

# 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.

VOL. V. NO. 20.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, MARCH 26, 1899.

WHOLE NO. 208.

## ONWARD, CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS!

"The loss of the Rebels may be gathered from the fact that 16 of them were buried in one rice field, on Monday, near Passas, and that 87 of them were buried between Paco and Santa Ana. A converted river gunboat did terrible execution among the Rebels, sweeping both banks of the river with its Gatling guns and heavier battery, and hundreds of Filipinos (with their bellies torn out) crawled into the cane brakes and died there."—Chicago Tribune.

Onward, Christian soldiers!  
On to heathen lands!  
Explosives in your cruisers,  
Rifles in your hands.

Onward, Christ's crusaders!  
Freedom's "boys in blue,"  
Hosannah in the highest!  
Yankee Doodle-do.

Sail to distant islands,  
Spread the Gospel Light;  
You are Gods anointed,  
Hail Columbia—smite!

On! On! Americans,  
The white man's burden bear.  
Go, plant the love of Jesus—  
The Three-Ball Temple there.

Face the smokeless Mausers,  
Die in jungle swamps—  
Feast your souls on glory!  
—Cohen gets the stamps.

Go! teach the Filipinos  
The laws they must pay—  
If they grin sardonic—  
HUMANITARIANS,—slay!

Save those wicked sinners!  
(For them our tears are shed.)  
But if they do not hearken—  
Inject them full of lead.

Deploy your iron squadrons,  
Might gives birth to Right!  
'Tis Ragnar Redbeard's logic,  
Seize everything in sight.

Seize one thousand islands,  
And Lord! Let ye forget,  
Ring them round with tariffs,  
Load them down with debt!

Seize their ships and cities,  
Should the restless dogs rebel—  
With shrapnell shell their dwellings,  
Blow the fools to hell.

Bishops, priests and rabbis  
Bless your holy skill—  
And the Red Cross Lassies  
Dote to see you kill.

Onward, Christian soldiers!  
On to heathen lands!  
With rapid-fire Maxims  
And rifles in your hands.

Remember Yorktown's battle,  
Forget not Bunker Hill!—  
(When guns have ceased to rattle,  
Then found your mortgage-mill.)

Hoist aloft Old Glory!  
Load the Gatling gun—  
Hurrah for INDEPENDENCE!  
Three cheers for Washington!

RICHARD THORLAND.

## NEW TACTICS IN THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE.

During the last few years, the struggle between labor and capital has become more and more acute. If, on the one hand, the number of organized and united workmen augments, on the other hand we see capitalists falling into line and federating, to resist the demands of organized labor by determined and united action. The workers' trade union is opposed by a capitalist federation, the International of the oppressed and disinherited is opposed by the International of governments, capitalists, churches and landlords. Thus we see that, without the influence of friendly capital and privilege, strikes, even admirably organized and supported by the people, drag on from month to month without any positive result. The miners' strike of

1893, those of Hamburg, Chicago and Penrhyn, and especially the great engineers' strike carried on with so much solidarity and supported, not only by trade-unions of this country, but by all organized workers of the civilized world... all these strikes and ever so many others have resulted in no material improvement for the workers; neither have wages gone up, nor have working hours diminished. Their principal object has been to resist the employer and maintain the ground already won. Organized capital supported by State, Church and Privilege, defeats not only such or such an organized trade, but as we have already remarked, it overthrew the liberal government in 1895 that dared touch the interests of exploiters. At first sight we might believe that federated capital and privilege are in truth almighty. But are the efforts of exploiters and governing classes really almighty? Are they invincible if a nation is united and determined to enfranchise itself from exploitation and misery? A parasite does not nourish the organism it devours. The unproductive and parasitic classes are not the most powerful, but it is the people, the great creators of our wealth and culture who are; it is not the former but the latter that will triumph in the supreme struggle for social emancipation.

Only, in order to reach this final goal, they must oppose the alliance of exploiters, not with an isolated union, merely supported by others, but with the efforts of all trade-unions in a great national federation. It was so in the days of the great Owen agitation, from 1832-36. At that time exploiters were not only united among themselves, but they directed the government; and the latter, armed with the abominable "conspiracy act," persecuted, imprisoned and deported isolated strikers. Only in uniting and in organizing popular demonstrations of a not too peaceful character, were the federated trades-unions of that time able to force their reforms on the government and the bourgeoisie. So in our time it is obligatory for all organized trades to federate. Not only among themselves must they come to an understanding, not only "skilled" workers, but the entire working class must be united and federated. In adopting a really democratic system of unionism, the future federation of trades-unions should also come to an understanding and even unite for combined action, with co-operative societies of production and consumption. How? On what basis could this federation of producers and consumers be realized?—It is not for us Anarchists, for us, partisans of free popular initiative, to give directions. We only wish to point out to our brothers, exploited and oppressed by capital, that they can enforce their demands by uniting all popular forces in a national federation. Groups and organizations to be autonomous in their respective affairs, and solidary in their common struggle for social emancipation.

We ardently desire that producers and consumers, in other words, trade-unions and other co-operative societies, recognize that to fight united capital and privilege, they must adopt new tactics—that of a united working class, and fight for the well being of all.

The idea being conceived, we are sure beforehand that the people with their practical sense will know how to create a federation of trades-unions and a free agreement with co-operators and consumers. Then we shall see if the federated bourgeoisie protected by the State will remain almighty forever. —Freedom, London.

## SLAVERY AND FREEDOM.

The dominant ideas of government are despotism and democracy—slavery and freedom. From the beginning of civilization they have been fighting for control. Kings drawing authority from the clouds, and the people basing authority on "the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," have made the history of the world.

For thousands of years the kings were successful. Crowned robbers ruled the earth; jewelled tyranny forged the chains for freedom's spotless limbs, housed her in dungeons, hewed her to pieces with the sword and gave with devilish glee her devoted body to the flames. Force and murder enslaved the race. From the birth of Christ to the fifteenth century they ruled supreme.

"The combination of those who share either in the actual exercise of the public power or in its advantages do not allow themselves to sit down in inaction. They wake while the people sleep. Entirely taken up with the thoughts of their power, they live but to increase it. Deeply versed in the management of public business, they see at once all the possible consequences of measures, and as they have exclusive direction of the springs of government, they give rise, at their pleasure, to every incident that may influence the minds of the multitude who are not on their guard, and who wait for some event or other that may finally determine them."—De Lamoignon, Constitution of England.

A thousand years of worse than barbaric night, and as many years of creeds and churches have debased and dwarfed the body and the soul of woman. Man has been slow to learn that she is not his inferior, nor in any sense his slave. And there are thousands of this christian era who have yet to know of the equal dignity of the sexes, of the inviolable proprietorship of in propria persona, of her supreme direction of the sexual in every sense—yes, there are millions of Americans who have yet to learn that love is a democracy of hearts; a democracy of absolute equality where each is sovereign in an ideal sense—without which love is only lust—and that in perfect harmony each must be a sceptred monarch, obeying and unobeyed. It is a miserable kind of misery that loves company.

Individuals who cannot survive in a condition of freedom should perish. That which slavery preserves is not worthy of existence. Freedom is opportunity, and there is no development where there is lack of opportunity. Liberty is self-ownership, the power to do with one's self as he pleases. Under the present system we are free to do evil, but not to do good. No man can prevent my killing him, or doing him the utmost injury at least onetime; but I can do him good only in a very limited way.

The most of men are afraid of freedom. They imagine that if men were free they would destroy one another. But they are unmindful of the simplest facts of life. They forget that self-interest is the regulative principle of society, and that if it were possible for mankind to destroy themselves they would have been destroyed long ago by government. There are many bad men in business, men who are most vicious and destructive, yet you never hear of any of them setting fire to their goods just to see them burn; and if there were no insurance, there would be none but accidental fires. Now, bad men do not destroy their property, because it is against their interest to do so. For what reason then would bad men attempt to destroy one another in a free society, in which they would have no motive for murder, except the mere pleasure of killing, which would always be restrained by the other fellow's ability to kill someone himself?—Armstrong's Autonomist.

# FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Co.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

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

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

## ATTENTION!

About two months ago some Chicago comrades sent us \$100 for the purpose of reprinting "The Famous Speeches of the Chicago Martyrs" and "Altgeld's Reason for Pardoning Schwab, Fielden and Neebe." This book will soon be ready for distribution, but the above mentioned sum is not sufficient to defray the expenses of press-work and paper for three thousand copies. We are therefore obliged to ask all the comrades and groups interested and able to assist us to the extent of their ability in the completion of this excellent work, which is a most important and effective means to combat the existing popular prejudices against our movement.

The comrades will please remember that this book will be mailed at cost to those who already did or are still going to make advance contributions for this purpose.

As soon as we shall have completed the issuance of the above book we shall proceed to the publication of Jean Grave's "Moribund Society and Anarchy" which has lately been translated into English.

## NOTE AND COMMENT.

Two young stars are making their appearance in the progressive movement. Robert Montford Lucky, whose latest poem "Awake, Arise!" was his first contribution to *Free Society*, is only 23 years of age. His celebrated poem "If I Were God," composed several years ago, has been translated by French and German authors. The other star is Juliet Collins of Midway, Ky., sister of May Collins, whose tragical death is well known to our readers. Juliet is only 16 years old, yet her poem "A Dream of Life," which appeared a few weeks ago in the *Blue Grass Blade*, has made her name at once famous. May Collins was an Anarchist and a reader of *The Firebrand*, and if her sister, the young poetess, continues on these lines, she bids fair to make her mark.

The *Torch of Reason*, which claims to be a "freethought" paper, rejoices in the thought of a "new Church of Humanity," that will be inaugurated as soon as "the old orthodox filth will be swept from our country," and says among other things:

The rules of the coming church will be very easily understood, but they will be very strict. There will be thorough conversion before fellowship is gained, and if one lapses back into the barbarous ways of our ancestors he will be immediately placed outside the gates by these latter-day puritans.

On that very page the editor laments and bitterly complains that the old puritans favor sectarian schools and that "freethought teachers must now keep their mouths shut or be blackened as black as tar by foul slander while the advocates of the old dogmas are honored for their hypocrisy and ignorance." Take your own medicine, Mr. Hosmer! The old puritans are doing exactly what you propose to do with them, i.e. they are placing you "outside the gates."

We have been advised to inform our readers who have been purchasing the *Atlantic Monthly* on account of comrade Peter Kropotkin's articles, that there will be no contribution from him in the April edition, as he is engaged in preparing a scientific article for another journal.

Jules Simonson was out of a job and starving in

this city. He made an attempt to steal something to eat but was detected before the awful "crime" was committed, and, being handed over to the police, was sentenced to ten years, penitentiary. A city official stole \$118,000 and was imprisoned for only six years. Such is American equality.

It is not the extravagance and waste of the working classes that keeps them poor, and well the fat-fed liars know it. It is the economy and patient submission to miserable living and endless toil that keeps the masses under foot. Just as long as we endure laws and customs that permit a few employers to fix the amount they will allow the workers to keep out of the wealth the workers make, just so long will wages be only enough to keep the human machine in working order. The margin of wages is the line beyond which the workers cannot go without starving. The measure of wages is the cost of the laborer's living, just as it always is when there are a few masters and the balance slaves. The better the working classes insist upon living, the better will wages have to be. The more the laborers are willing to pinch and save in order to live cheaper, the more will wages be cut. Capital does not intend that labor shall be able to lay up much. Because a man who has something laid up is independent, and in these days employers do not look for independent labor. They want dependent slaves. —*The Radical*.

## CONSISTENCY PROMULGATES ANARCHISM.

The consistency of A. W. Wright, who refused to serve as a juror on account of his Anarchist principles, has brought our ideas into publicity by the daily press. "Nearly all of the Chicago papers sent reporters to my house," he replied to F. B. Livesey, who had written him a letter of commendation, "to review me after my appearance before Judge Burke, but the reporter for the *Chronicle* was the only one who had the ability and disposition to report what I had to say with any degree of fairness." Space does not permit us to reprint the whole review, and so the following is only a part of the report:

"Every government is an absolute despotism. Coercion is the basis of all human governments; aggression of the one or the many upon the rights of the individual. This is wrong. No man and no set of men have any right to limit the actions of any other man or set of men. The only just limit is the proximity of some other individual to the one who performs a certain act. Laws made by the legislatures are mere expressions of opinion by the members thereof and should have no binding effect on him who does not hold to those opinions. Therefore I am opposed to the enforcement of any 'man-made' law. I am an Anarchist."

The foregoing paragraph is an epitome of the political belief of Austin W. Wright of 3637 Prairie Ave., Chicago. Mr. Wright is a provision broker, who operates on the Board of Trade during trade hours and delves deep into abstract philosophy in his leisure moments. He declares bluntly and with evident conviction that he is a citizen of Illinois only because he is forced to be. He says that under existing conditions the only way he can withdraw is by emigration or suicide. Not caring to do either he is by force compelled, regretfully, he says, to participate to a limited extent in the forcible retention of others in the state.

Mr. Wright is an anomaly among men. His doctrines, if carried out, would mean the total revolution, if not destruction, of society as it exists today. He admits this himself, but says there is no reason in the nature of human life under which he should be forced to pay taxes, support public officers or offices, vote or in any other way participate in the affairs of the state or municipality unless he himself voluntarily so participates. He believes he should have the power as well as the right to say: "I do not approve of your state idea; I do not believe in your so-called laws and am opposed to their enforcement. I have no objection to your enforcing them against yourselves if you want to, but think they should not be applied to me against my will. I therefore withdraw from your association and will paddle my own canoe, without your assistance or protection."

"I maintain that that people which is least governed is the best governed. I don't believe in laws made by man. There is only one kind of law and that is the

law of nature. All others are mere expressions of belief. Why they should bind me unless I accept them I cannot conceive.

"Natural laws are facts. They exist because they are facts which must remain until disturbed by some powerful agency. The control of the elements is a natural law and cannot be amended by any act of any legislature, no matter how learnedly the body might reason. No man can define a fact, so 'man-made' laws are not facts, but expressions of opinion. Opinions should not govern any man who does not hold to them. Otherwise he is being coerced into something which he denies or disapproves of. This coercion applies to every law made by a human being.

"I believe every man has the natural right to do just as he pleases without let or hindrance from any other man or set of men, so long as he does not commit any aggression on the like liberty of his fellows. But all governments, whether autocracies or majority rule, are aggressions on the rights of the individual. The ruler forces his opinions on the ruled. If it is a case of majority then the majority forces the minority to live as it dictates, regardless of the fact that the minority does not feel that way or believe in the so-called laws. That is all wrong.

"No man is obliged to buy stock in a joint stock company or corporation. If he does not wish to engage in the business of that corporation he lets it alone. He does not interfere with it, but neither does he pay in any money to support it. He says: 'Go ahead, but I don't want any of your stock and will not pay anything to your support.' Now, why should he be compelled to support a state when it does a line of business he does not believe in or sympathize with? Why should he give up his money in taxes to support the opinions of a majority whose principles are diametrically opposed to his? But that is what is being done in all governments.

"Coercion is the basis of all governments. I do not believe in a single law or degree of legislature or court in Illinois. Then I have the natural right, which no man should have right or power to take from me, to withdraw from the state." Can't do this? "No." I am forced to participate in the aggression against my rights and those of others. There is but one or two ways open to me or him who holds with me. I must either emigrate or commit suicide. If I stay here I must help support a state I do not wish to belong to.

"I ought to have the power to say: 'I hold different opinions concerning the functions of government. Your laws do not express my opinions, therefore I will not remain a member of your association. I will paddle my own canoe.' Having said this, I should be exempt from all the obligations of citizenship in that state. But am I? Not at all, for if I don't pay taxes 'law officers' will seize my property and thus make me take part.

"I believe in the right of every individual to do whatever he is certain is right and proper, limited only to that proximity of another where the action may become an aggression. The trouble is that people think that government is as great as society. That is not the case by any means. Men say to me that they believe in liberty, the fullest possible under the organization of society, but that liberty is not license. I have asked many of them to define the difference and have failed to get an answer. They cannot make the distinction to save their lives.

"If we must have government, then I think the best form is an absolute monarchy, an autocracy. In such a case it seems to me that the one man would feel some responsibility for the subjects. The majority has no sense of responsibility. There is no oppression, no cruelty, no meanness the majority will not undertake with absolute cold blood. It will grind the minority down and revel in the misery it has created. It is an absolutely irresponsible fraction of the body politic. We who live in a land of majority rule know this better than most peoples.

"Laws do not protect. If it were not for the fact that the great body of the people is law-abiding—that is, lives up to the standard of nature and discriminates between right and wrong—the opinions of legislatures, it seems to me, would be of little avail. People say that policemen preserve order. That is not true; the general ability to tell right from wrong and the general observance of the right is what protects. If the people did not observe this natural law of letting others alone in the exercise of natural rights, could you find policemen enough in the world to preserve order? Not at all. Chaos would surely follow. Therefore the laws—so-called—of man do not protect



They really rob men of their rights, enable the strong to rob the weak and commit all kinds of crimes under cover of law.

"Do I vote? Oh, no. If I did I would participate in the wrongs committed in the name of government. I formerly voted, but shall do so no more. I voted several years after I saw I must become an Anarchist because I saw no reason why I should not give my support to things I approved of. Then I saw that by voting I was assenting to and participating in the aggressions of government and I quit. No, I will take no part in anything which connects me with something with which I wish no part."

Relating to the court incident, he says:

"I was drawn with some forty or fifty others to serve as a juror and was present in Judge Burke's court. I had never met him before nor had I ever seen him. When it was my time to be examined he asked me if I had any reason why I should be excused from jury service. I replied that I was an Anarchist; did not believe in his laws or their enforcement. He questioned me a little more to get a direct statement of my position and then said: 'You may stand to the left.'"

"I did so and said to myself softly as I took up a position in the background: 'I'm a goat.' You remember the story? If I believed in the foolish superstitions of the religious people I would believe that some day 'over there' will be two divisions, the sheep and the goats. The goats will stand to the left. Well, I was sent to the left and it made me think I was looked upon in the high court as a goat, hence my internal comment."

"I stood there for quite a while, until, in fact, all the rest of the panel had been examined and it seemed to me that I had been forgotten. Then I approached the bench again and asked Judge Burke: 'Is there any other reason, your honor, why I should be longer detained here?' The judge turned to me and said: 'Oh yes, you are the man who would decline to enforce the laws?' I answered 'yes' and he then said: 'None in the world; you may go.' That was all that was said. His manner was dignified and courteous. He never asked me about my attitude toward him, so that question did not arise. If he had I should have said that I had great respect for him personally, but profound contempt for his office."

### HOW CAN WE RUB IT IN?

For several years I have been convinced that what the masses need, is not to have more said of written on economic and other important questions of the times, but to have what has been written placed before the people in such a way that they can grasp the ideas and understand the causes that produce the discontent and suffering of so many worthy but ill-informed people. I remember when a boy to have seen a picture in an illustrated paper, and though 30 years have passed, I have not forgotten it, and it has caused thought and study along economic lines. The center figure was a stalwart laboring man digging with a spade; around him were pictures of several professional men. The lawyer said, "I plead for all;" the preacher said, "I pray for all;" the politician said, "I legislate for all;" while the laborer said, "I pay for all."

How many laboring men know of the professions and occupations that produce actually nothing or worse than nothing? Very few, and their children are learning nothing along these lines, either.

Now, do you think it would be possible to do any propaganda or educational work through the use of a game, such as authors or some other device in which shall be clearly shown just what each profession or class contribute to the real comfort and happiness of the people? Give the banker, lawyer, preacher, legislator, speculator, politician, capitalist, soldier, mariner, sheriff, constable, police, soliciting agent, traveling man, and each occupation its just due, at the same time setting the producer, who is a real benefactor, in sharp contrast with the one who produces nothing or misery and therefore is a parasite.

I confess I am not clever at games, but I wondered if this would not catch the eye of some comrade who was equal to the task and who might make up a game so pleasing to old and young that it might pay expenses and help to educate the growing youth and open the eyes of some of our brothers who are still napping.

Who will make an effort in this direction and so blend amusement with knowledge which should be possessed by all? Who are the workers? Who are the drones?

Hustburg, Tenn.

H. E. JERARD.

### TO THE ASSOCIATION OF DISEMPOWERED, 1159 MISSION STREET, SAN FRANCISCO.

Comrades,—I am pleased to see you are determined to act. Will you allow me to suggest that you insist on being called the *dismembered*, not the *unemployed*? The *dismembered* are those who cannot maintain themselves because they are disinherited from their birthright—land; the *unemployed* are the lazy rich who live on the labor of others, without in any way contributing to the wealth or well-being of the community.

Until we have free land and free exchange, we shall have disemployed millions; the number will increase with fearful rapidity; the great trusts are doing this at an alarming rate; by their Labor-saving schemes and rising at the same time the cost of living, they are narrowing the channels of consumption. Thus they will, of course, eventually strangle themselves; but we are not content to submit to this slow process of starvation.

Free land cannot even be hoped for so long as exchanges must be made by means of our present medium, based on metal (gold), which is so difficult to obtain; we must insist that Labor is the only standard of value, and "There is no wealth but Life," as Ruskin says.

The following letter will explain a plan which, if you approve, you might think advisable to present to the mayor for his consideration. If you think that, as the mayor is a banker, it would be hopeless, you may perhaps in mass-meetings lay the plan before the public.

September 26, 1898, I wrote in the *Examiner*: "Three years back business men and bankers of Boulder, Colorado beseeched the Commissioners to issue \$100,000 bonds for repairing washout damages. The Commissioners said 'We will not bond the people.' But they issued \$40,000 Labor scrips. Repairs were made, and today all the scrips are redeemed. Cost, nil. Why submit like sheep to the tax shears when our city expenses could be similarly met, and the uncomfortable lack of money obviated by the same operation? Mayor Phelan will perhaps explain why he does not suggest this solution of the question."

The need of the hour is money; the above shows how it has been created and used. We in this city could create and use \$7,000,000 annually with \$7,000,000 worth of improvements as the result, in place of \$1,000,000 improvements and \$6,000,000 going into the coffers of a few officials annually as at present under the gold standard. Nothing can better expose the utter wickedness of the gold standard than the fact that there is less than \$1,700,000,000 in cash in the United States, and there is about \$40,000,000,000 drawing interest; the annual interest is more than the actual money in circulation, and all the interest comes out of Labor. The money question is the most important,—it provides the boulder for president, supreme court, senators, judges, etc., down to the dog catchers.

A righteous tool of exchange would be the most effectual way of closing the superstition stores called churches; a righteous tool of exchange would have no power but that of exchange; usury would die and with it the greatest curse of all the ages—the Church. And the State would follow in short order. Personal freedom cannot exist under immoral coercion of the Church, or under the corporal coercion of the State; freedom must be personal—individual—and it cannot exist where a "legal tender" is the compulsory medium of exchange.

KINGHORN JONES.

### CHRISTIAN MORALITY VS. FREE THOUGHT.

At a meeting of the San Francisco Free Thought Society, held in Cambrian Hall, 1133 Mission st., Sunday evening, March 5, 1899, at which the question, "Are Free Thought Organizations Edifying to Man?" was the subject of discussion, one of our opponents undertook to prove that all the evil that existed could be traced to freedom of thought, and that expositions of the crimes of Christians by Freethinkers proved the moral degradation of those devoted to free thought. He declared that a person who would write or publish or circulate the books and papers containing the moral iniquities of which Christian people, priests and preachers are believed to have been guilty, was as bad as the people who committed such iniquities. "For," said he, "all who love to wallow in filth manifest a mind and disposition of the same filthy nature."

These are not exactly the same words he used, but embody the sum and substance of the views presented. He also made the bold and startling assertion that when we see our innocent youth entering dives and saloons we can know at once that the seeds of free thought have been planted in their minds, and will

ultimately ruin them. He seemed to think that Freethinkers were ravenously devoted to detecting and exposing the failings of religious people, and little did he realize that instead of proving what he tried to prove, he was confirming the very opposite.

Christianity assumes to uplift the human race, yet it sees nothing in man excepting "total depravity." "If a man pretends to serve the Lord," as the old farmer said, "I would like to see him do it when he measures onions and potatoes, as well as when he hollers glory halleluyah!" And if the christianity of which we hear so much does more for the race than the freedom of thought, we would like to see some of the fruits. If the belief in the superstitions which deprive men and women of their reasoning powers, their manhood and their womanhood, make humanity noble, we as candid truth-seekers ask to see the proof. It is said by their teachers, "By their fruits ye shall know them," and accordingly we judge them by their every-day actions.

When religious people condemn certain acts as immoral, and then straightway indulge in the very things they condemn, we are justified in doubting that religion makes men moral. And, if, as our opponent says, that condemning and denouncing vice and immorality proves that those who publish it are equally as bad as those who indulge in such vices, then the christian ministry of the whole civilized world stands condemned by the evidence of its own declaration.

Liberal thinkers never expose the failings of religious people save to contradict the folly that religion makes a person moral. "To the pure all things are pure," and "Evil to him who evil thinks," proclaims the moral standard of religious people and Freethinkers where considered in comparison. Christian people term immoral things that are as natural as it is to breathe, and when they fail to divert their normal inclinations they despise and condemn the prompting of their nature which the life forces stimulate and urge into action despite the religious teachings through which the exercise of bodily functions is unnaturally suppressed, and because of such suppression becomes volcanic fire.

Had they listened to the laws of nature instead of the laws of God or man-made laws, they would not have placed obstructions in the natural course of the stream causing it to rise till the river's banks were flooded and the country all around was submerged by stagnant pools.

It is only through free acting as well as through free thinking that the race can ever be truly moral, for as long as normal actions are restricted by authority and bigoted fanatics interfere with private personal liberty concerning other people, just so long will nature force unnatural and perverted action. And because of the bigoted, fanatical hallucinations of a supernatural religious teaching are the interferences with people's private liberties justified and tolerated by the masses who believe government and law necessary to our safety.

Personal freedom does not mean the seeking of our own indulgence with no thought concerning others, for that would be precisely what authority and government does, and is invasion of the freedom of others. True personal freedom is the voluntary enjoyment of all social pleasures participated in by others who desire to partake thereof joyfully and freely, and not through compulsion.

But all religious people and also all others who believe in government and authority are haunted with that crazy illusion that in the absence of authoritative restriction society would become what the bad boy's pa is said to have termed, "Hell let out for recess." This depending upon others or upon some vague authority to restrain or govern you instead of controlling yourself is just what makes you think that laws are necessary to govern others. If our opponents would learn to govern themselves instead of resorting to persecution of those who cannot agree with them, governments and authority would soon be things of the past.

As to drunkenness or intemperance being caused by free thought, we refer to Noah, the first drunkard of the age, and the only just man of his time;—to King David, the man "after God's own heart" in righteousness and morals;—and to Jesus, the savior of the world, who manufactured wine at the wedding of Cana, and that, too, when the guests had already "well drunken" that they might drink still more and become beastly drunk;—to the greatest of His disciples, Paul, who advised Timothy to take a little wine for his stomach's sake. And then let us ask, "What were all these?" Were they infidels and Freethinkers, or religious god-fearing worshippers of divine authority? If infidelity makes men wicked, and religion makes them moral, why were these, the greatest of all religious men, distinguished for intemperance?

J. A. GREEN.

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## For Chicago.

Emma Goldman will lecture on the following subjects:

Sunday, April 2, 3 p. m., at Lent-Entertainment of "Freisinnige Gemeinde" of the North West Side, at Schoenhofen's Hall, cor. Ashland and Milwaukee ayes.

Wednesday, April 3, 8 p. m., at Hoerber's Hall, 710 714 Blue Island ave., by Turner Society "Einigkeit." Subject: Trades Unionism: What it is and what it ought to be. (Lecture in German.)

Saturday, April 8, 8 p. m., at Zeph's Hall, 120 W. Lake, cor. Desplains street, by Brewers' and Malsters' Union No. 18, in German. Subject: Trades Unionism.

Tuesday, April 11, 9 p. m., at 55 N. Clark street, Painters and Decorators' Union No. 275, in German. Subject: Politics and its corrupting influence on man.

Monday, April 24, 8 p. m., at Jung's Hall 104 Randolph street, Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 5, in English. Subject: The future of Trades Unionism.

Wednesday, April 26, 8 p. m., at Aurora Turner Hall, cor. Ashland ave. and Division street, Aurora Turner Society. There will be some more meetings arranged which will be announced later.

## COWARDS ARE SLAVES.

"The end justifies the means." Is that not the policy of all warfare, national or industrial—of all deals, commercial or diplomatic? Do not the master-class "weed out" the prominent unionists from their employment? Do they not blacklist, victimize, sweat, lock-out and brutalize workers by excessive toil, and destroy the physique of children by the insufficient food and slummy environment that are the fruits of ill-paid labor? To the master class the end is the acquisition of wealth, and the means anything that will realize that end. It is enough for the employer class to know that their methods are legal, and where the methods are not legal, they chance discovery, or speculate on their power to render the law a dead letter by a clever manipulation of the administrators. Certainly with the mammonites the doctrine of the Jesuites is in active operation. Immoral methods, you say. They can afford to laugh who win; their end is legal, and their methods not "exploded." In the labor movement the "propagandists by deed" desire the destruction of the capitalist system. Their methods are bad only because they fail to realize the end desired. In any case they are just as moral as anything there is on earth. If they succeeded the methods would be excellent. Why a man should "give his best" to the movement? There is no reason at all. There is no reason why a man should "take risks" to save his brother. He might dirty his boots. But if he declines on that ground, he could have had no great attachment. So in the labor movement. If a man declines to "take risks" to advance it, he is within his rights. There is no reason outside the bidding of Love why a man should risk loss of employment or violate the law, although if nobody had done so the liberties we possess to-day would be still lying in the Womb of Time. If a man is only prepared to be a soldier while there are no risks, he ought to have the honesty to admit it—not when fight is necessary to set up his objection to bloodshed, his morality, as an apology for his cowardice.—Tocsin, Australia.

## NOTICE.

The sister of our deceased comrade David Edelstadt, whose songs of the poor have made him famous, asks our readers who are in possession of any poetry in his handwriting, or copied from it, to send the same to H. Mindlin, 241 E. B'way, New York, as some friends of Edelstadt intend to publish all his poetry and songs.

## POINTERS.

"The Insurgent Forces are Fighting Hard"—"Making a Desperate Resistance," and reading the article we learn our loss is one or two of the flower of patriotism. This reminds me of the wonderful dime novel stories of Wild Bill who waded through whole tribes of Indian gore, or the story in holy writ of the slaughter accomplished by one man armed with the jaw bone of an ass. We are taught to believe we are no longer so credulous as to put much faith in the last two occurrences or fables, but I guess the credulous are still with us when patriotism is the theme.

In connection with the above is another item to the effect that the self-elected rulers of society, and their puppets have addressed a petition to McKinley, the first urging the cessation of hostilities in the Philippines, provided the sacredness of private property will not be questioned(?) and a few more conditions observed of similar import! This Appeal is directed to the "Lovers of Liberty."(?) It makes one doubt the ease with which we are quelling the "rebellion."

When the Spanish cabled the news of suppression easily accomplished and loss of a few lives in "Desperate Encounters," it tickled our American risibles. But how different now as viewed through the columns of a corrupt, subsidized press of American interests!

One of the largest chemical factories of England will not hereafter engage men over 30 years of age. Here is a condition for the toilers to confront! Now, boys you can have from babyhood till 30 to lay up a competency to carry you through old age. Men must be exceedingly prudent to lay by the nest egg if they can only find work six months in the year, and then at a dollar or two, at the most) per day.

The writer would suggest that after 30 we might draft these men for active service in the Philippines, or some like pursuit, in which the chances of return would be reduced to a minimum through the greed of meat purveyors, fevers, lack of medicines, etc. This is only a suggestion on which no patent will be asked.

HOWARD TUTTLE.

## RECEIPTS.

Please do not use private checks nor bank checks if you can avoid it. The safest and most acceptable manner of remitting is by postoffice or express money order. Week ending March 15:

Eugene Ross, \$2.00. Komaroffsky, \$1. Schenk, 50c. Gartner, Raab, Rosenthal, Benemetzky, Epstein, Benapa Grounle, Tillman, Stieren, Maisel, each 50c. Cole, 30c. Tannen, Kruger, Beyer, Wachtel, Rabinowitz, Kabak, Schubert, Tulchinsky, Rosenthal, Smith, Studebaker, Bell, each 50c.

## Alexander Berkman.

Some friends of comrade A. Berkman had a photographer sent to the penitentiary and his picture taken, which can be had for 25 cents. The proceeds will be utilized for the benefit of *Free Society* and *Freedom*, London, England.

The pictures are sold by Emma Goldman, 50 First St., New York; H. Bauer, 73 Springgarden, Allegheny, Pa.; and *Free Society*.

## ADVERTISEMENTS.

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