truth, cannot be suppressed by force and brutality.

FRANCE.—The editor Zo D'Axa of the paper Feuille excitée public indignation by exposing the horrible cruelties that were perpetrated upon little children in a so-called correction house. Young boys eight year old were for trifles confined in narrow cells for eight days, hands and feet being tied with ropes. They die of inactivity and physical weakness. Hunger forces them to eat lime from the walls of toilet rooms. The Socialist deputy Fourniere interpellated the chamber of deputies about these outrageous facts, and the government promised to investigate the case and to provide for the abused children. JESSIE LEVINSON.

THE UNWRITTEN CODE.

I have just been reading in the San Francisco Bulletin of December 28, 1898, of the proceedings of the anti-Anarchist conference recently held at Rome and it made me think of some principles I announced nearly twenty years ago, so I looked them up and here they are, or at least the part that applies to this present movement to suppress the natural rights of the people:

It has been demonstrated that laws which go against the unwritten law of public opinion are very hard to be enforced. The Fugitive Slave law is a case in point. Northern men, when the anti-slavery question was first broached, were ready to hang a Garrison, but in time they became so imbued with the spirit of human sympathy that they would not act the bloodhound for the slaveholder even with the whole force of the government at his back. The accepted law of public sentiment in which they had been educated had been swept away by the deeper law of sympathetic justice, that law which always responds if you can once get through the crust of a false education to the genuine man and woman.

When the question of human slavery began to be agitated the unwritten code was so strong that a fugitive slave law would have been superfluous, and when it did come it was proof that the unwritten law was crumbling.

This applies to Anarchy as well as the question I then had under discussion and the fact that such a conference has been held, as is told by the Bulletin, is one of the best evidences that Anarchistic ideas have so permeated the masses that the unwritten code that concedes to government the power they hold is crumbling, otherwise there would have been no need for such a conference.

As the hanging of Parsons and his comrades made thousands of converts where their unpersecuted personal efforts would not have made hundreds, so the enforcement of the edicts of governments will act in like manner upon the people, and no movement on the part of those who now rule could have shown so clearly that the day of doom for all arbitrary authority of man over man is hastening on apace.

LOIS WAINBROOKER.

Literature.

The Workingman's Programme. An address delivered by F. Lassalle in 1862. International Publishing Co., 23 Duane st., New York. Price 10 cents.

This little book, consisting of 62 pages, contains much that is new to our American readers who are not thoroughly acquainted with the history of the European labor movement and its respective literature, and it is also an excellent eye-opener for the conservatives. The subject is treated from an historical point of view, and besides points out the injustice of taxation—especially that indirect taxation is the most burdensome and injurious to the producers. Unfortunately Lassalle was at that time still imbued with the idea that the State would be the promoter of freedom—the only objectionable feature in the book. For this speech Lassalle was imprisoned by the German government.

RECEIPTS.

Week ending January 7.

Notkin, \$1.25. Waterford and New London, Conn., \$1.50. International Pub. Co., Brewin, each \$1. Pfuetzner, 75c. Chariy, Shaw, Guttes, Wich, Richter, Waltey, Quinn, Quist, Gruenblatt, Albert, Levitz, Telson, Shake, Austin, Leonard, Seil, Codura, each 50c. Dalhandy, Ash, Sacharoff, Rosenberg, Rozek, Levy, Venderoff, D. Miller, M. Miller, Bogitch, Banowitz, Bodenlos, Simkins, Perctval, each 25c. Notkin for badges 50c. Thayer, 68c.