ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

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 Cons An Exponent of Anarchist - Communisms

NEW SERIES NO. 39.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, AUGUST 7, 1898.

WHOLE NO. 175.

HEROES OF WAR AND PEACE

Ay, that is a story that takes one's breath How the men rowed out in the face of death;

Rowed as calmly as fisherman may Who haul their nets at the break of day.

But never was fishnet hauled in the weather

That rifle and cannon and shell together Rained on those sailors who drew from its bed

The wise sea serpent and crushed its head. Heroes of war are they! Song and story Shall add their names to the list of glory.

But where is the story and where is the son For the heroes of peace and the martyrs of wrong?

They fight their battles in shop and mine; They die at their post and make no sign.

And the living envy the fortunate dead As they fight for a pittance of butterless bread.

They herd like beasts in a slaughter pen; They live like cattle and suffer like men

Why set by the horrors of such a life, Like a merry-go-round seems the battle's strife;

And the open sea, and the open boat, And the deadly cannon with belowing throat,

Oh, what are they all, with death thrown in. To the life that has nothing to lose or win-

The life that has nothing to hope or gain But ill-paid labor and beds of pain?

Fame, where is your story and where is your song For the martyrs of peace and the victims of wrong -Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

WHY WE ARE ANARCHISTS.

I will start with a translation of the word. Anarchy is a Greek word, and means No-government. Thus we are in favor of no government: and why? Because we have read history and seen that it is but one long blood-stained page, ever repeating the same tale: that of the masses slaving, suffering and dying, to procure enjoyment, plenty, power, and safety, for the few, and these few constitute the government. Look into the annals of ancient Egypt, and you will see hundreds and thousands of men ruthlessly killed off to build pyramids in honor of the kings. Read the history of ancient Greece, and you will find the masses slaves, and the few, free sovereign citizens. Turn to the feudal ages, and you will find the working classes, the peasants, who created all the wealth of the land, treated as slaves, only allowed to live at the good-will of their overlord whose word was law, and who made them work gratis for him and only allowed them a few months in the year to work for themselves; and then we come to modern times, and we see government still in force, and with it its necessary corrollary-slavery-in a more cruel form than ever. For now-a-days machinery has placed the worker absolutely in the power of the capitalist, who can throw thousands out of work, and who, making use of these unemployed masses and the keen competition thus brought about amongst the workers, can dictate his own terms, reducing wages to starvation point and, if the people, driven to despair, rebel, using starvation as his weapon and biding his time, is sure of victory so long as the people, blinded by norance resort to passive means alone. "But," may say "this is capitalism, not government." whence do the capitalist derive their power? But government. Government, which, the instant labor shows signs of revolting, sends out its army and police to bludgeon and shoot the "mob;" and which maintains a huge army of black police to mentally chloroform the people. And this must always be the case; for what is the object of government? To govern, i. e. to coerce the masses in ing, taken from the London News which I will con- Zeitung.

the interests of the possessing classes. If no one was to be coerced into doing what he doesn't want to, where would be the use of government? When government falls, capitalism will go too; for who will respect private property in the means of production and distribution when unprotected by law? But to destroy capitalism and leave government is an impossibility; for as long as a body of men, no matter who they be, possess power, they will use it to their own advantage so as to perpetuate and upon £510,000,000. In addition to the national debt increase that power. And as the only effectual way to this end is to own the means of life and thus hold the people in your power, be sure the government will do so; whether as directors of the docial-Democratic Republic or as avowed capitalists and believers in the sacred rights of property.

We are Anarchists because we have studied the tendencies of evolution and see that all things advance from the simple to the complex, from slavery to freedom. Because we see that everything in the universe is built upon the Anarchist principle of free individuals freely co-operating to produce one great whole. Because we see that the principle of solidarity, of each for all and all for each, of what is good for all being good for the individual and vice versa, is the great law of nature. Because we see that for a man to be happy he must be free, and that to be free he must be governed by no one, either for his so-called good or otherwise, that he must alone be responsible for his action, that he alone can judge what is good and proper for himself to do, and that he can only attain this state when freed from government in every form and shape. Humanity no longer needs to be led. All it demands, in order to evolve towards a higher state is liberty complete and absolute; and that it can only attain under Anarchy, that is the absence of government in every form .- T. Gamp.

. THE ITALIAN REVOLT.

The Chicago Inter-Ocean declared in an editorial not long ago, that the revolt in Italy was not caused altogether by the high price of bread, but rather by the pernicious agitation of Anarchists and Socialists who always seize the opportunity to spread their reditious ideas among the people in times of want and scarcity of provisions. Whilst the Inter-Ocean deplored the shooting of men, women and children who were on the verge of starvation, still it felt called upon to congratulate the Italian government on the summary manner in which it had crushed the rebellion, for had the rioters succeeded a reign of terror, bloodshed and pillage would have followed.

Nice sentiments to be wafted from the "land of the free" to far off Italy. But nothing better can be expected from a press that belongs body and brains to mammon, that fills columns with fourth of July orations, dilating on the glories of a free republic, wrested from monarchy's stronghold by brave ancestors who had far less cause for rebelling against their government than had the Italian people today. Yet their defeat is a matter for congratulations by this same press. It is remarkable that a press which finds the English language inadequate to express its hatred of the Spanish government and sympathy for Cuba, should reverse these sentiments where the Italian government and its rebels are concerned. Execrating Spain for starving non-combatants and shooting rebels and endorsing the diabolical murders of the Italian government! Inconsistencies like these prove that the American Newspaper Trust is possessed of neither honor, decency or the faintest conception of the meaning of liberty. Disgusted I sought elsewhere for the cause of the Italian revolt; it was found in the follow-

dense for the benefit of Free Society readers:

PUBLIC LIBRARY

"The bread tax alone is not a sufficient cause of the riots in Italy. It was the occasion rather than the cause of the outbreak. The cause must be looked for in the financial policy pursued by the Italian statesmen during the past 25 years. It has been characterized by an ever increasing demand in taxes. Year by year the public debt, with the interest on it, has increased enormously. In 1861 Italy's national debt was £125,000,000 and at the present moment it is close are the debts of the provinces and communes. These amounted to £54,000,000 in 1892, having increased at the rate of £200,000 a year since 1882. Between 1881 and 1891 the local taxation rose from £24,000,000 to £31,000,000, an increase of 28 per cent. The Italian tax burden is over 50 per cent heavier than in France and nearly double that of England. The indirect taxes are those which oppress the mass of the people. The chief of these are the customs, the taxes of manufacturer's and salt and tobacco monopolies. Between 1888 and 1892 the increased duties caused the average annual consumption of salt to fall from 22 pounds per head to 14 pounds. In many districts the peasantry are reduced to a diet of boiled herbs without salt, while in Sardinia the common loaf usually consists of two parts of meal to one part of earth. Because the ever growing demands of the government upon the product of the agriculturist's labor, vast areas of land are going out of cultivation and emigration is steadily on the increase.'

Not a word does the News say of Anarchist or Socialist agitation, but calmly gives the public figures and facts that prove the veins of Italy are being drained dry by a set of vampires, who have tyrannized, robbed and murdered in the sacred name of the law for the past 25 years. One would think that the Inter-Ocean that has drawn such pathetic pictures of "Suffering Cuba," might condone a little robbing of breadshops, breaking of windows, burning of palaces, or even the hanging of some of those sleek Italian statesmen, when one considers how they-"the mob"-have lacked both bread and salt; how for long years they have toiled in wretchedness, while their statesmen robbed them of millions and millions in the shape of taxation and mortgaged the future toil of unborn generations. But in the face of the figures and facts, as given by the London News, the Inter-Ocean offers the magic words "Anarchist agitation" (designed by knaves to frighten fools), and forever disgraces its columns by condoning the murder of men, women and little children. As to the cause of the revolt the intelligent reader must judge for himself.

Caplingers Mills, Mo. KATE AUSTIN.

TWO PICTURES FRON LAFE.

The Tribune, the leading local organ of plutocracy, prints July 17, from its New York correspondent the following:

"J. Pierpont Morgan's dog, His Nibs, value \$3000, was burried today. The burrial was to take place the day before, but then Morgan was prevented to attend. The corpse of the dog lay in a casket lined with silk. The burrial place is situated on one of the most beautiful spots on the banks of the Hudson. Many mourners attenedd the burrial services, as the deceased had been a great favorite in the Morgan household. It is understood that upon the grave shall be erected a Maltese cross." So far the Tribune.

A few days before this burial of the dog the New York Times brought the following local news:

"Mother and children are dying of starvation. Dalton, with an infant in her arms and two boys clinging to her skirts, stood before Judge Wentworth. Her husband had left her six weeks ago. For the last month she had slept with her children in cellars and on roofs. For days they had lived of the slops of the swill-barrels."

Wonder if it is not about time to change the "divine order" of society into a human one.-Chicago Arbeiter

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Amarchy.—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

OUR MOTTO.

We will speak out, we will be heard, Though all earth's systems crack; We will not bate a single word, Nor take a letter back.

We speak the truth, and what care we For hissing and for scorn, While some faint gleamings we can see Of freedom's coming morn?

Let liars fear, let cowards shrink, Let traitors turn away: Whatever we have dared to think That dare we also say.

-James Russell Lowell,

. NOTE AND COMMENT.

Owing to the negligence of the many subscribers in arrears we are compelled to issue four pages until we are out of our indebtedness. Those readers whose subscriptions have expired are hereby again notified to let us know whether they are out of employment or do not care to receive the paper any longer, otherwise their names will be taken off the list. If half of the subscriptions due had been paid, we would have had no difficulty in defraying the current expenses. . . .

"Who now possesses Hawaiian bonds," says an exchange, "has made a good business. These bonds when issued were sold for 30, but they cannot be had at par since the annexation of the islands. Our government has assumed the responsibility of \$4,000,000 indebtedness of Hawaii and is under obligation to redeem the bonds immediately after the annexation.

"And where are those fortunate possessors of these bonds who made this smooth and profitable busines with provident Uncle Sam? To answer this question one needs only to call to mind that the lawmakers sit in Washington at the fountain of political wisdom and were posted sooner than the common mortals on the coming event, consequently could safely speculate in Hawaiian bonds with sure prospects to have the investment returned with usurious interest. To achieve their end swiftly and with cash money, the government granted \$2,000,000 indirect taxes, i. e. they granted themselves and their rear-rank men higher revenues and annuities. The consumer can now at every purchase afford himself the pleasure of figuring out how much he has contributed toward the redemption of Hawaiian and other miraculous bonds."

The Social Democratic Herald of Chicago deplores the fact that so many Socialists are yet utopian enough to try to put their ideas in practice by co-operating and colonizing, and predicts that all such attempts are doomed to be a failure, because society is not "purified within." Now if those "purified within" (I suppose the writer means those that have a clear conception of Socialism), cannot practice in a small scale Socialism and improve their condition to a certain extent, socie ty as a whole will never practice Socialism either, for the revolution of society is a matter of growth and practice must go hand in hand with theories, and that such attempts often fail does not in the least prove the impossibility, but simply that either the participants had not a clear conception of their ideal or that the conditions were unfavorable. This may also be applied to Anarchist colonies.

Gov. Leedy of Kansas has pardoned two Anarchists, Henry Everts and Julius Bernarding, who where convicted of "grand larceny" and sentenced for three years imprisonment. They have been in the penitentiary fifteen months. The Board of Pardons in recommending their release states that the two men had climbed into an open box car during a rain and taken six oranges from a box that had been broken open by some hoboes. The reason for this outrageous sentence becomes apparent when the daily papers state that out to me an indentation on the shore that marks the

these men were known as Anarchists by their influence among the foreign miners during strikes." But it commences to dawn upon the minds of some editors that the Anarchists are merely persecuted in the interest of those who hate to be disturbed in their game of robbing their slaves, for these men were wellknown in the mining districts for their intelligence and skill. An exchange in speaking of the case says: "To compare these two men with murderers and bomb throwers is insulting, malicious and devilish, and done The State Mine for political reasons only Inspector saw some of the work of the two men in the mine, and he says, that if for nothing else than the excellent work performed by them in the mine, they ought to have been released long ago. They had been taken from the face to the timber work and Inspector McGrath claims that it is the finest piece of timber work in any mine in the state.'

The following clipping throws some gruesome light on the condition of the dependents of the men who voluntered to fight for the freedom of the Cubans.

voluntered to fight for the freedom of the Cubans.

"There was a baby born yesterday morning in Denver. A baby whose father is away at the front, fighting for his country. The little creature who came into the world yesterday morning is just twelve inches long and weighs only four pounds.

"There where no clothes waiting for it, not a shred. And there are none yet. Last night the baby was still wrapped in a piece of flannel. When this t ny daughter of a soldier came into the world, her mother lay upon a feather tick, with no sheet under her. The tick was filthy and sour, but there was no money to buy another, and if it were taken away the woman would have lain on bare slats. She had neither sheets nor pillow cases on her bed of pain, and over her was an old comfort that had been taken from the children's bed to put over her. The children, three of them, lay upon a straw tick, with never a shred of bedding under or over them. This is the condition that one soldier has left behind him, and this the picture that has haunted him on the blue waters of the pacific.

"Sad features of the picture can be duplicated in many cases among the families of the boys in blue. Grim want stalks among them. Empty larders greet their eyes, and the bitter alternative of starvation or public charity stare them in the face."

No doubt the father of this unfortunate babe, wearied

No doubt the father of this unfortunate babe, wearied by fruitless efforts to secure work as a "soldier of industry" as a last resort voluntered (?) as "a soldier of

How the powers that benefit by this war are using their soldiers is seen in the employment of cheap Chinese seamen on government transports and Chinese slave labor in the manufacture of soldiers uniforms. Had this soldiers wife applied for work on uniforms she would have been bluntly informed that the contractors were attending to it; and they arefor the benefit of the contractors and those who let the contracts.

Another of the many stories has found publicity in Philadelphia. A young woman, Mrs. Raymond Herman, with three little children was found in destitution-with nothing to pay rent and provide food, while her husband had enlisted on account of being out of work and penniless.

The attitude of the miners at Pana, Ill., is encouraging. All the tricks and schemes of the mineowners to work the mines with scabs have resulted in a complete failure, due to the resistance of the miners. True, brute force of the government will again conquer, but it may teach the miners that nothing short of expropriation of the mines will settle their grievances.

For the past five months the miners of Lafayette have been on strike and so far there are no prospects of settlement. It was agreed by both the miners and owners to submit the controversy for arbitration and abide by the decision of the State Board of arbitration. The Board decided in favor of the miners and ordered the companies to comply with the decision, but the later refused. This ought to show the miners that the laws are not made to be abided by the rich, but I fear they will keep on for awhile howling for more and better laws, and I see no reason why the slavedrivers should not use the whip which the foolish slaves put into their hands.

Here is a paragraph, taken from Geo. McDonald's A Landman's yarn" in the Truth Seeker, which indicates that Saint Anthony is not althogeter free

place where Squan creek delivers its tribute wave to the Atlantic. I view the spot with more than passing interest, as I inferred that somewhere up Squan creek would be found Squan village, the home of that unfortunate damsel Miss Ella Bender. How many times in the past twenty years, through her unwise but too abiding affection for Anthony Comstock, has Miss Bender found herself in need of a true friend, and appealed to the physicians of New York to help her out of her trouble. How deep has been her interest in sexual physiology, how intense her Malthusianism!

. . .

"Direct legislation is employed throughout Switzerland, and the people have destroyed the power of the legislator for personal ends; they have made it easy at any time to alter or change their Federal constitutions, and have simplified their form of government; they hold their public officers responsible direct to their constituencies as servants and not as tools to legislative corruptionists, who maintain an expensive lobby about the halls of the legislature to buy men's souls and enslave the people through vicious legislation. They have defeated monopolies," etc. Thus speaks a prominent advocate of Direct Legislation, and a credulous reader will come to the conclusion that Switzerland has solved the labor problem. But I am a sceptic and I would like to ask what about the destitution among the poor in Switzerland; the suicides committed an account of privation and want of employment? Why the comparatively large emigration from that beautiful land? And, finally, why the frequent strikes of the workingmen? At present there are 800 carpenters in Bern and Geneva on a strike. Will the advocates of Direct Legislation explain why all those grievances in Switzerland?

I would like to call attention to Peter Kropotkin's article "Anarchism: its Philosophy and Ideal" now running through Free Society. Those that confront us constantly with the apology that we cannot practice to any extent what we preach, and that it is useless to criticise our actions, may profit by reading it carefully. I will only quote the following:

"It is evident that so profound a revolution producing itself in people's minds cannot be confined to the domain of ideas without expanding to the sphere of action there is no abyse between thought and action, at least for those who are not used to modern sophistry. Conception is already a beginning of action."

Having lately received several letters from new readers which express praise that we do not advocate violence as a remedy for our social evils, I take again occasion to state that Anarchists never have advocated such non-sensical course, knowing full well that violence used simply to change masters is of no avail. But the slaves have a right to revolt, to defend themselves against the cruelties and sufferings inflicted upon them by the monster of government and capitalism; the workers have a right to life and happiness, and when these are denied them by those who have robbed the producers of the products of their toil, the latter have a right to expropriate all that which is taken from them by fraud, violence and force, called "law and order." And this cannot be achieved by peaceable means, for, those that possess the earth will never yield their power by persuasion, so the time is approaching-faster as many think-when the conflict between slaves and masters will reach the climax, and the more the former is prepared for this battle the better it will be for humanity in general. Already we see that the larger cities prepare themselves for street battles (Los Angelos equipped the police only recently with rifles), and prudence ought to prompt the workers to do likewise as a matter of self-preservation. Had the non-aggressive and unarmed Hazleton miners been prepared to annihilate the deputy sheriffs when they were attacked by these tools of monopoly, the greedy coal barons would find it more difficult in the future to secure willing tools. Only after we have abolished governments with its police, its armies, its prisons, its laws and gods will strife cose and humanity attain happiness. A. I.

A NEW DECLARATION OF INEDENDER GF

According to the Coming Era, Dalla which, by the way, is the most fearless an outspoken reform paper of this country, "a representative gathering of social reformers, produce, workers and industrialists assembled in Waco, Texas, on July 4, and a new Declaration of Inde-

pendence was adopted which every Anarchist could endorse if he believed that society could be revolutionized by a declaration of principles. Here it is:

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

There comes a time in the affairs of men and nations when a combination of desperate contigencies compel the suspension of conventional habits of thought and action, by which obedience is yielded to the estab-lished authority and forces definite and radical action on other lines, to the end that liberty, justice and do-mestic tranquility be restored to mankind. We have reached such a crisis in our national his-

We have reached such a crisis in our national history. The time has come when we must act for the defense of those sacred principles of human liberty, proclaimed by the founders of the American Republic. We hold with them that all men are created free and equal, and have the inalienable right to life riberty and the persuit of happiness; and that the stright of every people is that of self-government. Henever a government becomes destructive of the liferty, happiness and general walfage of any portion of the people piness and general welfare of any portion of the people subject thereto, it is the right of that people however few in numbers or humble in social station, withdray themselves from its operation, and to cease their allegiance, forming such new associations as they shall deem most compatible with their own interests and

declare that all human association should be free, and should rest upon the consent and mutua agreement of all its members alike. No majority, how-ever numerous, can have the right to compel the mi-nority, however few its numbers, to yield submission to an association that is obnoxious to the inclination, desire and happiness of the said minority. Therefore, all association or government founded upon coercion and force is antagonistic to liberty, equity and justice. We therefore declare it to be our natural and inal-

ienable right as a free, sovereign and independent people, to withdraw in a peaceable manner our allegiance to the constituted authority known as the government of the United States, and to dissolve the political connections that have heretofore existed between ourselves and those of our fellow citizens who may constitute the interest the state of the st

tinue their allegiance to said government.

But we hold that so important a step as that now consummated should not be taken in undue haste, and without a presentation to the world of the reasons that impel and justify this action: the efore we submit to the impartial judgement of mankind a list of those grievances which have impelled us to this ac-

tion.

The casting political regime is a class objarchy, in which one power of money combined with political corruption is triumphant, and the masses of the people are practically and effectually denied a voice in the administration of national affairs. The civil power is absolutely in the control of the wealthy class, and is used to further the interests of that class; and to crush the rights and liberties of the neople.

used to further the interests of that wass; and to crush the rights and liberties of the people.

The history of the present government of the United States is a record of aggression and tyranny written in deeds of infamy too openly flagrant for denial.

It has enacted legislation favorable to class interests and destructive of the welfare of the masses of the

It has by legislation foetered great corporations of organized capital, and aided them in plundering the masses of the nation.

It has so framed the financial laws of the country

that a privileged class of bankers and capitalists are enabled to control the circulating medium of the na-tion, which has resulted in the rapid and unparalleled concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, and the creation of poverty, destitution and misery of the

It has destroyed the coinage of silver, by which the people have been deprived of more than one half of their circulating medium of exchange, resulting in an enormous increase of the purchasing power of money,

enormous increase of the purchasing power of money, and the necessary decrease of the price of labor and all labor products, to the aggrandizement of the moneyed class and the injury of the producing class. It has thus crippled the national finances in order to supply the resulting deficit in the national revenue by issuing bonds, which are held by foreign and domestic banking syndicates, and for which the people must be annually taxed for the payment of interest; and the existence of these bonds mean nothing less than the perpetual slavery of the American people to the the existence of these bonds mean nothing less than the perpetual slavery of the American people to the bond-holders. A national bond is a mortgage on the people, held by the moneyed corporations, and by the issue of these bonds the existing government has sold

issue of these bonds the existing government has sold the nation into national slavery.

It has openly and flagrantly trampled upon the constitutional safe-guards of the people by suppressing free speech and free press.

It has refused to consider the demands of the producers for relief, and when members of the producers for relief, and when members of the producing class have entered into a contest with their employers the segment for favorable conditions or better wages. to secure more favorable conditions or better wages, the civil power has been freely used to protect the property privileges of wealth, but never to defend the rights of labor.

American citizens have been imprisoned and barbar-

outly put to death at the demand of the class oligare by notably in Chicago Nov. 11, 1887, in the case of Artert R. Parsons and his four companions. The militar Power of the government is repeatedly used to coerce the wage workers into obedience to their employers but never to protect the producers them-

The murder of twenty-two American wage workers the murder of twenty-two American wage workers the official representatives of the at Hazelton, Pa., by the official representatives of the government, was the most cowardly, inexusable and brutal crime recorded in the annals of human history, and this fearful deed was done by direction of the con-stituted authority and in execution of the mandates of injunction. When such a deed is boldly enacted by injunction. When such a deed is boldly enacted by the officials of a government without rebuke or pun-ishment, it is time for the people to repudiate such government and to act for their common security.

government and to act for their common security.

The existence of political corruption is universal.

Elections under the present political order are farcial.

Organized wealth, by the means of political corruption, feverywhere dominates, and the masses are helpless in their contest with the power of capitalism. The highest officials of the nation are elected openly by the use of money, and elections have become a conventional facre.

A country, which presesses natural conventioning

ventional facre.

A country which possesses natural opportunities sufficient for all its people, should never witness the spectacle of poverty, hunger and nakedness, which is now the portion of a vast majority of this American people. Such a condition is the creation of class privilers, and can only be abeliabed by sacrebilishing people. Such a condition is the creation of class privilege, and can only be abolished by establishing a

Therefore, in convention assembled, this 4th day of July, 1898, we declare that all allegiance to the political organization styled the government of the United States, is dissolved, and that we as a sovereign and independent people, no longer recognize the authority of this so-called government, so far as we are concerned; and we appeal to our fellow citizene of America to unit with us in the formation of the Go-opera-tive Commonwealth of America, to the end that lib-erty, prosperity and self-government may be restored

to the American people.

We declare that all land titles now held by alien non-residents, by all corporations, by the government, and by individuals holding land out of use for speculative purposes, are null and void, and that such land belower of sight at the statement of the second of the seco belongs of right to the people who desire to use it, and occupancy and use is the only natural and just title to

its possession.

We declare that taxation without consent is robbery, and that it is the right of the people to refuse its pay-

We declare that all ground-rent is unjust and we call upon the tenant farmers and tillers of the soil everywhere to join with us in a refusal to pay such tribute to unjust monopoly.

We ask the industrial masses of America to unite

with us in the establishment and maintenance of the free Co-operative Commonwealth, called into existence by this Declaration of Independence.

by this Declaration of Independence.

We declare that the Co-operative Commonwealth of America is a national federation, de facto and de jure, perfect in all its parts, and constituting a free and Independent Sovereignty, self constituted and self governing, owing allegiance to no government, State or political power. And for its maintenance as a soverign and independent power among the nations of the earth, we piedge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

It is really gratifying to see such sentiments expressed in a convention of American workingmen who inaugurated a new movement called the Free Co-operative Commonwealth, and if the organization is able to keep out red tape and officialism it American labor movement. A. I.

FREE AIR, FREE WATER AND FREE LAND.

Air is free because monopolists have not yet been able to corner it, except to the limited extent of overcrowding in cities caused by the greed of landlords.

Free water is boldly advocated by Dr. E. W. Hilgard, dean of the department of agriculture of the State University. On his return to Berkley from his mission to the first national conference of authorities on irrigation, held in Denver, Colo., July 12 and 13, he said :

"California, as the oldest irrigation State, having the most experience to draw from, had, perhaps, the most facts to supply to less delibrateions. It was the most facts to supply to less delibrateions. It was the general opinion that there is a very large amount of over-irrigation. The special trouble now encountered is that arising from the abuses of private water rights. There should be no private ownership. The principle should be universal established and recognized that the people in common own the water and that actual use is the only title to its presession. That resuld use is the only title to its possession. That would prevent those who can't use from hoarding. It is the duty of the State to prevent waste."

Prof. Hilgard's words are applicable, in every respect to land also; it is the duty of the (people in the) State to prevent waste of land and water. If the people would

anny of absolutism in its most hideous form—government by injunction. Today the courts, by the assumption of this new and frightful principle of absolutism, are the real political power, and their despotic swork selves, on their return, to patriotic work (some useful consummated the final overthrow of our political) will have to pay their share of Uncle selves, on their return, to patriotic work (some useful occupation) will have to pay their share of Uncle Sam's munificent wages, which they received for a few months, they could demand and optain land for use. as the only title to its possession, then society would be free, workers free to think of something beside the bread and butter question, parasites free to starve or think what useful occupation would be most suitable for their wonderful intellects, filling up their spare moments by musing on the unutterable folly of those who produced all the wealth of the world, in having allowed themselves to be robbed during all the past centuries.

> Free production and exchange, and freedom from government, would follow as natural conditions, thus bringing us to the "take therefore no thought for the morrow," the happy condition of free consumption; enjoyed by those happy creatures whose market price "two for a farthing," and moreover, "none of which fall on the ground without 'Our Father's' knowledge,' and supposed by the superstitous who still attend church, by "Our father's" p e-arrangement, we poor benighted workers wonder why "Our Father" allows the one millions to own all the land, leaving the seventy-five million landless; and to starve, unless the one million rob us by putting us to work. It would be kind of "Our Father" to re-make us into sparrows valued at three half pence a dozen, but with the unspeakable blessing of liberty—an easy undertaking too, for omnipotence, but, who by the way, ignored the request of that ambitious fellow who exclaimed "O that I had the wings of a dove." KINGHORN-JONES.

WHAT ONE MAN CAN DO.

The Farmer's Voice, of 334 Dearborn St., Chicago, is a paper of large circulation. In its "Farmer's Forum" it gives short articles from farmers on every subject. I have tried it with a few and found that, unlike many other papers proffering space to writers, it really kept its word. On May 28 it printed from me "Socialism, Agriculture and Liberty," in which I denounced Socialism and favored agriculture and the liberty attendant upon Anarchy. In its issue of June 18 it printed from me "Socialists Practically Considered," which was a reply to a long letter I received from J. L. Traughber, of Goldenrod, Texas, in reply to my first letter in the Voice. Mr. Traughber is one of the most aggressive Socialists I have ever met with, and I also sent answer to him in his county seat paper, the Spectator, of Wharton Texas; but a copy thereof has not arrived, as yet.

The Farmer's Voice again published me on July 9. This time it was "A Model Anarchist Farmer," and the farmer is J. C. Barnes, of Hindsboro, Ill., with whom I became earnestly interested upon reading his article descriptive of himself as a peaceful Anarchist in Free Society of June 12. The editor felt that this was rather too good to be true of an Anarchist and will prove to be a new phase in the history of the said, "We should like to have a verdict from his neighbore." I trust that Mr. Barnes will at once avail of the opportunity offered and send to the Voice for publication all needed information. In my letter I contrasted the sympathetic attitude of Bolton Hall with the lunatic branding of Ingersoll.

The San Francisco Star of June 4 took occassion to quote a paragraph from my letter in Farmer's Voice of May 28, in which Anarchy was preferred above Socialism. So it seems the Single Tax Star has more sympathy for Anarchism than Socialism.

A. I. asks me in Free Society of June 19, "It would be quite interesting if Livesey could point out when Anarchists ever pursued a 'bomb and blood propaganda'." I thought I had many points in this line; but as Anarchists have denied them all and as the present general tendency seems to be for reform through peaceful and persuasive methods, I gladly accept the situation and trust it will be maintained.

In the Vineland, New Jersey, Independent of June 24, I had a letter on "Compulsory vs. Voluntary Taxation," which was in defense of a Mr. Weaver of that town who was imprisoned for the non-payment of a poll tax.

In the Review, of Tuscola, Ill., of June 24, I sought to show my high appreciation of J. C. Barnes. The Review also expressed its doubts on Mr. Barnes' Anmployers, the never to protect the producers them-leves from the aggression of capitalism.

The United States has ceased to be a representative epublic, and it people are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the leves are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the leves are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the leves are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the leves are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the leves are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the leves are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the leves are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the leves are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the leves are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the leves are face to face with the tyrical lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the lives in the Klondike searching for the most useless of the lives in th

ere as well as talked it, I am waiting to see him publicly or privately inform me further of his status. I would, indeed, be very sorry to find that he calls preaching Single Tax preaching Anarchy.

In the Independent, of Rockland, Mass., I kad "A New Anarchy" on June 24. The editor, a miss, complimented the letter as one near her own ideal. Her paper is reported to me as being the foremost reform paper in the Old Bay state. Like myself, she also believes that Conscience is God to man.

In the famous old Boston Investigator of June 25, I had "Anarchism, Socialism, Liberty." This article has drawn queries from several Freethinkers, among them being R. Wade, of 1354 Newton St., Los Angeles. He seems to wonder how it is I can call Anarchists peaceful. I trust all peaceful Anarchists will at once correspond with him and I especially commend him to Mr. Barnes. Another man wrote me from Massachusetts stating that his attention was first called to Anarchy a few years since in the Arena and if it promised peaceful fruits he wanted to study it up. I sent him some reading matter and I suggested to Comrade J. T. Small, of Provincetown, Mass., to attend to his needs -this I learn he has done and sent the inquirer "Instead of a Book." Thus we see the desirability of getting reform views before new people through new papers. Every inquirer must be followed up until he is either won or lost to the cause.

Equity, of Santa Barbara, Cal., is a paper that I have found very ready to give space to all reforms, although professedly, I believe, a Populist paper. In its issue of June 23, it gave from me "A Glance at the Reforms" and, among them, Anarchy-another hearing among strangers, it will be seen.

As a paragrapher for the Centreville (Md.) Record, I gave Anarchy, Bolton Hall and Mr. Barnes a "puff" in its issue of July 9.

Thomas Buckman, of Marshfield, Oregon, had been disporting himself as a Socialist in the Farmer's Voice of May 28, and in the Coast Mail, a Republican paper of his town, of July 2, I told Mr. Buckman that "A Very Little Socialism Will Do." I always like to beard a lion in his den.

Facts is the largest weekly in Colorado. Its good motto is "A single Fact is worth a folio of Argument," which has always been my motto, and I would here say that if the writers of arguments for Free Society could do as I am here doing and give us some of the facts of their work, interest and earnestness for work might be increased. In Facts of July 9, I stated that "the Philosophical Anarchists are the liveliest foes of the Socialists," and ridiculed Socialist colonization. I ended, "let us see what we will see," and since the article was written, news comes of the utter split of the Socialists at Chicago and the starting of a new paper by the bolters-the Social Democratic Herald, with office at 519 E. 66th St., Chicago. Debs is in the bolting party and they go forth without a cent, and their first cry is give, give!

Facts did a generous thing in its issue of July 9. Under the heading of "What It Costs to Be a Reform er," it gave a good advertisement of Free Society and published in full the card of A. J. Pope, of Portland, Oregon, who was recently released from jail. I must send my mite to the old brother of eighty at once.

On June 20, I sent "Anarchists, Bolton Hall, Ingersoll and Comstock" to the New York Truth Seeker, with a stamped envelope to send the same to Bolton Hall if not acceptable for publication. Mr. Hall got it and showed it to the famous Dr. R. Leverson, the old doctor whom Comstock recently sued for \$50,000 for defamation of his character. Comstock was awarded six cents, enough to make any decent man forever re tire from public notice. In the above heading, Mr. Hall hardly considered himself in congenial society Dr. Leverson thought so too; but I must tell them reformers must feel perfectly at home among all classes of men. I know that Mr. Hall does not consider himself a full-fledged Anarchist and I know that he has very little in common with either Ingersoll or Comstock; but, if published, I wanted the communication to the Truth Seeker read by more than a few and I knew that all friends and foes, alike, to Anarchists, Hall, Ingersoll and Comstock would read it, and I knew that when it was read Mr. Hall would appear in a correct light. As I understand Mr. Hall, his attitude toward Anarchy is exactly the same as mine. We prefer to be called individualists at present; while, as such, we are holding out aid and encouragement to peaceful and philosophical Anarchy. What Mr. Hall has already written for Free Society is abundantly sufficient for my conclusions regarding him and I would Commonwealth.

be very sorry to find that either he or Mr. Barnes have written anything for the paper which they are ashapped for the whole world to know. For myself, when I say that I have written my local papers in favor of Anarchy and that I have sent out literature on the subject. I mean exactly what I say-my millionaire relatives know exactly what I do, as well as the readers of Free Society. By the by, I am very poor myself and live in a house that I rent for \$8 per "Let us be honest," as Ingersoll vainly says.

I would commend to all Anarchists The New Christiakity, a Swedenburgian monthly, of Ithaca, N. Y. It has lately given long articles from leading Anarchists and the present July issue has in it from my pen "A Peaceful and a Promising Anarchy," which the editor, S. H. Spencer, thanked me for sending.

I am indebted to Dr. C. E. Nichols, of 19 Cortes St. Boston, for many Anarchistic and reform papers I am unable to subscribe for. He takes a long list of these papers and makes a business of sending them out marked to parties whom he thinks they will benefit. This is an admirable plan for any man that has the means while not being a writer along reform lines himself. Thus it is, there is a great work for all men to perform and every man can find something suited to him if he desires.

Whenever I see an Anarchist getting space in an outside paper, I immediately "play second fiddle" to him in the same paper. A dozen men who would thus follow each other up would create an impression that Anarchy was backed by its thousands all over the country. In fact, it is the proper caper for the introduction of any new thing. The Single Taxers are the nearest my ideal in this line, but I can give them a few points extra for all.

Bolton Hall writes me admirably when he says: "I think the 'kingdom' of God upon earth will be an Anarchistic one." Of course it will-not Socialistic. We are hearing a great deal of Christian Socialists, but I am partial to Christian Anarchists, although such a party or sect has, as yet, been unknown. Christ was far more of an Anarchist than he was a Socialist. In my contentions with the National Reform Association the God-in-the-Constitution party-I have been told that the philosophy of my religion led to Anarchy and I grant that it does to a "heavenly Anarchy," as some Swedenburgian writers call it.

By the by, I see that Emma Goldman is in New York. I trust that Bolton Hall has offered her the hospitalities of his mansion while she stays there. I took in a poor tramp last night whom all the ministers and pious people of this town would not receive, and when Emms comes here she can step in too, but as a lady. If we cannot practice what we preach just a little bit, let us shut up.

Mrs. Etta Semple, of Ottawa, Kan., sends me the programme for the coming Free Thought convention at her town. She alludes to Kansas as professing to give to each individual the right to mental and religious liberty. I find, however, that Kansas is a state where compulsory education is in force; there is, consequently, no mental liberty there as that compels the mind to be trained in the conventional method of the schools. Even the Socialists and metaphysicians are confessing the humbuggery of Schools. The Free Man of Bangor, Me., for July quotes from the New Charter at length on the subject. It says, in part, of scholars: 'The knowledge they are supposed to get becomes no more a part of them than the stuffing of a baked fowl is a part of the fowl."

If any writer has given Free Society a better advertisement throughout the country than I have of late, I would like him to send in his report that I may congratulate him upon his effort. Like the Mormon elders, let us send to headquarters the details of what we are doing in a practical way and dismiss theorizations and the building of castles.

Sykesville, Md. FRANCIS B. LIVESEY.

The monarchists of Holland are as brutally indifferent to the welfare of the working people as their fellow royalists in other countries. Recently three gas-workers were suffocated while working in the Rotterdam gas-works owned by the municipality. Each of them left a widow and children under age. The corporation after five hours' deliberation refused to give these families any compensation "on principle." It would not have cost more than 600 florins a year for the three families, yet at the same sitting 60,000 florins was voted for the purpose of a feast on the accession of the young queen to the throne.—

TO THE LOVERS OF LIBERTY!

The present critical position of governments, and the deplorable industrial condition of the toiling masses, make it imperative on those who love liberty to call into existence an organization to aid them in their propaganda. Our ambition is to bring together men and women determined to free themselves and their fellows from the craft of politicians, the hypocrisy of priests and the despotism of governments. Such an organization must be world wide and operate on the people of the globe. It must be secret, educational, revolutionary and devoid of every semblance of centralized power.

We, therefore, call upon the friends of human liberty, who are without reverence for Church and State, to write us a declaration of principles for such an organization. Friends who comply with this request will please forward all communications to L. S. Oliver, Sect'y, Maywood, Ill., with the understanding that all such declarations will be given over to a committee, consisting of five representative radicals, who have passed through the fire and have paid for their devotion to their fellow-men. The declaration of principles chosen by said committee will be published in all radical papers.

Respectfully,

L. S. OLIVER. T. P. QUINN.

C. PFUETZNER.

Committee.

Radical papers please copy.

. AN APPEAL.

We inform all those that are anxious to see Comrade Berkman released that his case will be brought before the Board of Pardons September 21, and will come this time to a definite decison.

But. there are not yet sufficient means on hand to defray the necessary expenses, and we therefore appeal to all friends and comrades to send in their mite immediatly. Let us do all we can at present. We hope that our efforts will be rewarded with the liberation of our young comrade.

HARRY GORDON, Treasurer.

P. HEIBEIRT, Secretaries.

73 Springgarden Ave. Allegheny Pa.

. For New York.

A grand pic-nic has been arranged for next Sunday, August 14, beginning at 10 o'clock a. m., by the New York Anarchist group at Fuehrer's Jaeger Hotel, North Beach Heights, Flushing Road, the proceeds to be used for the establishment of a Free Reading Room. Prizes given for bowling, shooting, and ladies' and hildren' games.

Take 34th or 92nd St. Ferry, North Beach car to Ehret avenue, from which it is five minutes walk.

THE COMMITTEE.

The Berkman's Rescue Fund.

Cash on hand from the last general report	. \$394,35
From Spring Valley, Ill	5.65
Imperial	2.00
Carnice and Skylight Workers of New York	10.00
Architect. Iron Workers of New York.	5.00
Journeymen Tailors of New York	6,05
Cigarmakers Union No. 90	10,00
Leserkreis, Tarentum, Pa	4.00
Mashinists Union	8.00
International Group, Chicago	5.00
Hanson	50
	\$445.55
Expenses, divers\$27.90	
To the lawyer to renew the case	
Postage	62.14
Cesh on hend	\$282.41

PROPAGAMDA FUND

Week ending Saturday, July 31.

Proceeds from an Entertainment in New York, \$15.00 Group Proletariat, and Group; New Generation, No. ach \$5.00.

Natasho Notkin, Philadelphia, \$12.20.

Emma Goldman by Vetity, \$1.50 Barnes, Pshirer, Gamball, Johnson, Gruber, R Berkowitz, Nelson, each 50c.

La Fetra, Hampe, each 25c.