

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

As 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. VI. NO. 3.

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WHOLE NO. 243

FILIPINOS.

Ho, our brothers with the dark skin,
In the isles beyond the sea,
Not all white men are your foemen
In this land ye slept "the free!"
You are heroes, and we hail you,
Braver men no land has seen,
Battling for your babies' birthrights,
For your islands, sweet and green!
These are traitors who assail you,
False to every freeman's oath,
Tyrant dogs who hound and bite you,
Freemen tearing, nothing loath.
Know ye then, O hero tribesmen,
Freedom is a mockery here,
On the hands that lift to strike you,
Shine steel shackles, bright and clear.
Every bond these fools bind on you
Makes America less free;
You are fighting for our freedom,
In your isles beyond the sea.
Know ye this, and heed the warning,
Freedom is the Unknown God,
Everywhere the name is taken
Still in vain—uplifts the Rod!
Governments exist to govern,
Politics mean policy,
This is true of every ruling—
Priesthood, king, majority.
In all the world is not one nation
Stands at all for freedom's right;
All exist for greed and grasping,
Yield you must, or you must fight.
Liberty is lure to snare with,
Set by hypocrites who hate,
Touch the bait, the net drops on you
With the clinging clasp of fate.
'Tis a large word that they soothe with
As they tie another knot;
When the harness fits to suit them,
Snaps the whip-word, sharp and hot,
Though you win, O Filipinos,
Lift a state ship of your own,
Though the name be a republic,
Time will prove you build a throne.
If they beat you, rest you easy,
Strum your lute and sing your song;
'Tis the same whichever happens—
STRONG MEN RULE TO HELP THE STRONG.
Nor do you know much of freedom,
Filipinos, would-be-free,
Though you give your brothers office
They will make you bend the knee
Just the same. It makes small difference
What man rules while lawcraft stands.
Laws are made to tame the freeman,
Cheat his safeguards from his hands.
Laws are made to make him labor,
Laws are made to grasp his gain,
Laws are made to stop his protests,
Hold him down by fear and pain.
There is One Law, O my brothers,
Law of Equal Liberty,
One, enough for all the human,
Living this is being free.
This, applied to each invader
By the conscience of his peers,
Is the crown of human justice,
Lifts man higher thro' the years.
This one law is all-sufficient,
Other laws, impertinent,
Oppose or lessen, crimes or rubbish
Hinder even when well-meant.
Choose your insect men to LEAD you,
Careful that they do not RULE,
Look upon them as free teachers,
You free scholars in their school.
Free to leave or free to follow,
Free to build your own lives fair,
Free in everything but lessening
Freedom that your fellows share.

But I speak, I fear, above you;
You must suffer till you learn,
All mankind must learn thro' suffering—
WHEN FIRE IS MASTER, FIRE WILL BURN.

J. WM. LLOYD.

"Within the memory of men the trade of governing has always been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most rascally individuals of mankind."—Thomas Paine.

Louis Lingg was born on Sept. 9, 1864, in Mannheim, Germany. His family was in comfortable circumstances until he was about ten years of age, when his father ruined his health on account of his zeal to serve his master. The indifference and neglect his father was then subjected to even by the physicians on account of their poverty, made strong impressions on Lingg and started his hatred for the existing order. They had a hard time after this. Lingg learned the carpenter's trade. In 1883 he made a tour through Switzerland, mostly on foot, but the police persecutions he was subjected to on account of his dodging military service in Germany made it impossible for him to stay. He became an ardent revolutionist and a believer in active resistance by physical force. In July, 1885, he came to this country, going direct to Chicago, where he joined the carpenter's union. He became identified with the labor movement there, on account of which he was arrested after the Haymarket trouble. He is supposed to have committed suicide a few days before the execution, but some suppose he was murdered to turn the tide of public sympathy against him and his comrades, as he gloried in the fact that he had been considered of enough importance to be executed.



Louis Lingg.

THE LONG LEVER.

Some ten years ago I took from the *Labor Review*, Iowa, the following paragraph, published it in my paper *Foundation Principles*, and commented as given below:

Reformers, choose ye between the short time lever, which brings a higher and better condition of society through bloody revolutions, and the long lever, which accomplishes the same results without human suffering and woe.

The question in my mind is this: Is the writer of the above purposely misleading his readers, or is he ignorant of the long drawn out sufferings of the defrauded poor?

Talk of "the long lever without human suffering and woe," when twenty thousand sell themselves nightly for bread in New York city alone! No suffering, when there are today tens of thousands out of employment, no home, are obliged to tramp and beg, steal or starve! Read what Mrs. Leonora Barry, general investigator of the Knights of Labor, says of the condition of multitudes of working women! In her report at the Minneapolis Convention, she states that in Newark, N. J., they have a corset factory where girls and women are fined for eating a morsel during working hours, or for talking, laughing or singing, ten cents for each transgression. Think of such slavery, and working at starvation wages too! Think of working thus year in and year out—think of laughter and song being choked in the throat of girlhood as effectually as was the voice of Parsons on the gallows! Think of working thus till heart and strength fail, till the last atom of life has been ground up into bank notes, and the lifeless remains are taken to the potter's field. No suffering in that!

In Bordentown, N. J., Mrs. Barry found women competing with prison laborers, who were making shirts for 25 cents a dozen—lowest price 17½ cents per dozen; laundrying 11½ cents, lowest 7½ cents per dozen. No human woe there, do you say?

In Auburn, N. J., she found a factory of women's and children's wearing apparel in which an employee is compelled, if earning three dollars a week, to purchase a sewing machine of her employer and pay therefor weekly 50 cents, and if earning four dollars a week she must apply 75 cents on the machine, and if discharged or by sickness she loses her place before the machine is paid for, she loses all she has paid and the machine is sold at the same rate to the next applicant.

At Paterson, N. J., Mrs. Barry found, in the linen thread works, women standing barefoot on a stone

floor with a spray of water flying constantly against their breasts, forced, summer and winter, to go home with dripping undergarments for want of time allowed them in the building to change. No woman, however strong she might be, could endure the above condition but a few years, hence the necessity of constant new recruits, many of which are brought on German steamship lines who are bound to pay their passage after arriving at \$1 installments.

I might go on quoting conditions equally as bad elsewhere, but I think I have shown that this "long lever" brings suffering. Isn't the time ripe for revolution, with peaceable means if possible, with forcible means if we must?

The sacrifice of human life ground up to fatten corporations while using this "long lever" will count ten to one in the "short lever" and bloody revolution. The trouble with the "long lever" idea is that those who advocate it only count the well-to-do as human, and that they would suffer more with the "short lever," is true.

Ten years have passed since the above was written, and are the masses any better off? Is there any less sacrifice of human life? A million lives sacrificed by the "short lever" method would not equal the number sacrificed in ten years to the "long lever" method, and not a step taken toward betterment! The trouble is, the most of our sufferers think the cause of their suffering is beyond their reach. All I can say is: Pay the price of your ignorance till you learn that the cause is not beyond your reach.

Talk of the altar of sacrifice, of the fire being extinguished by the blood of Jesus! The altar is yet standing—is piled high, even at this hour, and the flame is consuming that which is laid thereon. And still they come—heaps upon heaps, slain by the Sampsons of human prejudice, of human power, by the jawbone, not of dead, but of living stupidity.

LOIS WAISBROOKER

POLYGAMY.

Forty thousand have signed the petition against permitting the Utah polygamist, Roberts, taking his seat in Congress. How many would sign a petition to unseat the polygamists already there, who, unlike Roberts, do not acknowledge their own children? If that were done, Congress might be without a quorum. To make the farce complete, we suggest that the Sultan of Sulu (who is now an American subject), and his twelve wives, be invited to sign the anti-Roberts petition.—The Star.

FREE SOCIETY.

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

A CALL.

The publication of W. Tcherkesoff's articles on "Pages of Socialist History" and "The International: Its Precursors and Anarchism," has been suggested as our next quarterly. The author is a clear thinker and exposes Karl Marx's errors in a masterly manner. A cheap edition of these articles in book form would do much to popularize them and to dispel the State superstition, and we should be very glad to do our share towards it. But the old chronic trouble of impecuniosity is again or still confronting us. Before publishing the two last books "The Speeches of the Chicago Martyrs" and "Moribund Society and Anarchy" the comrades everywhere were very enthusiastic and pledged their financial assistance. So far, however, these pledges have with but few exceptions not been redeemed and we have in consequence a shelf full of books and a considerable debt on our hands. We still entertain hopes, of course, that these books will gradually find sale and we should be willing to publish Tcherkesoff's articles if we could have a reasonable assurance from comrades for the disposal of at least a portion of the edition to be gotten out and if enough advance payments could be made to enable us to go ahead with the publication. We are anxious to hear from all comrades interested as soon as possible.

FREE SOCIETY.

TO THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE COMING ERA AND WINN'S FREELANCE.

Greeting!—Force of circumstances in the shape of a pronounced contraction of the currency compelled the permanent suspension, several months ago, of *Winn's Freelance* which succeeded *The Coming Era*. Beginning with the present issue, *Free Society* has undertaken to fill out all unexpired subscriptions to the papers aforementioned. As this is done without remuneration, I sincerely hope that all subscribers to the *Coming Era* and *Freelance* will testify their appreciation of this generous action on the part of *Free Society's* publishers by at least renewing their subscriptions to *Free Society*. For five years this brave and fearless champion of human liberty has unflinchingly advocated the rights of men in the face of great difficulties, such as poverty, capitalistic boycotts, legal persecution and, worst of all, the lethargic indifference of those who should have been its friends. Even now its publishers continue its publication at great sacrifice to themselves of time, money and labor. Surely, my friends, you, who believe in the necessity of a radical change in our political and industrial affairs, should be willing to contribute the small sum of 50 cents a year for the spread of these ideas; and no method of reaching the public with radical thought is so effective as the press. I also appeal to all members of the Industrial Army of America, of which the *Coming Era* was the central official organ, to give to *Free Society* their most cordial cooperation and support.

To all of my old readers I extend a cordial greeting, with the hope that we may continue our acquaintance in the future through the columns of *Free Society*, which they will find indeed a worthy successor to the *Coming Era* and *Freelance*.

Fraternally,

ROSS WINN.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

The following address was delivered by Victor E. Southworth on Nov. 12, in Denver, at his regular Sunday morning meeting:

The love of a just and equal liberty has given to the world many noble lives and many heroic deaths.

Who does not honor the memory of those in all ages who have died for liberty! The love of liberty is the

breath of heroism. Whatever man once feels its thrilling power is lost to narrow selfishness forevermore. Who sees across the future the perfect day of justice can rest no longer, but must up to hail its coming.

There is such power in a noble, a generous thought, that out of common dust dignity doth rise. Man grows sublime under the magic impulse to liberate his kind. The imperfect systems of the present world are hateful to one who sees how great and good our common life may be.

Ever the ideal has found some ready mind in which to root its life—some soil of human thought not overgrown with mean and fruitless weeds. In such minds destiny plants the seeds of progress, of human fellowship, of justice, equality, and freedom.

Always there have been these men of the ideal, by whom selfish interests and personal comforts were forgotten, who were under the mastery of noble thoughts—men who felt the pain of the world and saw its cure, who hated the false pride and moral poverty of those who rob their fellow-kind—men who lived to denounce injustice and to herald liberty.

Such men were August Spies, Albert Parsons, Louis Lingg, George Engel, Adolph Fischer,—the men whose fiendish murder at the hands of a coward State we are met today to mourn and to execrate.

On the 11th of November 1887—twelve years ago—this monstrous deed was done. Organized capitalism through its governmental tools officially murdered these men. And it was murder!

Who were these men? For years they had been working in the cause of labor as opposed to the injustices of organized capital. Workingmen themselves they had felt the stealthily growing encroachments of those in power over those whose only dependence is their daily toil. They had seen the wasteful luxury of the rich, and the desperate poverty of the poor. In them there had grown the conviction that the State was a machine owned and manipulated in the interest of a wealthy and aristocratic class to the detriment of the people.

They believed this thing with all their mind—they were honestly convinced that no man has a right to assume or to accept authority, or the power to rule over others. They were rebels against the institution of privileged property. They contended that the very essence of government is injustice—the establishment of a ruling class and the degradation of the masses. They realized that law is made and enforced by the capitalist class as a protection to their private property interests. They saw in partisan politics no hope for the people. Therefore they believed in the necessity of a social revolution.

They were *Anarchists*; pure and simple. They did not hesitate to openly proclaim their principles. They were intelligent men, men of broad and deep experience, well acquainted with the history of nations, and in close and vital touch with current events. They were intellectually alive.

Too unselfish to be wrapt up in their own concerns, too brainy to accept ready-made opinions, too full of human sympathy to ignore the sorrows and evils of existing conditions—they easily became the leaders; the spokesmen,—the pioneers of social reform.

"Dangerous men" have always been watched and hunted by the guardians of "law and order." Society as it is organized must protect itself against whoever dares to call into question its authority. Institutions cannot exist—political and ecclesiastical institutions cannot exist—on their own merits. There will arise other ideas and men. The current customs and established organizations will be questioned. There must be evolution or there will be revolution.

In self-preservation then, the conventional authorities in Chicago were compelled to resort to violence and murder against a few men of principle. It was no longer safe to permit such men to give voice to such ideas.

Society with all its prestige, with its wealth, its political machinery, with its laws and their hired exponents and executives was left no other remedy save arrest, false accusation, imprisonment, perjury and murder.

This fact alone is a sufficient and convincing argument against existing institutions and conditions. Whenever in the course of human events society is forced to do violence to truth in order to preserve its authority, you may depend upon it society is conscious of her desperate condition. She saw that there is a power against which she must be ever watchful—the power of free thought and free speech.

Where there is liberty of thought and speech all

kinds of tyranny must tremble. The cause that is true is safe; the interests that are narrow and mercenary are not safe. With liberty there must come justice. The only excuse for authority at all is that under its sanction special privilege may exist. Against the revolt of the people those who live upon the people must be protected—hence the brutalities of the policeman's club, and the injustices of courts of justice.

I say, it was logical, it was necessary that organized society should resort to violence and to murder, against such men as August Spies, Albert Parsons and their comrades.

If such men with such ideas are let loose in America, within a single generation there will not remain a pauper or a millionaire. If government is to continue, it can only be by the suppression of such men. Special privilege knows that its existence depends upon the enslavement of human thought to existing institutions.

We are slowly learning from the events of our national history what our forefathers ought to have learned long ago—that the only government of the people, for the people and by the people is self-government. There can be no delegated authority that will not lead to special privilege. There can be no special privilege that will not lead to tyranny. There can be no tyranny that will not lead to revolution.

Whether the idea suits your taste or not, it nevertheless remains true, that liberty and government are antagonistic and mutually destructive. Granted the necessity of a government at all and tyranny is its logical outcome. The power to rule will always be abused so long as human nature is human nature. No man is wise or good enough to be entrusted with the authority to determine other people's interests and actions. Or if he is wise and good enough, he will refuse to accept such authority, knowing that it is best for society as a whole that each man's interests and actions should be self-determined.

On the other hand, granted that there should be no government without the consent of the governed, and in time there will be no government at all. There is nothing more radical and thoroughgoing than the genius of liberty. Its seed once planted in the human soil nothing can wholly prevent its final supremacy.

For thoughtful men and women who look upon current events in the light of universal history it is no longer a question of monarchy or democracy in government—it is a question of authority or liberty, it is a question of government in toto—absolute government—or no government at all.

Governments have failed to justify their existence. The welfare of the people has not been secured. The rights of property have been elevated above the rights of man. Law is no longer the people's servant, but the tool of their masters.

The genius of humanity has begun to assert itself. The State is on trial. It must answer to the charge of innumerable crimes. Under the pretense of securing to all equally their inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the State does nothing of the kind. The State exists to protect property and not to elevate mankind. Property belongs to the few. The masses have no property that is worth protecting. Hence the masses have no need of the State.

Let us be specific: of what interest can it possibly be to a man who must live on a dollar a day that the armies of the United States of America are now vainly attempting to crush out the spirit of independence and the love of liberty in the far-off Philippines? Of what use to the toiling millions of Great Britain, her arrogant attempt to coerce the brave Boers of South Africa?

To the man with only his day's pay ahead what need is there of costly municipal, State, and national governments? Why our jails, prisons, courts of justice, armies of police? Why the building of arsenals, navies, fortifications everywhere? Why their incessant increase of war taxes? Why, above the shanties and tenement houses of the people rise the solid walls and elegant decorations of our public buildings? Why does it cost more to maintain the government, than it would cost to feed and clothe a million of her citizens?

The day has come when it is not easy to preach patriotism to the people. They say: "We are hungry. We are out of work. We must live. We want bread, and you offer us your statute-books. We want employment, shorter hours and a comfortable pay, and you give us a ballot-box. We are no longer to be duped. Call us citizens and appeal to our love of country if you must, but first of all see to it, that our struggle for a livelihood is not in vain."

The people resent the talk of a prosperity they cannot share. What to them is political liberty without economic justice?

The State cannot serve two masters. If it cares for the common welfare, it must not, it cannot protect monopoly. If it protects monopoly, and is itself a monopoly, it is opposed to the common welfare.

There is a logic here that Mr. Fat Respectability will not regard and that Mr. Hungry Poverty cannot help regarding.

The men who died on the scaffold twelve years ago in Chicago were murdered because they were social heretics—just as thousands of people have been murdered by the Church because they were religious heretics.

We have outgrown the ecclesiastical superstitions. Humanity laughs at the devil. We are outgrowing governmental superstitions. There will come a day when humanity will laugh at the State.

In proportion as man learns to believe in himself he no longer depends upon the priest. A little more belief in himself and he will no longer depend upon so-called "law and order." The advance of human intelligence means the ultimate denial of all coercive authority.

If we are to defend government at all, it must be on the ground of its necessity. We must prove that only under compulsion will men do right. We must go further; and prove that if there exists coercive authority men will certainly do right. We must show that without restraint man cannot be trusted; and that under a sufficient amount of restraint he is harmless.

I willingly admit that, if men are monsters of selfishness and ingratitude, then the State may be a necessity. But who dares to say that man is a monster, that his selfishness and ingratitude are such as to justify violent interference and control?

Humanity has been all too long skeptical of its own excellence. Too long we have not known who we really are. Too long we have cherished this weak and cowardly distrust of human nature. Too long we allow it to be said, "the people be damned."

We have need of men who, like Spies, Parsons and their comrades, will dare to denounce the brutal measures of State control; men who can "think clear and speak straight;" who have convictions and the courage of their convictions; men of action to whom the ideal human society is not a speculation merely, but a possibility; who believe in the achievement of liberty at any cost.

It is not enough to theorize and to say "the State is an evil, and must be abolished." Evils do not abolish themselves. The idea in itself is powerless. It requires a man and an idea to effect results. The idea must have behind it the warm blood and resolute will of the man.

The organized forces of present-day society have nothing to fear from the hands of indolent dreamers. Mere talk disturbs no one. What the authorities fear is the awakening of revolt. When men are so enamored of their principles that something in the line of their actual application must be done, then the powers that be tremble.

So it was in Chicago twelve years ago. The brave men whose names we honor today could no longer sit quietly and see the injustice that was debasing their fellowmen.

For years they identified themselves actively with whatever movement promised any advantage however slight. They were enthusiasts to the core. It was not for such as them to quote Karl Marx and Proudhon to the starving mob. Mere verbosity did not satisfy them. It was necessary to do something.

Under the brutal assaults of the paid assassins of monopoly human nature rebelled. The Haymarket meeting was not for mere self-indulgent oratory. It was necessary to enter an unmistakable protest against the inhumanities of the existing system and its coercive methods.

The open attacks of hired Pinkerton officials and such blood-hounds of the law were to be publicly denounced. Not for violence, but against violence these men were prepared to act.

Whoever the unknown who threw that fatal bomb may have been, is of no account. Very clearly the responsibility was not proven to rest upon the noble men who fell as martyrs to the savage vengeance of the law.

Their crime was not murder, but a denial of the right to murder even to the State. They were hung because they were Anarchists—because they had repeatedly denounced the monopolistic tyranny under which the workmen were made no better than slaves.

They died for their principles—and though you say, their principles were as false as hell, I reply their act was as true as truth itself.

A principle that does not assert itself in act may be true in logic, but it is false in fact.

I honor these heroes of Nov. 11—these men of Chicago—for their strength and manly openness.

Anarchism to them was something more than self-indulgence, something more than a borrowed theory—it was in their very blood, a burning desire; not a hope merely but a resolution.

Such men in all ages have been the pioneers of progress. Indifferentism laughs at them. Conservatism crushes them. But the world moves forward.

Twelve years ago the monopolist press published to the world the downfall and burial of Anarchism. Five murdered men laid away in a single grave, and now the State is forever safe.

What stupidity! As if they had done with liberty at last. As if "law and order," the brute force of nations, armies, prisons, and the police were now to be the one Supreme! As if no intellect would ever again call into question the right of man to rule his fellow-man!

I turn in thought to their grave-side in Waldheim and I say,

*O comrades, not in vain did ye love justice!
Not in vain your calm disdain of mercy!*

*Not in vain that fatal hangman's rope!
Not in vain the sudden breaking of human ties,
The choked voice, the end—*

*Your end is a new beginning.
Once more the genius of liberty
Startles the sleeping world.
It will awake. Your faith in man will be justified.*

*Humanity will yet worship liberty,
And know that in herself is her main reliance,
Her one authority.
You have lived and died not for today's makeshift,
But for all time.*

HYBRID ACITATION.

S. D. can't see how I can be an Anarchist first, a Single Taxer next (which implies free trade) and then a Greenbacker.

Does S. D. realize that we are governed, and are likely to be governed as long as I live? (I am now 64 years of age.) Has he no choice of governments? If I can't be free, I want to be as free as government will allow. We can never have Anarchy until a great many more people are educated to see its beauties. We must get the willing attention of people before they can be educated. We do not attract people to Anarchy by attacking their particular hobby—we repel them. If we venture to show up the error of a proposed social theory, we should be sure we are acquainted with all the arguments in its favor. Mere assertions pro and con are not convincing arguments. The natural attitude of the Single Taxers or free traders is hospitable to Anarchy—and to attack Single Tax with the weak negative arguments invariably used by Anarchists, is repellant. Single Taxers are impressed,—if they know nothing of Anarchy,—that Anarchists are a shallow set—and that, if their arguments for Anarchy are no better than those against Single Tax, attention to Anarchy is not worth while. We cannot afford in our short life to acquaint ourselves with every error in the world and then refute it. While it is true, error must be met, is it not better to dissipate it by presenting opposing truths, which by their effulgent light will eclipse errors as the orb of day does the stars, and dissipate them as are the mists and morning fogs before the rising sun?

Too much energy is expended in tearing down—in destroying—instead of constructing.

"Those not against us are for us." Single Taxers never attack Anarchy, but they do attack State Socialism. Single Taxers are as a rule individualists. Anarchy implies, or is freedom. Anything that tends towards freedom, tends towards Anarchy. A Single Taxer can never go back to a strong centralized government, nor to State Socialism any more than an Anarchist can.

It is not so antagonistic to Anarchy for government to abolish many restrictive laws, and substitute one law that would be unanimously acquiesced in, and voluntarily complied with as soon as inaugurated, as it is to arbitrarily restrict and impose on people's rights as government now does. There is no proposition short of absolute Anarchy, that is argued and defended so strongly from the standpoint of natural rights and equal freedom, and so regardless of government as the Single Tax, so-called. The Single Tax is really an abolition of all taxes, and a taking for all the people of

the annual value, or what Mill calls the economic rent, the value given land by all the people, which could not exist without all the people, for all the people's use. Tax is defined to be a levy imposed on property for governmental expenses. The Single Tax would be taken, not essentially by or for the government, but for the people. S. D. will not dispute the equal right of all to all the land—nor that even in a condition of equal freedom there would be choice locations or sites more desirable than others. How could the equal right to the earth be obtained except by those occupying the most desirable locations, compensating others for the privilege of the monopoly? I can conceive of a condition of mutualism, which I think the race will arrive at, in which altruism and egoism will be so equally balanced that no one will exact from another, when mine and thine shall have become obsolete words, but it will be through an evolution we must reach in Anarchy not before. I am not given to speculating as to just how Anarchy will work—but I do know it will and must be good, because it would be freedom to exercise all our faculties. Then a Single Tax may be useless.

Since very few read Anarchist papers outside of converts to Anarchy, I could not strengthen their faith by anything I might write for pure Anarchy. I write to Anarchists to mitigate their asperities to other radical reforms. When I write to Single Taxers and others than Anarchists, I nearly always advocate Anarchy. More good can be done by presenting the higher truths of Anarchy in the non-Anarchistic press than in any other way.

There is no proposed reform that emphasizes equal freedom—natural rights, so much as the Single Tax does. When people are educated to appreciate the meaning and beauty of those terms, they never forget them. Herbert Spencer is quoted by Single Taxers more than by any but Anarchists. When Wm. Lloyd Garrison wrote apologetically to Henry George for not having embraced the Single Tax sooner, and closed by saying, "The Single Tax is not a panacea for all the ills of society," George answered him by saying, "No, it is not—but freedom is." I think Henry George saw the light of Anarchy and that the Single Tax was its handmaid.

J. C. BARNES.

COMMENT.

All of the above arguments prove that friend Barnes is a well-meaning, sincere man of which I have never had any doubt. But his methods are erroneous. We cannot advocate two different ideas that are antipodal to each other at the same time without being inconsistent. Anarchism is the rejection of all authority. Single Tax—although it cannot be denied that next to Anarchism it is the most libertarian reform movement extant—is still authoritarian in that it retains the taxing power—government—and is thus like all other reform movements diametrically opposed to Anarchism.

I am fifty-two years of age. But if I were fifty-two thousand years of age, and if I realized that we should be likely to be governed for fifty-two millions of years more I should have no "choice of governments" any more than I have a choice of admitting that twice two is five or seven. I might, indeed, say: "Twice two plus one are five, my dear children, but after all twice two are four." This childish procedure, however, would not alter the fact that twice two are four and would but retard education.

That I am getting old is the very reason why I cannot afford to waste my precious time in the childish—and to me distasteful—practice of mixing half a truth with the whole truth which practice is called "policy." I see more wisdom in advocating the whole truth at once. In being consistent and energetically and continuously and intelligently announcing what we have recognized as the whole truth we retain our own self-respect and are gradually bound to win the respect and hearing of others and thus make more converts in the end than by a half-hearted, pusillanimous hybrid agitation.

When Henry George advocated Single Tax and freedom in one breath he showed that he either did not realize the full meaning of the term "freedom" or that he was just as inconsistent as friend Barnes.

S. D.

For San Francisco.

For the benefit of John Most's propaganda tour a ball and entertainment will be given Saturday evening, December 2, at the Temple, 117 Turk Street. Admission for men 25 cents; women free.

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The number printed or written on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

MY CONFESSION.

(With apologies to Maria Monk.)

I have sinned, and I hasten to confess it. I hasten, not because I am particularly conscience struck, but because the two protests received by *Free Society* are not very conducive to my digestive organs.

My sin, like most of transgressions, was caused by ignorance. Not being blessed with more worldly possessions than those I can afford to owe for to my good-natured creditors for an indefinite period, I am naturally obliged to devote most of my time to the arduous labor of hunting for the dollar—although I seldom find it. Thus there is very little time left for reading; and being an Anarchist besides, of course, the daily lies receive least of my attention. In that way I overlooked the fact that there was such a thing in existence as the *Springfield Republican*. By mere accident several weeks ago, in looking over the file of the *Evening Bulletin* of this city for the purpose of finding a reference to our deceased comrade Levitzky, I copied the clipping from the *Springfield Republican*. Never having seen an issue or heard of the paper before I naturally surmised it was a regular plumb-line republican paper and seized upon the golden opportunity to hit it a lick in *Free Society*. But, lo and behold! hardly had my paragraph "Look to Home" (dis?)graced *Free Society* a week when I was informed by two readers that I had made the gravest mistake of my life; for, oh, think of it! the *Springfield Republican* is a red-hot anti-expansion and an Anarchist paper—oh, no! pardon—"anarchistically inclined."

I shivered; the cold sweat stood upon my noble forehead and my three Bismarckian hairs stood up straight at the thought of the gravity of my blunder; my experience with my spookist friends about my article on "Superstition" was mild compared with this. In my despair I grasped the cause of all my tribulations that lay before me in the shape of an issue of the *Springfield Republican* of November 3 and began to scrutinize it. Anarchistically inclined! Yes, very much so, especially the *ital*, that is, it is rather ticklish to think of it and Anarchism at the same time. Here are a few specimens of its inclinations:

"Wages advance last of all, but in due time they also must rise." [In accordance with republican prosperity, of course.—s. d.] "Increasing imports and the business prosperity [caused by the republican administration, of course.—s. d.] are producing such generous revenue that the position of the treasury is one of easiness, notwithstanding the great costs of the war in the Philippines."

"Bad times he [the American voter] is unused to [sic]—s. d.] and accordingly he is quick to resent the intrusion, and too often unjustly makes the party in power suffer for it." [As for instance the party of "protection" at present; too bad!—s. d.]

"There is at least one indication of prosperity in Springfield. It is the increase in the various institutions for proper and laudable investments, which have arisen here in the past few years. A dozen years ago there was only a small fraction of the present number of these present offices in the city [of the laudable investments stamp.—s. d.] and their growth certainly indicates that some one has spending money. [Who's the somebody?—s. d.] The styles in speculation

have changed, but speculation still grows." [Very reassuring and "Anarchistically inclined."—s. d.]

"Preparations are being made at Windsor Castle, Windsor, England, for the visit of Emperor William of Germany, who is due to arrive there November 20. His majesty [Decidedly Anarchistic!—s. d.] will occupy the same state apartments," etc., etc.

These are a few of the parts I have picked as samples in hastily running over that issue, but I am convinced it is brimful of such.

However, to be fair, I will admit that the paper is really—and apparently earnestly—opposed to the war in the Philippines and is a very energetic and able anti-expansionist organ. It is a large paper and, although basically wrong on the socio-economic question since it supports a party of spoil and labor oppression, it is nevertheless, so far as it goes, independent, and is, in spite of the political, social and religious superstitions displayed in its columns, at least ably written and is decent as compared with the ordinary run of monopolistic newspapers; so much so that, had I the time to spare that its two defenders appear to have, I might possibly feel inclined to read it myself—about once a year.

And now that I have unburdened myself and confessed my crime I wish to express my gratefulness and humiliation to the friends who have so kindly called my attention to my transgression. I do hope and pray that they may at least not annihilate me and *Free Society* before Thanksgiving day so as to give us a chance to render up thanks for the blessings received by this great party of protection so ably represented by the *Springfield Republican*. S. D.

THE CAUSE OF SLOW PROGRESS.

When men of the intelligent class form a society for promoting some noble or ideal aim, the result almost always is that the innumerable mob of humanity comes crowding in too, as it always does everywhere, like vermin—their object being to get rid of boredom, or some other defect of their nature: and anything that will effect that, they seize upon at once without the slightest discrimination. Some of them will slip into that society, or push themselves in, and then either soon destroy it altogether, or alter it so much that in the end it comes to have a purpose the exact opposite of that which it had at first.—Arthur Schopenhauer.

SETS HIMSELF RIGHT.

I thank A. L. Ballou for the compliment of devoting a whole article in his series to my public demolition. But I could thank him more if he had replied to what I said, instead of banging at a straw man of his own making. He seems to think that I said that police, courts and jails were part of Anarchism or somehow implied in Anarchism, or else that I acknowledged them to be somehow contrary to Anarchism. What I said was that Anarchism had nothing to do with them; that Anarchism neither favored nor opposed them. To read Ballou's article, one would think that my leaflet contained a good deal of advocacy of police, courts and jails.

STEPHEN T. BYINGTON.

The Letter-Box.

F. G., Olema, Cal.—The term "equal freedom" can mean anything and therefore conveys nothing. Of course, a more equitable condition than now prevails is thinkable even when courts, jails and police exist; but freedom and authority

are incompatible, and courts and police without authority would be like a steam engine without steam, i. e. a superfluous and useless luxury. The fact that people "may consent to such arrangements" does not make them free by any means—they remain slaves just the same.

C. F. H., Windfall, Ind.—No, we have no use for the "beautiful pictures of our hero Dewey." We should rather have a picture of an honest workman than that of a parasite and slaughterer.

F. J. A., City.—Communications will not be published unless written only on one side of the sheet.

J. C., Chicago, Ill.—As you will see the paragraph from Schopenhauer has been published, but we cannot see why this phenomenon should prevent you from aiding the cause of freedom. On the contrary, being conscious of the fact, you ought to do everything possible to counteract such tendencies persistently and uncompromisingly.

G. P., Sacramento, Cal.—Subscriptions for an enlarged weekly and No. III of our quarterly received. Thanks and greetings.

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