

FREE SOCIETY

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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. VI. NO. 4

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1899.

WHOLE NO. 244

THE PHANTOM SHIP.

We touch Life's shore as swimmers from a wreck
Who shudder at the cheerless land they reach,
And find their comrades gathered on the beach
Watching a fading sail, a small white speck—
The Phantom ship, upon whose ample deck
There seemed awhile a homeward place for each;
The crowd still wring their hands and still beseech.
But see, it fades, in spite of prayer and beck.
Let those who hope for brighter shores no more
Not mourn, but turning inland, bravely seek
What hidden wealth redeems the shapeless shore.
The strong must build stout cabins for the weak;
Must plan and stint; must sow and reap and store;
For grain takes root though all seems bare and bleak.
—Eugene Lee-Hamilton.

CHURCH AND STATE.

"Church and State" by Leo Tolstoy, translated by Aymer Maude, from a Russian MS., appeared in the November *Arena*, from which I take the following interesting extracts:

"What an extraordinary thing it is! There are people who seem ready to climb out of their skins for the sake of making others accept this, and not that, form of revelation. They cannot rest till others have accepted their form, and no other. They anathematize, persecute, and kill whom they can of the dissentients. Other groups of people do the same; and others, again, do the same. So that they are all anathematizing, persecuting, and killing—demanding that every one should believe as they do. And it results that there are hundreds of sects—all anathematizing, persecuting, and killing one another.

"At first I was astonished that so obvious an absurdity—so evident a contradiction—did not destroy itself. How can religious people remain so deluded? And really, viewed from the general, external point of view, it is incomprehensible; it seems to prove irrefragably that every religion is a fraud, and that the whole thing is superstition—as the dominant philosophy of today declares. Looking at things from this general point of view, therefore, I inevitably came to acknowledge that all religion is a human fraud. But I could not help pausing at the reflection that the very absurdity and obviousness of the fraud, and the fact that nevertheless all humanity yields to it, indicate that this fraud must rest on some basis that is not fraudulent."

"In christianity, the whole fraud is built up on the fantastic conception of a 'Church'—a conception founded on nothing, and which as soon as we begin to study christianity amazes us by its unexpected and useless absurdity.

"Of all godless ideas and words there are none more godless than that of a Church."

"Why are these people so anxious to teach their religion to others? If they had a real religion they would know that religion is the understanding of life—the relation each man establishes to God—and that, consequently, you cannot teach a religion, but only a counterfeit of it. But they want to teach. What for? The simplest reply would be that the priest wants rolls and eggs, and the archbishop wants a palace, fish-pies, and a silk cassock."

"To understand the religious fraud it is necessary to go to its source and origin. We are speaking about what we know of christianity. Turn to the commencement of christian doctrine in the Gospels, and we find a teaching that plainly excludes the external worship of God, even condemning it; and with special clearness it repudiates *mastership*. But from the time of Christ onward we find a deviation from these principles laid down by Christ. This deviation begins from the time of the Apostles, and especially from that seeker after mastership—Paul."

"And the church fraud continues until now. It consists in this: that the conversion of the 'powers that be' to christianity is necessary for those who understand the letter but not the spirit of christianity; but the acceptance of that system without the abandonment of power is a satire on and a perversion of christianity. The sanctification of political power by

christianity is blasphemy: it is the negation of christianity. After fifteen hundred years of this blasphemous alliance of pseudo-christianity with the State, it needs a strong effort to free one's self from all the complex sophistries by which, always and everywhere (to please the authorities), the sanctity and righteousness of State power and the possibility of its being christian have been pleaded. In truth, the term 'christian State' resembles 'hot ice.' The thing is either a State not using violence, or it is not christian."

"A robber's nest existed at Rome. It grew by theft and violence, thus subduing nations. These robbers and their descendants, led by their chieftains (whom they sometimes called Caesar and sometimes Augustus), robbed and tormented nations to satisfy their desires. One of the descendants of these robber-chiefs—Constantine, a reader of books and a man satiated by an evil life—preferred certain christian dogmas to those of the old creeds. Instead of offering human sacrifices he preferred the mass; instead of the worship of Apollo, Venus, and Zeus, he preferred that of a single God, with a son (Christ). So he decreed that this religion be introduced among those under his power. No one said to him: 'The kings exercise authority among nations, but among you it shall not be so. Do not murder; do not commit adultery; do not lay up riches; judge not; condemn not; resist not him that is evil.' But they said to him: 'You wish to be called a christian and to continue to be the chieftain of the robbers—to kill, burn, fight, lust, execute, and to live in luxury? That can all be arranged.' And they arranged a christianity for him, and arranged it very smoothly—even better than could have been expected. They foresaw that, reading the Gospels, it might occur to him that all this (i.e. christian life) is demanded—and not the building of temple or worshiping in them. So they carefully devised such a christianity for him as would let him continue to live his old heathen life unembarrassed. On the one hand Christ, God's son, only came to bring salvation to him and to everybody. Christ having died, Constantine can live as he likes. More even than that—one may repent and swallow a little bit of bread and some wine, and that brings salvation and all will be forgiven. Furthermore, they sanctify his robber chieftainship and say that it proceeds from God, and they anoint him with holy oil. And he, on his side, arranges for them the congress of priests that they wish for and directs them to say what each man's relation to God should be—and orders every one to repeat what they say.

"And they all started repeating it and were contented, and now this same religion has existed for fifteen hundred years. Other robber chiefs have adopted it, and they have all been lubricated with holy oil—and they were all ordained by God. If any scoundrel robs and slays, they will oil him and he will then be from God. In Russia, Catharine II., the adulteress who killed her husband, was 'from God'; so, in France, was Napoleon."

J. A. KINGHORN-JONES.

WAR.

The world has not yet emerged from the gloom of savagery, when its chief business is armed assassination and drilled destruction, and when its brightest laurels and highest honors deck the brow of the ruthless pillager, the conquering hero whose path to fame and glory is over smoking ruins and murdered and mangled forms. War is nothing but national murder, and the successful warrior is but an uniformed assassin. If we define crime to be the infliction of an injury and grade its degrees by the resultant harm of sorrow and suffering, the crime of war overleaps all individual acts, and throws into obscurity the basest, most fiendish deeds ever committed by single individuals.

War is the politician's game, the assassin's trade and the stockjobber's opportunity. It is the chief



George Engel.

George Engel was born in Cassel, Germany, April 15, 1836. His father died when he was but 18 months old, leaving his mother with four children to struggle in dire poverty. When he was 12 years of age his mother died also, he being taken care of by a poor family. At the age of 14 he was apprenticed to a painter in Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, whither he had wandered on foot, and worked in many places in Germany. In 1864 he joined a volunteer regiment in Bremen for the German-Danish war. He married in 1868. In 1873 he came to America, living for a time in Philadelphia. The following year he went to Chicago, where he soon began to study Socialism. In 1876 he opened a toy-shop, which gave him more time for study. In 1878 he joined the Socialist Labor Party, but became convinced of the futility of the ballot by ballot-box stuffing soon after. In 1882 he joined and became an active member of the International Working People's Association. On the evening of the Haymarket meeting he was at home playing cards. His last words on the scaffold were: "Hurrah for Anarchy!"

pastime, the legitimate offspring and the main support of government. Every political State is essentially a military establishment; it never manifests itself except through force and violence, its eternal aspect is a frown and a threat, and its visible agency begins with the flourish of a policeman's club, and ends with the gleam of a trooper's bayonet.

The civilization of today is founded upon militarism. The two boasted exponents of this Christian civilization, England and America, are each engaged in a practical demonstration of their civilizing influence by scattering bombs and bibles, rum and religion, among the benighted Boers and Filipinos—carrying "glad tidings of great joy" to Africa and Asia on the point of sword and bayonet, while from the mouths of Christian artillery thunders on two continents the glad anthem of "peace on earth, good will to men."

But another civilization is dawning upon earth, foreshadowed in the new, grand ideals that are slowly reaching fruition in the hearts and brains of the world's thinkers—the civilization of peace. Anarchy, demanding the cessation of authority, the cause of all wars, has appeared, and claiming the future as hers, brightens the path of human destiny and possibility with the glorious prophesy of liberty, peace and plenty for man.

ROSS WINN.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to **FREE SOCIETY**, 236 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Calif. For visitors off Market St. Castro car.

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.

It is a spectacle for the gods to see our "glorious republic" marching arm in arm with two monarchies against two republics—France and the Transvaal. What next in the way of evolution?

The following paragraph from a letter of comrade J. B. Smith of Glasgow, Scotland, is of interest: "Propaganda is going on in Glasgow much as usual. We have started our indoor meetings for the winter. We expect to have Emma Goldman to lecture for us some time in December, and I am sure we shall have a good meeting for her. The war in South Africa has had the effect of distracting people's attention and we have had (as I suppose you have had lately) a resurrection of spurious patriotism, and we have newspapers and others howling for a fight, but who prefer to have their fighting done by proxy. A reaction against this sort of things is getting in, however, and when the war is over, people will have had another lesson on the stupidity and brutality of governments. All we can do in the meantime is to quietly peg away, for sooner or later our turn is bound to come."

We might say "Amen" to all of the above except the slip of our good comrade's pen in reference to the "spurious" patriotism, which some careless reader might take as an endorsement of the genuine patriotism. Of course the comrade is as much opposed to the genuine as to the spurious patriotism, for both are simply devices of loafers to set the workers of one spot of the earth against their brothers on another spot in order that the loafers might have a pretense to rule, rob and ruin humanity.

In its issue of November 3, the *Springfield Republican* devoted an editorial to the "humane" methods of warfare engaged in by the two contending parties in the British-Boer war. Since then the dispatches reported the revolting act of the "noble Britishers" tying three Boer prisoners to cannons and thus dragging them along.

Perhaps the *Springfield Republican* has now waked up to a realization of the true situation. This act of the British almost excels in fiendishness the heroic deed of our valiant Americans who raped little Filipino girls of the tender ages of ten.

What slaves to habit and custom we do become! The *Springfield Republican* speaks of humane methods of warfare as if there were anything humane about the affair. Now, let the *Springfield Republican* just substitute the proper word—murder—for "war" and see how it sounds. Is there anything humane about murder?

When people talk about the ordinary methods of wholesale murder (warfare) being the most humane they are more sentimental than rational. There is nothing humane about murder; it is all inhuman—brutal—beastly. But that method of murder which entails the least suffering is least inhuman. Now, a bullet may strike a man near the heart and make him linger and suffer for days before he dies; while a cannon shell is more liable to kill him outright and entail no suffering at all except to his relatives and friends, and dynamite, milinite, lyddite and the most destructive implements of this wholesale butchery will, by doing quick work, terminate the butchery more quickly and thus shorten the suspense and agony of the relatives and friends; so that the most destructive methods of wholesale murder (war) are really the least inhuman, if murder there must be.

But neither the one nor the other kind of murder is necessary. The Americans and the Filipinos and the Britains and the Boers and all other peoples in the world have enough right where they are to live upon and be comfortable and happy by the consumption or

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exchange of their own products. Nature provides enough for all her creatures. It is only the villainous bands of loafers and robbers that are too lazy to work and to do their share towards their own maintenance that cause these wholesale murders (wars). They constitute themselves governors, draw geographical lines between human beings who are all of one species and ought to and, but for these villainous loafers would, live harmoniously together and egg them on to fight and murder each other, seeing therein their only opportunity of perpetuating their nefarious scheme of government, i. e., robbery and ruin.

The great difficulty is to make people reason logically on these matters. They realize that it is wrong for one man to murder another and are shocked at the commission of such a deed. But when the murder is committed upon the wholesale plan and called "war," and when the murderer or would-be murderer is put into a special garb and called a "soldier" and a large number of them an "army" and when the murder is then carried on scientifically and systematically—then some of the very persons who were or would be shocked at the committal of the single spontaneous and unsystematized murder are hypnotized as it were into not only sanctioning but even justifying the murder on the wholesale plan and are often eager to participate themselves therein and encourage their own friends and relatives to participate and consider it an honor and a glory, and the returning would-be murderers are denominated "heroes."

Religion that formerly used to estrange and divide human beings is fast losing ground. Mankind is outgrowing this superstition and is beginning to realize that it is profitable but to one class of human beings, the lazy drones called "priests" to make a living without work.

But another superstition has taken the place of religion. Now it is the pest of patriotism that is curing humanity. For it they go out to slaughter their brothers in other lands. Why? Is not the man living across the geographical boundary a creature of the same universe and nature, with the same desires and aspirations as themselves? Most decidedly. In some cases the line between the nations is but imaginary and divides blood relations who live on both sides of the line. Certainly they must be of one species if they are blood relations. What then is the trouble? Why is there a geographical line drawn between them? Does that line help support them? Certainly not. There is plenty for all on both sides; nor are they restricted to the spot on which they live and the dividing line does not hinder them from crossing whenever they are so inclined. What then is the object of the line? Plainly the same object as the object of the priests: to divide the people against themselves; to create prejudices against each other and furnish an excuse for the existence of governors, so that for the one governor they formerly used to have in the skies they now recognize a number of lazy loafers on earth.

"But," frantically exclaims the frightened well-meaning friend who has overcome the superstition of his heavenly ruler, yet cannot outgrow the superstitious idea of the necessity of the earthly loafers, "we cannot live without government; how could we get along? Someone surely must attend to affairs."

Now, as a matter of fact, government, as Thomas Paine shows in his "Rights of Man," so far from assisting in carrying on the affairs of the world, is an actual hindrance thereto. The great trouble is that people—and quite frequently the most enlightened people—mistake government for society.

Government is an organized band of loafers that does nothing but hold up the industrial classes in the shape of gathering taxes and protect the monopolists in holding up the same classes by monopolizing the earth and charging rent therefore and monopolizing the medium of exchange and charging interest for it. Outside of that these loafer bands do nothing but enjoy life at the expense of industry thus victimized.

Society, on the other hand, does and always did attend to its own business. The basic wants of society are physical and consist of food, raiment and shelter. These are produced by the industrial classes independent of government, and the adjustment of their relations is also independent of government. The complicated needs of society outside of the physical—the mental, intellectual and social—are also attended to by society independently of government.

Wherever and whenever government enters it is not

an assistant but a disturbing element. Were it not for these loafing bands of pirates there could be no monopoly in land and the medium of exchange. Rent and interest would fall. The fences around the land held for speculative (robbing) purposes would come down and every one could take up and use and occupy as much land as he needed or his support or he would cooperate with his neighbor or the community in the cultivation of it, and the blood-sucking fraud of a legal tender medium of exchange would die giving place to people's banks with non-interest bearing mediums of exchange or to Communist association with free production and free consumption.

In short it would be the era not of human brutes that with the governmental bandits on top of them are caused to slaughter and devour each other in the name of the monstrous superstition "patriotism," but the era of enlightened, refined, truly civilized man; and the conditions that would then prevail would be as painted in the words of the immortal Victor Hugo: "No master, no slave, but light for all and contentment for all."

S. D.

DIFFERENCES AMONG ANARCHISTS.

X.

While I would use no qualifying term to my Anarchism, I am not averse to the term Communism as I now understand it: The holding of all things in common, the doing away with trade and traffic as a means of profit, the co-operation of groups of independent individuals, congeniality and comradeship the only tie to bind them. To my thinking it is the only logical result to the application of Anarchism.

Our comrades all agree that rent, interest and profit are the outgrowth of organized government; that the evils of capitalism are due chiefly to the license of government and can never be done away with except by the destruction of government. I go farther and say that competition and all the "tricks of trade," whereby men are enabled to live upon others' toil, have been possible only under government. Monopoly under government supercedes competition and ever tends toward State Socialism, and its remedy is not a return to competition. This would simply turn back the hands of the dial. So long as the principle of government works its machinery, so long as men by organization have the power to regulate trade and control finance, the evils of government will grow. Communism—my Communism—opposes organization and thereby destroys ownership in property. The evil of ownership is in the tendency of man to monopolize, that is to say accumulate and hold more of the world's wealth than he can use, and hence deprive others from their birthright. The idea of accumulating private property is well enough—the evil lies in organized power protecting such accumulations as a "right." If it be right and in accordance with the universal conception of justice, it needs no protection. It is a mistake of the advocates of "private property" to suppose that the Communist would prevent the individual from holding and using property as his very own. Their advocacy of a community holding or storing of all wealth is simply economy that would result from the destruction of commercialism. The old altruistic Communism that sought to make all men happy has had its day or been absorbed in State Socialism. Anarchist-Communism is a later and more improved thought in Socialism. I regard it as a growth of altruistic Communism and egoistic Anarchism—the latest and the best. The forceful authority of the first and the organized policy of the last are both rejected. The fact that the Communist rejects organized authority is sufficient proof that he trusts liberty and prepares no harness for the individual.

Shakespeare has said, "It is excellent to have a giant's strength, but tyrannous to use it as a giant," and it is the certainty that power will always be "used as a giant" that prompts me to oppose power vested in man. "Proud man dressed in a little brief authority will use his heaven for thunder, nothing but thunder." Hence absolute individual liberty is the motto of the Anarchist-Communists, and hence my opposition to all organized power. The neces-

sity and importance of this idea must be my excuse for iteration and reiteration. Col. Ingersoll once said he made it a point in every lecture to attack the idea of hell. My hobby is to attack sovereign authority as the basis of all organization. With me it is the fundamental principle of Anarchism, of Individualism and of Communism; each represents the sovereign individual. The first is without rule or rulers, the second chief only of self, the third perfect equality among men. The first denies all authority, the second affirms absolute liberty, the third the brotherhood—the fraternity of men. The first denies the right of license and restriction, the second affirms the philosophy of liberty, the third the harmonious co-operation of individuals. The first denies the law and order of man, the second affirms the law and order of nature, the third the comradeship deducible from natural law and order. The first is a denial of altruism, the second affirms egoism, the third unites and blends the two. In short, Anarchism is negation, Individualism is affirmation, Communism application.

Shelley introduced "A Spectre of Anarchy:"

"Pale even to the lips
Like Death in the apocalypse,
And on his brow these words I saw:
I am God and King and Law."

The terrible "spectre" is changing its appearance. "God and king and law" as an attribute of divinity are losing ground and as a divinity itself fades from the imagination of men. The selfhood of man is brought to view; the strong light of science forces into the darkness the bats and owls of superstition, and man crowned with health and strength, endowed with love and sympathy takes his place.

"Erect and ready, in life's course,
Proudly my hero's an!
Life giving force, a conscious source:
Grand nature's nobleman."

East Elma, N. Y.

A. L. BALLOU.

SOME FACTS.

The following statistics, together with the comments were given by Dr. Been at a meeting of the Medical Association in New York City, the date of which I forgot to take (some 15 or 16 years ago). One can but wonder why there have been no such statistics since 1857. One thing is certain: neither statistics nor the task of them will remedy the evil. "Thus saith the Lord," and "thus saith the law" are as powerless to control this tide of life which, misdirected, becomes the tide of death, as arbitrary commands would be to arrest stars in their courses.

Dr. Been says: "Within a few days past I have seen some statistics of diseases caused by public prostitution in New York City and Kings County in 1857, when the population of this city was less than 700,000, and that of Brooklyn much less than it now is; and I was surprised to learn that in that year 14,770 persons were treated in the public institutions of New York City and Kings County for syphilis. That is, or was estimated to be about one fourth of the number treated in private practice, thus making 74,000 patients for that terrible disease in those two cities in a single year when the population was less than half what it is now."

"In looking over statistics of this vice made in 1857, and I know of none being made since, it appears that of 2,000 prostitutes, 1,909 were professors of Christianity; that 1,997 of the 2,000 had had Christian training. It is often said that the Roman Catholic religion where the girls are obliged to confess their sins, does restrain this vice, but these statistics certainly do not prove it; for of these 2,000 prostitutes 972 had Protestant training, 977 had Catholic training, while only 51 had no religious training."

The above reminds me of the keen sarcasm in the last part of the "Car Conductor's Dream" by Wallace E. Nevill, in which he represents Uncle Sam soliloquizing as follows: "But what about my new possession, Kilauea in the Hawaiian Islands? Kilauea, the large t burning mountain in the world! . . . What feeds this Kilauea of mine? Is the world a living animal, and is this the fire of its love? . . . It is better to marry than to burn. Is it? Would that I could get this Kilauea of mine married! I see that the City Fathers of San Francisco have decided to drive the lewd fellows of the baser sort, and the bad women with whom they associate, away from the dens and

rookeries of Morton street and Bacon place. The whole thing is to be cleaned out and made into a beautiful park. . . . I must have a care for Kilauea—Kilauea, the largest burning mountain in the world. Cover it up, lest it should corrupt the morals of my Hawaiian subjects. Cover it up with cold earth. Plant it with trees and flowers and when *Old Glory* waves from the top of an immense pole in the midst of a beautiful lawn, in the center of that which is now a crater of devouring flame—the earth will then have peace; men and women will live together happily and virtuously in the United States of Matrimony."

Yes, Uncle Sam, you can just as easily cover the crater of Kilauea with cold earth as you can enforce the present standard of sex morality. The only way that the raging fires of sex perversion can be converted into general life-giving warmth is to set woman wholly free and secure her in her right to her own person. When she is thus free there will be no more sex disease for no woman would submit to an unwelcome embrace. All sex relations would be mutually desired, and harmony is health. Give us Anarchy here; secure to woman self-government, and all else will follow as a matter of course.

LOIS WATSEBROOKER.

CONSUMPTION VS. PRODUCTION.

C. L. James quotes me (correctly) as saying, "It is wrong to say that consumption causes production. It is labor that causes production," and says: "Allow me to ask him what causes labor? If he reply, as I think he must, 'consumption,' he gets to what I said exactly, 'consumption is the final cause of production.'"

In reply to the question, "What causes labor?" I do not answer "consumption." Many men consume who do not labor. Nature has made it necessary for man to labor in order to produce; and man must produce before he can consume—the products of labor; and the person who does not labor and thus produce must consume the products of others' labor. I do not care to waste time and space in pettifoggish question of "consumption." All I care to say is that, what we mean by "labor," when arguing the economic question is, the person who labors, and by production, the things that are produced. Consumption does not produce. To consume is to destroy, and unnecessary consumption, such as consumption by the wealthy non-producer, is waste. If consumption causes production—using the word "causes" as meaning "a means"—then are all our Anarchist ideas of economics based on falsehood. For if consumption "causes" production, then is the extravagant waste of the fruits of labor by the idle non-producing class "a means" of production.

I object to the argument of Mr. James because it carries with it the idea that somehow idleness, and the hoarding of the products stolen from labor, and holding the wealth thus gained as a demand against labor can be and is productive of wealth.

Man does not consume in order that he may produce, but produces in order that he may consume. Nature has made it so. Man-made law would have it otherwise.

However much we may haggle over the word "causes," it is the labor power in man that produces; and naught beside does produce. It seems to me the burden of our thought should be to teach the people this fact and the fact that the person who produces is robbed of the greater share of what he produces, which share is consumed by persons who do not produce. (By this we see that individual consumption does not cause individual production—that is, production by the person who consumes.) If we mean to say that consumption by the rich robber class causes the men who labor and are their slaves, to produce in greater abundance, and therefore necessary for their support, then is our argument for the abolition of man-made law and the establishment of individual freedom vain, and our present social system based upon the true principle; then is waste, destruction, war, conflagration and dissipation the true promoter of the welfare of mankind. If not, why spend the time to argue the question of "consumption" at all? If such consumption causes production, it also causes unnecessary labor and suffering for the want of the things produced, on the part of those who do labor and do produce. Such production is only for the monopolist, who would not have abundant production carried on, as it would destroy his profits. We are not interested in monopolistic consumption. Naturally, consumption consumes; it is only by a system of favoritism we can argue, or make it appear otherwise.

The vital question to me as an Anarchist is, not what causes production but, what is the power that produces and what causes the unnatural distribution of the things produced?

A. A. ORCUTT.

THE MAN IN THE TOWER.

In the game of war now being played out in South Africa by England and the Transvaal, the trumps seem to run to the Boers, and John Bull is beginning to wonder in a dazed sort of way if the cards haven't been "stocked on him." The secret of England's non-success may lie in the fact that soldiers who fight for \$13 a month are no match for the sturdy patriots who fight for home and independence.

The defenders of government who decry Anarchy as the synonym of disorder, should allow their vision to wander over the smoking ruins of the Philippines, and to the bloody passes of South Africa, where government in all its majesty is demonstrating that kind of "order" it creates and fosters: the order that blows and tears to fragments; that announces its peaceful presence in the soothing tone of the cannon's lullaby, and proclaims its existence with flashing musketry and blazing cities; the peace of desolation and the order of universal chaos.

While a very large majority of the American newspapers are openly in sympathy with the English government in its attempt to subjugate the Boers, I do not believe they voice the sentiment of any considerable number of people here. From my own knowledge, drawn from personal contact with all classes, I am sure eight out of every ten Americans would rejoice to see England defeated by her doughty antagonist.

The total emancipation of the public mind from the influence of the lying capitalist press would be an event too good to hope for, and yet there are times when it would seem that this nefarious influence is slipping its hold, and in this I see a glimmer of hope. The time will come when these capitalist lie factories will be taken charge of by the people, who will publish their own public journals as the people's medium for the transmission of reliable news, and not as a dumping place for partisan falsehoods and literary hogwash now so universally prevalent.

The Anarchist movement is lacking in one important essential—organization. If Anarchists ever succeed in attracting the world's attention it will be through the agency of an organized plan of educational action, presenting some definite platform of principles. The present disorganized, confused and purposeless system of individual propaganda only serves to confuse the public, and creates the impression that Anarchy is but a sporadic upheaval of unintelligible discontent, devoid of aim or end. I call for an expression from all Anarchists on the subject of the immediate formation of an *International Anarchist League*, with a declaration of principles and a plan of action.

The flight of time increases the certainty of my conviction that the final argument between the toilers and their masters will be in the arena of war, and the final verdict will be rendered at the point of the bayonet and the mouth of the cannon. The chatter of the political Socialists about the potency of the ballot-box is senseless rot. The idea that the power represented by Mark Hanna and his presidential puppet would be quietly relinquished to a Socialistic majority should excite the derision of intellectual sucklings. The lesson of all history clearly reveals one potent fact: that no established power, grasping innumerable privileges and bulwarked by unlimited corruption, ever yields to anything except the stern logic of lead, or heeds aught save the resistless eloquence of gleaming steel. Therefore, when we appeal to the people to destroy the existing order, we should point out to them the true and only means adequate to achieve the end. Let us heed the lessons of history, and go, every man, and buy a gun.

THE MAN IN THE TOWER.

St. Louis, Mo.

Comrades have formed a Debating Club which meets every first and third Wednesday at 8 p. m., N. E. cor. 9th & Clark Ave. The agent of *Free Society*, C. Nor. man, can be met at every meeting.

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AT THE FREETHOUGHT SOCIETY.

An agreeable change was offered to the attendants of the Freethought Society. A lecturer of the State Secular Union of Oregon, Net ie Olds-Haight, addressed the regular meeting, and it is to be regretted that time did not allow any further discussion of the subjects.

Wm. Patterson opened the meeting on the question, "Which has benefited humanity more, faith or doubt?" stating that if we had no faith to succeed in progress even life would soon cease; but applying this question to religious views, he clearly proved that all the achievements of modern time were the result of doubt; and gave us his own experience that through studying the bible—the corner stone of Christian religion—and through the numerous contradictions which he found therein he became an agnostic.

Nettie Olds-Haight spoke on "A Practical Religion." The impression this propagandist made was pleasing to all, even though some did not agree with all she said. Earnestness and love of justice appeared in every word she uttered in defence of Freethought, and in her she will continue to study and investigate, especially on State superstition, which would lead her further in radicalism, and probably give me the pleasure to hear her lecture on Anarchism sometime.

She said that the downfall of all nations had the same cause, probably under different aspects, but the fundamental cause, as well as of all distress, has its origin in the fact that some allow others to think for them. If any man allows another to think for him he necessarily has to act according to the other's ideas, and one will be the tyrant and the other the slave. She then showed that the great Roman empire went down for this reason; that for this cause blood ran through the streets of Paris. Here she left the political power of oppression, and turned her attention to the religious sphere. She showed in a masterly way how priestcraft makes use of the power thus gained through ignorance of the masses; how it exercises tyranny over its dupes, etc. She recalled the horrors of the inquisition, the crusades, and other wars fought on account of religious superstition. She also reminded us of the fact that priesthood is slowly advancing to control this government, and made a strong plea to abolish all religion in the public school, as well as all religious exercises in public affairs, and for taxation of church property. She stated that this would amount to seventy million dollars, a sum which would pay the war debt to Spain and build two new warships, which created laughter.

She forgot to consider that if every individual did his own thinking there would be no room for government or the necessity for battleships or useless constructions built to destroy human life and human creations. Neither does she realize that her lofty ideas of "heaven on earth," when everybody will follow a natural life and live to wear a crown of gray hair; when mothers will be intelligent enough to know how to bring up their children, that they may not die as babies; when men and women will be free in their pursuit of happiness, cannot be practically under a government.

The question for next Sunday is: "Is government any protection to the life and liberty of people?" H. EUGSTER.

PROPAGANDA IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Apparently the working people in this part of the country are afflicted with the illusion that the present "wave of prosperity" will last forever, for if they knew that the "hard times" are bound to come soon again, they would feel inclined to unite and study the ups and downs in society, and not be indifferent as they are.

Through the efforts of a few comrades we had three speakers here during the last three months, who lectured at 27 meetings, in which we distributed 2,000 copies of *Free Society* and other literature. Unfortunately the burden of propaganda work rests upon the shoulders of a few individuals and the success of our efforts is hampered by the indifference of the majority of our comrades in Pittsburgh and vicinity.

Emma Goldman addressed 13 meetings and those who had heard her before could not help recognizing that she is constantly progressing in her views and doing a grand work.

John Most is the same speaker as in former years: he excites the audience, but does not convince.

But there is our new soldier of freedom James F. Morton, Jr. He speaks to the people's hearts and brains and inspires his hearers for liberty and love.

Pittsburg, Pa. A SCHNEIDER.

CONVERSION.

I was surprised to read in Comrade Holmes' letter that Salter of the Ethical Culture movement took any part on behalf of our murdered dead.

By the way, I should like to see that poem again in print, "Have We Forgotten Our Dead?"

While in Philadelphia Salter took sides with the know-nothing element of the Ethicals and excommunicated Anarchists from their immaculate society. I was at that time thoroughly disgusted with the excommunicating misera of Roman Catholicism and was surprised to run across the same virulent poisoner of Truth among the Ethicals but it made me want to know just what these Anarchists really looked like. I happened at this time to attend a meeting of the Ladies' Liberal League and heard Voltaire de Cleyre and was surprised to know how harmless to human welfare Anarchism was. I had thought that Anarchists were revengeful and did not look to the causes of things. To my surprise I heard Voltaire declare later that at the time of the arrests of our comrades she had thought that if those men had thrown that bomb they deserved punishment, but before the execution Voltaire de Cleyre was an Anarchist herself, and through poverty and good and evil report she has been an educator of that ideal.

What can we expect of the blinded, overworked "man with the hoe" when those who know better, like Salter, will help to cry "crucify! crucify!" after they have met such characters as our loved comrades? SUSAN PATTON.

Philadelphia, P.

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