

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. 1, NO. 1

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, AUGUST 27, 1899.

WHOLE NO. 230.

TRANSGRESSIONAL.

God of the nation, known as Gold,
Lord of monopoly and trust,
Remedy whose cruel hand we hold
Demolition over tolling dust!

Lord God of trusts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, some trust forget!

All right and justice we ignore,
We voters and we judges buy,
We lobby laws and furthermore
The tax collector we defy.

Thou judge of schemes be with us yet,
Lest we forget, some scheme forget!

Though combines buy at great expense
A war, a senate, an election,
Still stands their tower of defense,
McKinley, Hanna and protection.

Thou God of Gold, do not forget,
We need Thee in our business yet!

For common folk, who put their trust
In counting ballots at the polls
Will find themselves defeated dust—
The Lord have mercy on their souls!

Trustee's will hold its sway,
How long, O Lord! How long? Always?
—David B. Page.

DIFFERENCES AMONG ANARCHISTS.

IV.

"Facts are stubborn things." Every theory or working hypothesis to be at all enduring or of practical value must be built on facts. Chas. Darwin, by searching out facts for and against, succeeded in demonstrating that law of nature, "the struggle for existence," and the "survival of the fittest;" it formed the complete foundation for his "Origin of Species" and his "Descent of Man." We look through nature and we find it all a struggle for existence and supremacy. The earliest application of man's intelligence was to get an advantage in this struggle, and governments were instituted, not as the framers of our Declaration of Independence would have us believe, to secure to man "the inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," but to gain an advantage by placing a certain class above the action of this law, confining the struggle for existence to the lower classes. In trade this struggle has developed competition, and government regulation of trade and commerce has resulted in class combination, confining competition to the laborer and his small industries, and the favored classes gradually monopolizing industries have crowded out the middle man, still farther confining competition to a struggle for favors from the holders of capital, creating but two classes—the employer and employed, the loafer and the laborer, the master and the slave.

Our comrades differ regarding competition. Some hold that as a law of nature it should be free; that devoid of government regulation it would result in the survival of the fittest; would reduce price to the limit of cost; that banking under its rule would produce money equivalent to the demands of trade, and the law of reciprocity would under voluntary organization effect true Anarchy. Others hold, as Artemus Ward once remarked, that "you can't have peace as long as the war goes on," and you can't have freedom as long as government exists. The trouble with the mutual bank as with the co-operative store is that the selfish instincts of man always seek an advantage; he will buy where he can buy cheapest and sell where he can sell dearest. As a borrower he denounces usury and would gladly patronize the mutual bank. But when he loans, usury is all right, and so long as government gives the bankers an unnatural advan-

tage, they will always make the business of the mutual bank unprofitable. I might admit that the mutual bank under freedom would work all right and during the transition to complete co-operation furnish at cost what money would be required to facilitate the exchange of products, still I believe a better system is being inaugurated by the labor exchange. But so long as government exists competition cannot be free to work out the problem of reciprocity and be superseded by complete co-operation and free consumption. Hence I regard it as a palliative, a reform not at all essential to the propaganda of Anarchism. In fact, I regard it detrimental. Like the single tax and other issues, it is based upon the idea of enforced contract, and if it does not require government like the single tax, it requires the machinery of government, courts, police and jails. I believe in free contract, in free competition, free money and free rum. In fact, I would have all things and men free, but government and its machinery is in the way and must be removed before anything can be free. The essential of Anarchism is freedom. I would trust liberty believing like learning it is only dangerous in small quantities. Make rum free, that is, remove all restriction to its manufacture, sale and use, and temperance organizations, like Othello, would find their occupation gone. Remove all restriction and government regulation of trade and commerce, and competition would run its course and die of its own inherent weakness.

Free land and all natural opportunity, that is to say, do away with that power of government which protects classes in taking undue advantage and allow all men an equal right to unoccupied opportunity, that labor may universally be applied in self-support, and with the everincreasing facilities for production, price would not only fall to cost, but cost would consist of so little labor, healthful exercise and pride of production would abolish price. Value in exchange would disappear; labor would no longer be the work of slaves, competing with each other for the privilege of receiving one tenth of its value while nine tenths went to a class of nonproducers. With opportunity free the laborer would "look out for No. 1." The nonproducers would have to go to work to provide for themselves. Is it not plain that all competition would disappear and monopoly be entirely useless? Consider facts; look at the immense production, and the small number actually engaged in producing; look at the everincreasing army of the unemployed; lay aside all preconceived opinions induced by the study of some theory with its profuse arguments and tables of statistics culled under conditions favorable to the theory. I ask you to study the facts of your own observation; do not accept without question the assertion of "great men." A man may have "great learning" and yet be given points in truth by the humble plowman. The true student of human nature does not always come from colleges. The best teachers, experience and observation, require no books and routine study. The army of the unemployed have an excellent opportunity to study conditions in our great cities. The mortgaged tenants of farms have an opportunity to examine facts in the condition of the country. Examine and maintain your right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. There should be no reserved seats at nature's table; there is ample provision for all; let each assert his independence.

A. L. BALLOU.

BABYLON WILL FALL.

All signs indicate that the time is near when those who love liberty and hope to see it realized among men are going to behold the fruition of their hopes. The long winter of darkness, oppression and suffering which mankind has endured for ages, is near its end, and will soon give place to the springtime of gladness which will usher in a period of freedom, plenty and peace.

I say this with all due caution. I think I see some of the steps which will bring it; and, unless all the signs fail, we have already entered the rapids which are destined to swallow up the present system of force, fraud and exploitation. The great sufferings of the people, particularly during the last six years; the political contests over the money question; the Spanish war; the stultification of American traditions in our treatment of the one-time Spanish colonies; and the chaotic condition of politics today, all point to changes which promise to prove more far-reaching than the dominant powers have any conception of.

There are some things that are becoming clear. The panic of 1893 was deliberately planned and executed by the allied monied interests of this country, acting through the American Bankers' Association, in order to force congress to increase their privileges through legislation in favor of the gold standard, thereby increasing the burdens of the people. Those same interests elected Mr. McKinley in 1896 and have since guided the policy of his administration in all particulars. It was those interests again, that changed a popular demand in this country for interference in favor of Cuban independence into a war of conquest, which is now, in violation of solemn pledges and in violation of our own history and traditions, crushing out the liberties of a weak but brave and heroic people in the Philippine Islands. And, it is the secret work of those same interests which are seeking to and will divide the Democratic party and prevent its focussing its efforts, in the coming presidential campaign, upon any measure of monetary reform. I say, the influences behind all these sinister movements have been the organized monied interests of this country, commonly known as the money power.

And yet, strong as it is, with all the resources that money can give, and with its absolute control of the government, of all political parties, of the courts and of all administrations, that power is certain to be destroyed. Influences are already at work which are destined to break its power forever. It is impossible, within the limits of a short letter, like this, to go into details; but there can be no mistaking the result. The end is inevitable. That end will not come through political action. The money power will win again, as it has in the past, at the polls. Nor will it come through insurrection among the people. Nothing could more certainly put off and delay the final triumph of the people than to attempt, even, such a thing. The clash of arms may come; but if it does, it will be at the demand and instigation of the wealthy classes in order to prevent the introduction of reforms in business methods which would destroy their hold. There is no doubt that they would plunge this country into a civil war at any time, rather than to permit the establishment of methods of business which would finally take away their power. It will be found that the beginning of the twentieth century has wonderful stores of good in it for the people.

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

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

NOTE AND COMMENT.

The dispatches of the morning papers of August 21 brought the shuddering news that the Anarchists of Paris, France, had incited a riot, shot the police and desecrated some churches. I was surprised that Anarchists should start a war with the police with "revolvers and loaded sticks" when science has discovered much cheaper and more effective weapons. The evening papers, however, explained the situation. There was only one Anarchist among the parties arrested and the others were "boys from 15 to 20 years old and nobodies."

I freely concede that I had no direct proof of Ingersoll's dishonesty, yet I cannot conceive of such a thing as a successful lawyer being honest, for a large percentage and among them the best paying of cases accepted by lawyers are necessarily known to them to be based upon dishonesty; and a man who defends a dishonest case thereby of necessity becomes dishonest himself.

I still insist that Ingersoll loved the dollars more than humanity. Of course it was his privilege to charge any admission fee he liked, but what should we think of a doctor who would refuse to attend to a dying man unless so and so much were put before him? Or what should we think of an Anarchist lecturer who would refuse to lecture to an audience eager to hear our side unless each could pay him a dollar? Again, if Ingersoll was strictly honest and humanitarian, why did not his humanitarian impulse dictate the defense of the Chicago martyrs whom he knew and admitted to be innocent without the exorbitant charge he demanded? To be sure friend Coolidge would have acted differently in this case.

The assertion that Ingersoll died poor is amusing, indeed, when we read of his beautiful residences, the tracts of land he possessed in the south, and that his life was insured for \$100,000, the premium upon which is almost enough to support a poor man's family.

Bishop Hogan of Kansas City being interviewed in regard to expansion says that "destiny has marked out America's future and we could not change it if we would." Notwithstanding he anxiously pleads for the annexation of the Philippine and other islands in the Orient in order to prevent Russia from establishing the Greek church, etc., showing thereby that he is not so sure that "destiny" has marked out our future, or rather he lacks faith in this case and wants the Americans to mind God's business.

IS GOVERNMENT A NECESSITY?

Despite some choice rhetoric and some rhetoric not so choice, our remote ancestors displayed great acumen when they handed over their liberties to a collection of self-seeking, power-loving gentlemen known as kings. They paid by the sacrifice of freedom for so much protection, accommodation and amelioration. The accommodation and amelioration received at first must have been considerable, though these two factors are eliminated on the very threshold of history. In fact, history is a mere record of protests against mal-administration and the conservative tendency in government—conservatism, in this case, being the exact opposite of amelioration. Nevertheless, after the first ancestors had developed the beautiful spirit of toleration, so obvious among the social revolutionists of our own time, to the extent of allowing one of his kind in the same county with him, he could not have given greater evidence of his sanity had he taken a course at Stanford than he did when he subscribed to a government. The one benefit derived from that sacrifice of liberty, i. e. protection, was compensation for all he had to endure. Under it society developed, nor would society have developed without it. Herbert Spencer says rather pertinently in his Principles of Sociology: "The headless clusters wholly ungoverned, are incoherent, and separate before they acquire considerable sizes; but along

with maintenance of an aggregate approaching to or exceeding a hundred we ordinarily find a simple or a compound ruling agency—one or more men claiming and exercising authority that is natural, supernatural or both." This is the first social differentiation. In his Data of Ethics he says: "The rational theory, inductively based, is that a state of political subordination gradually became established through experience of the increased satisfaction derived under it." The increased satisfaction arises from these facts: Man is not naturally a gregarious animal, or to put it better, he is not naturally a social being. Civilized man is beyond question a social being, but this quality has been the result of a long and severe experience by which a great change has been produced in his constitution. Previously to this change, though not naturally an aggressive being as toward other animals, he possessed the form and strength to battle ferociously with those of his own species. Such being his nature, if we now suppose him without reason, distinguishing carefully between reason and mere ability to reason, suppose that he do not reason nor reflect upon his conduct, or, what is the same thing, suppose that his impulsive always overbalance his rational desires, and influence all his acts, we can readily see how incompatible must have been his nature with the existence of a peaceable state of society. For, if one desired an object which was in the possession of another, nothing but physical disability could prevent him from obtaining it, at whatever cost to the other. The strong and indolent would compel the weak to serve them and the worst form of slavery would exist. These evils could be enlarged upon; sufficient is given, I think, to prove that man is utterly incapable of social existence in a native state, unless protected in his life, his liberty and his property by an artificial system—government.

That government was necessary at the dawn of social consciousness does not, however, excuse the absurdity it has become. It is a yoke upon the necks of the people who are continually trying to throw it off. There is no record of a free nation ever crying aloud for a ruler. And could we have a state of society absolutely free of government there would be no concerted action on the part of the people to re-establish the unnecessary evil. But, rest assured, some self-lover, with a lust for power, surrounded by sycophants, would inflict himself on the people and become their ruler by the "grace of God." What we are pleased to call progress in government—the securing of human liberties, the establishment of human rights, are expressions of the fact that the different peoples have to a greater or lesser extent thrown off the burden of government; for government is the most conservative force in existence today and exercises a powerful influence in direct hostility to human advancement.

With these things in our minds, and admitting for the sake of argument, if my proofs have not been conclusive, that government is fundamentally a necessity, shall we in our struggles for the emancipation of the proletariat acquiesce in the claims of a certain brand of Socialists—the petit bourgeois, "scab" brand, to be specific—that the cure for government is more government? If we were convinced that vulgar egotism, and the love of power, were not the impelling forces behind these lovers of humanity, we could transfer to them the trifle of liberty left us, with the hope of enticing a greater amount in return. But unfortunately for their dreams of autocracy we are not convinced. Within the month I have resigned from the Socialist Labor Party in protest against the dictatorship of a third citizen who has done more injury to the proletarian movement in this country than the combined forces of capitalism. He split the labor organizations in two, and yet the apologists for this gentleman would affront the "good God" and tear a hole in the economy of heaven, trying to prove him worth while. Late reports say his reign is over, but it only means the ascension to the throne of one equally bad, as the ability of a wardheeler is at a premium in this party, in fact it is the only ability rewarded.

The editor of the official organ at New York is supreme in the organization. No matter how absurd his tactics, or how idiotic his economics, he is, from the nature of his position, above criticism. Yet many people not so far advanced as the Socialists have long ago discarded divine right and pre-science in humans. The party press is closed to a voice in protest against any of his doctrines, however false, and to express disapproval among the common members marks you a victim of that new instrument for the teaching of "scientific" truths, discipline. And what a charming prospect for the unworthy one who is incapable of ap-

preciating the genius of these State Socialists, when they get control of the government. If he dare hint that he is dissatisfied with the gentleman appointed to do his thinking for him, the kindly disposed clown at his elbow, to carry favor with the official "thinker," will hail him before the latter's sycophants where the bastinado of this other "one true church" will be administered in the high style of the art. And with the amount of practice the hanger of the present dictator receives in disciplining business, much pleasure of a serious sort may be looked forward to when these people who play at being wise, come into their kingdom.

JOSEPH JEFFERSON NOEL.

EFFECT OF HUNGER.

Hungry people think less about liberty than about something to put into their stomachs. Hungry people will vote for food rather than for freedom. Hungry men cannot be depended on to fight for their rights. A people reduced to want and hunger are already enslaved. A hungry people never yet achieved liberty. The stomach is not the seat of patriotism. Dependence, and not independence, is located in the stomach. The Rothschilds and all the money kings understand this full well. They plot to put the common people in the condition of dependence and want; then they are easily managed. The money men, as a rule, are not law breakers; they are law makers. The evils people have most to complain of come not from breaking laws, but from making laws. Tyrants always have law on their side. This is always the boast of the oppressor. "The crime is always in the violation of the law," so say the courts. But an ancient philosopher said: "If the laws are of such a character that persons must needs break them to obtain the necessities of life, not the breakers of the law ought to be punished but the makers of them."—Ex.

THE BLUE LAWS AGAIN.

Mr. Morton calls my attention to Josh Billing's saying "It is better not to know so much, than to know so much that ain't so." Quite so, as Sherlock Holmes says; and I would remind him of an editorial utterance of the *Sunday School Times*, "The three most important things in any discussion are, first to have a point; second, to see the point; and third, to stick to the point".

I said that the alleged Blue Laws of Connecticut were forgeries, and that to cite them as historic evidence was to stultify one's self. This is true, and Mr. Morton does not directly deny it. But he dodges around the bush by saying that the actual laws of New England (mostly outside of Connecticut) were just as bad. Suppose this is true, it does not make the quoting of the forged laws any better policy; what I said remains absolutely unaffected. Mr. Morton seems to take me for a defender of the Puritan government. I am not much obliged; I think all governments are bad. The Puritan governments of New England were not in my judgment worse than others at that time; but the question whether they were or not is hardly worth discussion in *Free Society's* columns.

But Mr. Morton does not even properly bear out his statement that Peters' Blue Laws "are in spirit true records." These laws contain such provisions as the following: "No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave on the Sabbath day. No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or Fasting day. No one shall read the Book of Common Prayer, keep Christmas or Saint days, make mince pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music except the drum, trumpet and jews-harp; no one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in the garden or elsewhere except reverently to and from meeting; no food or lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker or other heretic; every male shall have his hair cut round according to a cap." Mr. Morton's list of cases does not show the equivalent of these laws—not even if we refrain from crossing off the cases where by his own showing the court did not sustain the charge, or where no penalty but a reprimand was inflicted, and from inquiring for completer dates of some of the events. Consequently even Mr. Morton's irrelevant claim that Peters' laws are correct "in spirit" is not sustained.

But Mr. Morton's paragraphs suggest another point which, though properly aside from our discussion, is

quite germane to the purpose for which *Free Society* exists. Mr. Morton's list of cases runs from 1647 to 1780, or through 133 years. Without doubt he has selected (or those whom he quotes have selected) the most striking cases that were known to exist in the records of that century and a third. Now, *Liberty* lately ran, for some time, a regular two-page department of current reports about the bad and foolish doings of government. And a two years' file of that will show cases to match almost point for point Mr. Morton's 133-year record. I doubt whether *Liberty* gave so large a variety of Sabbath cases, but am sure that the files of the *American Sentinel*, which makes a specialty of that, will show within a few years as long and gross a list of Sabbatarian persecutions as Mr. Morton has collected, and that in states which are not supposed to have been under Puritan influence at all I remember such cases as a man punished for using a halibut in his own barn on Sunday, so far from disturbing his neighbors that they could not even get evidence against him except by creeping up to the barn as spies; I believe this was in Maryland or Tennessee. As for Mr. Morton's brightest jewel, the man punished for publicly kissing his wife on Sunday, *Liberty* gave the parallel to that in the record of a coachman who was fined for "disorderly conduct" consisting of kissing his own wife on the public street, without even the aggravation of its being Sunday; and this in the highly puritanical city of Paris, France! The man paid the fine and gallantly said the kiss was worth it.

In other words: We say we have made progress in civilization. But, taking that past government which among Americans is most famous for oppressive and ridiculous meddlesomeness, and selecting the worst instances of its work for a century and a third, we find the governments of today furnishing a parallel to it all within a few years. The lesson is the same as is taught by the revival of the Inquisition's methods in the Barcelona outrages of 1896. There is nothing that we are safe from as long as the monster lives; as long as people still assign to a corporation called "government" that power of making right and wrong by a decree of its will, which some theologians (and only some) have ascribed to God. Let this continue, and the progress of civilization puts no end to any form of oppression.

Mr. Morton closes with the name of Giles Corey, talking as if he suffered for witchcraft. Surely, Mr. Morton is too well informed to be ignorant of the fact that Corey was neither tried nor punished for witchcraft. If Mr. Morton chooses to say that the English law of contempt of court at that time was very bad, and that if the Salem judges had been civilized men they would sooner have resigned their offices, or even entered on formal rebellion against England, than been concerned in executing that law,—why, he will be right. But the same thing is true of a great many laws that are executed today.

S. T. BYINGTON.

FAILURE OF RUSKIN COLONY.

It seems that Ruskin has wound up its "little ball of yarn" and quit. The demise, according to an ex-member, now an employee of the *New York Journal*, was a case of suicide. The ex-member referred to says:

The failure was not commercial. The association was perfectly solvent. It had always discounted all its bills, and was rated A1 at Bradstreet's.

The cause of the trouble was the dissatisfaction of less than a dozen members. These people attempted to disseminate the doctrines of Anarchy and Free love, but were prevented by the remaining two hundred, who stood firmly for law, order, and morality.

This is pretty thin. We know that to shout "Infidelity! Boo!" at a Christian will scare him out of a year's growth. But to suppose that these colonists, who had a good thing, an "A1" thing, were scared to death by a cry of free love, is too much, especially when the statement is accompanied by the assertion that the "law and order" people "prevented" the dissemination of the doctrines of Anarchy.

The *Torch of Reason*, commenting on this statement of the ex-member of Ruskin, "believes it" and says that "when free lovers and Anarchists begin to show themselves, people who believe in homes and good government begin to move out." Thus he who smiles at the Christian's fear to meet Infidelity on the grounds of fact and logical deduction, admits that folly in his own law-and-order class when Anarchism presents itself and asks to be investigated.

Even though Anarchy is as great a cause of unreasoning terror to the "Socialist" as Atheism is to

the Christian, very few reasonable people will believe that Ruskin Colony vacated because "less than a dozen" of the membership held opinions differing from those of "the remaining two hundred."

The official organ of the colony has from first to last told us that co-operation was on trial at Ruskin, and has paid no attention to other questions. Then so long as co-operation was a success, the colony had no business to fail. If the real object was to prevent the dissemination of the doctrines of Anarchy and free love, it still had no business to fail, as it is declared that success was attained in this line. Evidently, then, if we accept this ex-member's statement, Ruskin could not stand success and prosperity, and died as a result of these calamitous conditions! Looked at in a common sense light, it is still more evident that somebody is interested in preventing the whole truth being known.

J. H. M.

A. I. AND S. D. CRITICIZED.

A. I.'s remarks on Ingersoll, published in *Free Society* of August 6, are, in my opinion, open to criticism. I am not a hero-worshiper and do not look upon Ingersoll as a divinity. I am aware of the fact that he was only a human being and, like all of us, had his faults and limitations. I disagree with many of his views, and on several occasions I have combated his utterances. But I believe that he was an honest man and that he did his best, in his own way, to advance the interests of mankind. He might not have fully realized the meaning of the word liberty; he might have been a "paradoxical character" and, in some respects, a "living contradiction;" he might have been a lover of the "filthy lucre," but the fact that, despite his large earnings he died a poor man proves that he was not so greedy as some people would have us believe he was. A. I. says: "He spoke in high-spirited words about justice, yet he did not hesitate to defend Hanna and his accomplices in 1896, as a political stump speaker, when he knew that justice was on the side of the people." Put in plain English this means: Ingersoll knew that McKinley and his party were "conspirators," and yet he made stump speeches in favor of the Republican candidate; he defended a cause knowing it to be wrong; he spoke against his own convictions; consequently he was a dishonest man. Let me tell you, A. I., that no matter what our own convictions may be, no matter how much we may love the "people" and what we consider justice, other people who disagree with us may be just as honest as we are. Now what are the facts under consideration? During the presidential campaign of 1896 Ingersoll appeared as a champion of McKinley and the gold standard against Bryan and 16 to 1. I am not defending Ingersoll's political views—far from it. In the McKinley-Bryan campaign I was on the side of the people and against Hanna, McKinley and Ingersoll; but how do you know that Ingersoll was not sincere in his support of McKinley? As Ingersoll was a believer in government, what right have we to say that he was dishonest because he was a Republican? Let us have a little charity and remember that we have not monopolized the realm of honesty; let us accuse no one of dishonesty unless we can prove our charge.

In the same issue of *Free Society* S. D. calls "Citizen" Train to account for some wretched verses, absurd statements, and other things that have appeared in the *Penny Magazine*. I find no fault with S. D.'s criticism, and yet I am convinced that it was a waste of space. The fact is, George Francis Train should not be taken seriously. His utterances are a mixture of sense and nonsense, wisdom and folly, witticism and coarseness, and you must take him as he is or ignore him entirely. I heard him speak scores of times at the Manhattan Liberal Club, and long ago came to the conclusion that he is above or beyond criticism. If you find something in the *Penny Magazine* that pleases you, be grateful for it, but do not stop to criticize Train for anything you may dislike, for Train will always be Trainee and nothing else.

CYRUS W. COOLIDGE.

THE S. F. FREETHOUGHT SOCIETY.

Of the many societies carried on under the banner of Freethought the above named is one of the few that is real, deserving of the nobility of its name. Most of existing Freethought societies are free only in name. They adhere strictly to the antiquated program of fighting gods and devils—a subject that is getting threadbare and is beyond the necessity of discussion

among intelligent people, for religion is one of the relics of the past. There are other questions of far greater importance that demand the attention of the people at present, such for instance as the social and sex questions. Up to a few months ago the management of the S. F. Freethought Society was in the hands of conservatives who sought to exclude from discussion all subjects of modern tendency. Lately however a change in the management has been effected and the policy of the society has been radically changed so that all subjects pertaining to the advancement of the human race are being freely discussed.

Last Sunday Evening the subject under consideration was "Would society be safe without government?" The opening speaker as well as the majority of the succeeding speakers were united in the conviction that not only would society be safe without government, but that government is the underlying cause of most of existing inharmonies in society and the distressed condition of the people. Thomas Paine was quoted in support of that position.

One dissenting speaker agreed that the present government of the United States was a scandal to civilization and that there is a downward tendency of civilization altogether, but he could not understand how government could be dispensed with entirely. He said that any set of people intent upon accomplishing an end must be organized; he favored a change of government; he wanted a good government in place of the present bad one.

The concluding speaker set the foregoing objection right by stating that a cessation of government did not necessarily involve cessation of organization; that society may be organized without government; that government and organization were two different things.

The above society meets every Sunday Evening at 8 P. M. at 1133 Mission street.

S. D.

INGRATITUDE.

Like the mountain torrent that, obeying the laws of gravitation, rushes from the heights with thundering noise and by its force starts mills and factories to useful labor, so battles and strives the soldier for freedom for his ideals, because his overflowing strength, his intellectual powers, his individuality guide him and he acts thus, unable to act otherwise. Such a man finds his reward in his own acts, and therefore it is absurd when the pessimist refers to his past activity and harps on the ingratitude of his fellowmen, really seeking to justify to himself his own conservatism and inactivity. More closely observed, the latter's argument is but a concealment of his own weakness. In the first instance, this self-discharged soldier for freedom, has not labored for gratitude, but to propagate his convictions. Secondly, he has no claim on the gratitude of society, having received from it and the preceding generations his abilities, his knowledge, which he at all times uses for his own gratification and satisfaction, while the gain from this to society is like the unconscious good derived from the mountain torrent, and can, at most, be counted as a self-evident part-payment to humanity. Thirdly, he fought when in his prime without thought of the thanks of others, and only asks them when he has already outlived his usefulness and strength and lies growling and snorting in the corner—a human fruit given over to rot. No, not the ingratitude of others is here the cause of pessimism, but one's own decay; it is but an attempt to hide one's own weakness with the dragged-in weakness of our fellowmen.

As the mountain torrent oft exhales bad odors when it lazily crawls through the plain, so man commences to get shallow; and mired once, he loses his creative powers and energy.—*Sturm und Drang*.

"When a white man governs himself, that is self-government. But when he governs himself and also governs some other man, that is more than self-government,—that is despotism. What I do mean to say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent."—Abraham Lincoln.

"Laws never interfere with the enterprises of rich and great; they strike the feeble, who on the contrary, to be protected."—Balzac.

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EMMA GOLDMAN IN OURAY, COLO.

Through the kindly efforts of com. Wm. Holmes of Denver, the radicals of the "Gem City of the Rockies" were enabled to hear the great apostle of Anarchism in three successive addresses. Two of these were delivered from the "Bench" of the Court House of Ouray county and the third at the Opera House.

Her subjects were: Friday evening August 11, "The Aim of Humanity," Saturday evening, "Authority vs. Liberty," and Sunday evening, "The New Woman." The attendance was not what it might or should have been, but when we take into consideration that the city's population is less than 4000, and that for Sunday evening at least there were sixteen saloons in full blast as well as four churches with a majority of the letter, if not all, making a special effort to finally dispose of Mr. Ingersoll, we may congratulate ourselves on doing as well as we did. The number of men and women who attended our meetings ranged from 125 to 150, the men of course largely predominating, and all agreed that the speaker was one of the best that ever came to Ouray.

The program as originally arranged included a side trip for Emma Goldman of 24 miles to Silverton, which fell on Sunday; but as there is no Sunday stage nor train the comrades here secured the Opera House for that evening, thinking that they would have a large turn out, but found that the attractions above mentioned were too much for the people in Ouray. However, the audience was fully as large as at the Court House, and the collection was slightly better.

Owing to the fact that Ouray is not on any main line of railroad it costs more to get there from the Pacific coast than it does to Denver direct, although nearly 400 miles farther east, but we had no great trouble in making up this extra expense and a little besides. In this connection I wish to state that our Italian comrades contributed the larger share of all that had to be raised and therefore deserve extra credit.

The radicals of Ouray are well pleased with the results of Emma Goldman's work and hope to see her again in the near future. C. H. W.

MACHINES.

A so-called reform paper, *The Public*, says of Dewey:

Americans will want to know whether he acted under orders or upon his own judgment when last winter, without giving the usual notice of bombardment, he shelled Filipino towns and villages, and ruthlessly slaughtered the inhabitants by the thousands regardless of non-combatants, age or sex. If he acted under orders, he was not culpable. But whoever ordered that infamous slaughter merits the contempt of the American people; and it is only discreet to restrain applause of Admiral Dewey's name until assurances are forthcoming that the barbarous order to bombard without notice did not originate with him.

I have never read anything that brought home to me the horror of government more strongly than does the above paragraph. If we do a thing on our responsibility and that thing is a horrid violation of human rights, then we are blamed, but if government commands us to do the same thing we are tinselless if we obey, and traitors if we cluster to obey. rate before together with every other officer government, and also the rank and

file of the army, are not men; they are simply tools; and how much better off are we, all of us who are forced to help support those tools! I wish there were a hundred thousand Abner J. Papes, men who would act upon the principle he did when unjustly confined in Portland jail; men who would refuse to recognize governmental authority.

It has got to come to that and those who take that position first are the bravest, strike the deepest into the poisonous tree of government.

We, such as Pope and I, have the advantage of you who laugh at what you call ghosts and spooks, for we know that we live after the body has gone back to its native dust, and we shall defy arbitrary power there as well as here, shall continue to work for freedom, by self-government. Well, never mind, we can afford to have you laugh at us if you can afford to laugh at what you do not understand.

"The barbarous order to bombard without notice." The bombardment in and of itself was not barbarous, oh no! That is a highly civilized method! Out upon it all! We have no civilization! Well, I will turn to another subject.

I am glad that Emma Goldman lectured upon the sex question, for so long as sex is owned, ruled by church or state, there will be conflict in the creatory, and so long as there is conflict between the finger forces of men and women, as there must be if women submit unwillingly, as they are so often forced to do under the present system of things, so long will the war spirit prevail.

Sex is the source of all life, and it follows as a logical conclusion that it is the source of all power, for where is there power unless there is life behind it to control and direct. So long as church and state control sex they control everything and there is no hope for it.

But as your space is limited I will say no more now. LOIS WAISBROOKER.

P. S. The *Light of Truth*, a prominent Spiritualist paper, has given its readers my face with the words, "I demand unqualified freedom for woman as woman, and that all the institutions of society be made conformable to such freedom," under that face.

The world does move. L. W.

THE REVOLUTION.

The Social Revolution is bound to come. It will come either in full panoply of the law, and surrounded with all the blessings of peace, provided the people have the wisdom to take it by the hand and induce it betimes; or it may break in upon us unexpectedly, amidst all the convulsions of violence, with wild disheveled locks, and shod in iron sandals. Come it must, in one way or the other. When I withdraw myself from the turmoil of the day and dive into history, I hear distinctly its approaching tread.—Lasalle.

HE DON'T WANT IT.

The *Washington Star* thus describes the process of civilization:—

"As I understand it," said the heathen, "you propose to civilize me?"

"Exactly so."

"You mean to get me out of habits of idleness and teach me to work?"

"That is the idea."

"And then lead me to simplify my methods and invent things to make my work lighter?"

"Yes."

"And next I will become ambitious to get rich, so that I won't have to work at all?"

"Naturally."
"Well, what's the use of taking such a round about way of getting just where I started? I don't have to work now."

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