

# FREE SOCIETY

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WHOLE NO. 143.

## THE POLITICIAN.

Statesman, when from your eagle height—  
The voters rank at your command—  
You do not mold the law aright,  
But under it the faction-fight,  
By unfair legislation fanned,  
Grows fiercer until blood is spilt,  
No sophistry will cover it.  
You are the cause, and yours the guilt;  
It is manslaughter you commit.

Meddler, when, by your eloquence  
And gift of falsehood, you can draw  
The masses from their own defense,  
Daze them, and crush their common sense  
And take their very bread by law,  
Till some go down to suicide,  
No casuistry smoothes it.  
Vile, treacherous friend and faithless guide,  
'Tis murder, murder you commit.

Tyrant, when from your edict grim  
Springs poverty, so sad, so dire,  
That, forced to chill starvation's rim,  
Fair, modest women seek hell's brim  
To kill love, virtue, health, with fire,  
And, trembling, yield their happiness,  
The stern avenger points to you—  
You—with the power to curse or bless.  
'Tis rape and violence you do.

Knaves, when, to ease ambition's itch,  
You needs must pander to the mob,  
Its patriotic heart bewitch,  
And, just your own cause to enrich,  
Astutely teach it how to rob,  
Then, while man stripes his fellow man,  
The stern avenger points to you.  
Explain, defend it as you can,  
'Tis theft and burglary you do.

Statesman, knave, tyrant, meddler, fool,  
I would not dare the risk to take;  
For I am of an older school,  
Nor ever can I be the fool  
Of those who slaves and weaklings make.  
The victim I—but time moves on.  
The stern avenger looks at you.  
You—horrible to gaze upon,  
While murder, rape, and theft you do.

—Wm. Walstein Gordak.

## HOWLING BEASTS.

"Ain't he young!" said one of them. "I'm kinder sorry for him."

"Are you?" said the other, laughing. "I ain't!"  
Nor was the crowd wolfing for news in the hells  
sorry for him. They took his fourth death sen-  
tence with a cheer.

"He'll get it this time, all right," said a man at  
the foot of the staircase, and he shook a little rag  
there with his two feet in sheer gayety of spirit.

"You bet he will," said the man with him, "in  
the neck."

And the crowd laughed and passed this pretty  
witticism about, and were particularly good natured  
and content there in the chill stone halls  
where, but for such rare fun, it might have been  
dreary waiting. Whence came the sudden rough  
cry that shook it like a storm no man can say. It  
seemed to thunder from above, to surge from below,  
to pour in from every side, and with it came the  
rushing of feet, the tearing of cloth, the shock of  
bodies against each other, the sharp, short hissing  
sound of breath quickly taken and quickly spent.  
The word had gone out that Durrant was going  
away by another door and wild beasts could not  
have raged more furiously on his track. The corri-  
dor was cleared as if by a brutal gale and with the  
going of that mad mob came a sort of a desolation  
over the place such as wild storms are wont to leave  
in their wake.

The above is taken from the San Francisco Ex-  
aminer's account of the reading of the fourth death  
sentence over Theodore Durrant. It is a report of  
work of justice, that goddess who, blindfolded,  
deals out her duty to all alike, if we believe the  
supporters of "law and order."

It is a report of the intense love of howling  
for any kind of brutal excitement, but espe-

cially for any that has as its necessary outcome the  
shedding of human blood.

It is a report showing the natural outcropping  
of that passion for power and for witnessing the  
exhibition of force which is bred in the infant as he  
imbibes "patriotism" from his mother's breast.

It logically follows the military education of  
babes in the prostitute churches which, while  
forcing government upon men, sneak out of their  
own share of payment of expenses.

Kill! Kill! Hang, torture and slay, that we may  
feast our eyes upon human suffering and bloodshed!  
is the cry of revenge sent up by wild animals who  
have the audacity to hold up their murderous,  
strangling law and order as evidences of "civiliza-  
tion."

Another feature of the Durrant case which is  
especially conspicuous because of the long-drawn-  
out proceedings is the sensational advertising dodges  
of the showmen, from the kinetoscope fiends to  
the nickle-in-the-slot devices, which give, as stated  
in flaring letters "16 views of Theodore Durrant."  
Added to this is one imitation of the Immanuel  
church belfry where the sanctified Sunday school  
teacher is said to have perpetrated his crime. It  
is now in order to exhibit the scaffold where the  
State perpetrates its crime, and thus by two  
foul wrongs make one holy "right."

And we who condemn the whole infernal system  
of violence and fraud are forsooth, insane, and in  
the language of Money Monger, Ingersoll "should  
be treated as we treat the insane?"

Let any man or woman denounce violence and  
the discriminating public and mouthing mounte-  
banks know right away that they are "bomb-throw-  
ing lunatics."

Now read again the Examiner's report and see  
how closely packed it is with life's tragedy. "Civi-  
lization," indeed! If this be civilization, then what  
is barbarism? If this be christianity in a "chris-  
tian nation" what is the heathenism of the Chi-  
nese and Hindoo?

F. A. C.

## SPIRITUALISM—MATERIALISM.

While I have never taken much interest in the  
theories of spiritualists, an incident occurred re-  
cently that satisfied me that so far as the spirits  
were concerned those who have been appointed to  
keep guard over my own existence are pretty thin  
shadows. It was this way: A friend (a spiritual-  
ist) tried to interest me in spiritualism by revealing  
to me what a private medium had told her about  
my own past, and for the benefit of anyone who  
may wish to read it, I'll give it briefly.

"The medium said she saw you surrounded by  
a ring of light, and in that ring [I think it ran  
thus.] were the figures of two women, one of them  
taller than the other, and a little child, which put  
out its hand as if to push you away."

I was somewhat puzzled to make out who the  
two women and child could be, though if there  
were two women it would not be strange that one  
should be taller than the other. At first I thought  
that neither the friend nor the medium knew  
ought of my past, so if they could really locate the  
characters in the comedy there might be something  
in the play. But alas for the vision; it soon faded  
away as I recalled the fact that about a year ago I  
sent to a certain paper a reminiscence of the past  
in which a woman and child figured, and from  
which I drew conclusions showing the folly of re-  
ligious superstition. My friend read the article

and answered it by saying that not all that is called  
superstition is such. Later on I had occasion to  
write her and cited a case of what I should call  
thought transference (similar to many instances  
mentioned by Prof. O. S. Fowler in his "Science of  
Life"), mentioning an aunt—the second woman.  
I told my friend the facts in the case and stated  
that she might call it spiritualism if she chose,  
though I did not.

But here was a basis for the medium to build on,  
and she promptly carved a group and placed it  
upon a pedestal in the midst of a ring of light. I  
doubt not that my friend was sincere in her belief  
of the genuineness of the test. But if we concede  
the gift or ability of thought or mind reading to  
the medium we but have to presume that my  
friend had the group in her mind and the medium  
thus got her "spirits."

It is well known that in tests of mind reading  
the reader cannot go beyond what is in the mind  
of the subject. My friend could go no deeper into  
my past, hence could have no more of it in her  
mind, and there ended the medium's power to "lift  
the veil of the past."

Now some materialist will exclaim that thought  
transference, etc., which cannot be weighed by steel-  
yards or measured by tape-line or bushel is also a  
fraud. But many materialists in rejecting the so-  
called supernatural profess to disbelieve in anything  
which can be cut with an ax.

Air is matter, yet in a quiescent state it cannot  
be seen, felt or heard; it has density and weight;  
this will hardly be denied.

Electricity is matter, and of sufficient body to  
(when properly directed) carry a message around  
the world or haul a cargo of merchandise; yet but  
a few hundred years ago anyone with sufficient tem-  
erity to make this assertion would have been first  
hooted at, then drawn and quartered.

The X-ray is the product of science and in brief,  
is produced by concentration of waves of light. The  
"wave theory," by means of which Prof. Crookes  
worked it out, is one of a progressive ratio of vibra-  
tions. Waves of sound perceptible to the human  
ear begin at the fifth step, where the vibrations are  
32 per second, and end at the 15th step.

Crookes locates the X-ray between the 58th and  
61st step. At the 62d he places the probable ex-  
istence of thought or brain waves; there the vibra-  
tions are so rapid as to require 19 figures (quin-  
tillions) to state their number per second.

Should Crookes succeed in his experiments and  
in addition to photographing bones in the human  
frame place before us sun-sketches of pictures of  
thought, or brain waves, then both spiritualist and  
too-skeptical materialist will be floored. The spir-  
its of the former will be proved to exist, not as hal-  
lucinations but as matter, and therefore not spirits  
at all, but "solid" thought. And as to the skeptic,  
the intangible being made tangible he would be  
forced to acknowledge it as material.

But if this shall be done what will become of our  
metaphysicians who delight in weaving riddles  
about the power of mind over matter, for if mind  
be matter, what then?

F. A. COWELL.

## ANARCHY IS DEFINITE.

"The Irrepressible Conflict" was the title of a  
book which, written before the war, by Helper,  
next to "Uncle Tom's Cabin," did more than any  
other book to arouse the people's attention to th-



question of freedom or slavery. That question has never been settled. What a meager, puerile conception people had then of the vastness of the conflict and of the meaning of the words freedom and slavery. What an evolution of thought since then. What a limited comprehension people had then of master and slave—of authority and freedom. The terms were then applied to the owner and his chattel, the negro. All men were regarded as freemen except the chattel negro. All people, except a very few thinkers, saw through a glass darkly. What a wonderful evolution of thought and conception has taken place in 40 years, and the greater part in the last 15 years. There is now perceived to be almost an infinite difference between master and slave, or authority and freedom. There can never again be a compromise between the two. The difference is too great and the two principles too well defined. The law of evolution is from the simple to the complex; from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous; from the indefinite to the definite; from a primordial, inferior condition to a higher and better condition. It has not been long since the terms Anarchy and Socialism, springing from the same impulse of the better emotions of the human mind on beholding the opulence, ease and splendor of a plutocracy on the one side, and the poverty, squalor and slavery of the plebian on the other, sought the remedy in equality, but have since differentiated until they are antipodal and very distinct.

Socialism is not so well defined, but Anarchy, as a social theory, is so clearly defined that it stands out unique. No social theory has ever been so clearly defined. No one need mistake its meaning. "The wavering man, though a fool, need not err therein." The Anarchists are the only people who know, or ever did know, just what they wanted and how to get it. Their position is profoundly unique, impregnable and unanswerable. Anarchy is the ultimatum. It stands by itself, clean cut without any entangling alliances.

Anarchy has never been fairly assailed. It appeals to every noble, kindly and philanthropic emotions of the human heart. It stands the test of logical acumen and philosophical analysis. It is not a half truth, but a full and ultimate truth. It is right. All other sociological theories are castles in the air with no solid foundations. They are, and have been, held up for a short time by hypothetical theories of expediencies which have always been proved abortive. Anarchy is expedient because it is right. Whatever is right is expedient.

The advocates of all other theories have begun at the wrong end to reason—of supposed expediency. I have never heard a single argument against Anarchy, and the only objection I ever heard was that it was inexpedient. Its opponents have no faith in rightness and justice. They depend on physical force. They have no faith in humanity. No faith in reason and less in the natural goodness of men and still less in themselves. The fruition of every commendable desire or emotion will be found in Anarchy. Every noble aspiration finds an ally in Anarchy. Every immortal principle culminates in Anarchy. On the other hand, there is not an evil that Anarchy would not eradicate—not an evil it does not antagonize. Anarchy is a synonym for freedom, and freedom, like health, is the normal condition of man. Sin and sickness are abnormal conditions resulting from obstructing environments of man, interfering with freedom and health. The natural or normal condition toward which man tends is freedom and right, health and happiness. Right and justice are as incompatible with restriction of freedom as ease, pleasure and happiness are with a diseased and corrupt body. To produce health it is only necessary to remove the cause or obstruction to health or a normal action of all the organs and faculties of the physical body when nature, the great preserver, will effect the cure. So to produce right and justice, it is only necessary to remove restric-

tion to a free and normal action of man's faculties, emotions and bodily functions. It is just as natural for man to be right, just and industrious to sustain his proper, normal relation to society or the body politic as it is to eat, drink and sleep to sustain his physical body in a normal or healthy condition. Both the body politic and the animal body have been diseased as the result of sin, and sin is the violation of natural law, consisting solely in man's efforts to supersede natural law with his laws by restricting freedom, the law of nature.

It is just as natural for man to be free from corroding care and disease as for the birds of the air to be. No animal but man fears its own species, and man fears no other being save his own kind.

How insanely paradoxical is man. Man must be brought to a normal, sane condition of mind by precept and example. Let every sane man, every Anarchist, not only teach Anarchy, but live Anarchy, that others seeing our good works may be led to think and act sanely. Let everyone do as he pleases so long as he infringes not our equal freedom. I think it possible for nearly every Anarchist to teach and practice Anarchy. I am now 62 years old, and I have lived and taught Anarchy all my life. I did not name my theory nor know what to call it until recently, never having met an Anarchist to know him as such in my life, and never read what was called anarchistic literature until recently. I read Herbert Spencer's works 20 years ago, which confirmed me in my previously formed convictions. I never command nor obey, except under compulsion to obey. I never went to law nor ever ran for an office. I never owned a deadly weapon nor killed anything with a gun in my life, nor even caught a fish.

Of course I always abhorred war intuitively and found by thinking that all governments are predicated on war, for all authority implies obedience, and obedience force, and force police, and police soldiers, and soldiers war. I was driven to Anarchy as a logical conclusion, after conceding my intuitions to be right, which I could not evade.

Let us drop acrimonious arguments relative to distinctions without a difference between Communism and individualism. When we get freedom, society will adjust itself socially or communally, but the adjustment will be a free and natural one and not a coerced one.

J. C. BARNES.

Hindsboro, Ill.

### IS OURS A MUZZLED PRESS?

To the student and lover of American traditions and institutions no phase of present conditions is more inspiring to resistance than that exhibited in the steady development of aggressive paternalism. The constant tendency of authority is to grow by the acquisition of new power, and this tendency should always be curbed by watchful resistance. Hence it is that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance," for the extension of governmental functions beyond their legitimate sphere means the oppression of the citizen, and the strengthening of a paternal government means tyranny to the individual.

While those who are struggling for economic freedom are startled by a new and threatening aggression the veteran workers for mental freedom see in it a new outgrowth of what seemed at first a very trifling encroachment. The fact is that our courts have usurped powers forbidden them by the constitution and, finding the usurpation easy, have gone on step by step till the last stage is reached in tyrannical injunction orders. These recent abuses of authority for the accomplishment of unlawful and oppressive purposes have awakened the country to an understanding of one phase of paternalistic growth, and from now on much will be said and written about "government by injunction," but I wish to write of a still more dangerous form of paternalism, more dangerous because more insidious, less understood and more readily acquiesced in, that form which, under pretense of supervising morals, suppresses thought, precludes information and threatens discussion; that form which, in violation of the federal constitution, abridges the right of free speech and free press.

With the first glimmer of intellectual light came efforts to quench that light; with the first efforts to

spread knowledge came counter efforts to repress it. Very shortly before Columbus discovered America our present method of printing from type was perfected by Faust, Gutenberg and Schoffer, and as it was immediately recognized as a way by which education might be spread broadcast among the common people the forces of darkness arrayed themselves in an effort to prevent its use, so that when Faust went to Paris in 1462 with his printed bibles for sale the priests, who up to that time had enjoyed a monopoly and done a thriving business in copying the bible by hand with pen and ink, immediately raised such an outcry, denouncing printing as an invention of the devil, that Faust was forced to leave hastily to save his life, and the story as we have it today in poetry and opera of Faust carried off by the devil has its origin in this effort of the priests to defeat the means whereby knowledge might be spread among the people.

But the forces of destiny overcame the machinations of the priests, for after the death of Faust and while most of the printing was done by Schoffer at Mainz the town was sacked by Adolphus, and the printers were dispersed and forced to find work elsewhere. By this means a knowledge of the art was disseminated throughout Europe, and from that time the practice of the art became universal, so that before the year 1500 there were over 200 different printing offices in different cities of Europe. So through war and devastation this new means of communicating thought was established, but the hatred which the enemies of enlightenment manifested in those early times toward the printer and his art was in no whit abated and continues to this day.

It having become almost as difficult to prevent the spread of printed matter as to confine thought by means of chains and dungeons, the next device was to force the printed expression of thought into conformity by means of a censorship, and this effort was put forth very early in the life of the new art, for books are still extant printed at Cologne in 1479 bearing the imprimatur or official permission of the university and others printed at Heidelberg in 1480 authorized by the patriarch of Venice. So thought has struggled against repression, and notwithstanding its utter inefficiency the censorship was continued for the suppression of inconvenient ideas till in 1520 we find Cardinal Wolsey, in consequence of a brief of Leo X., ordering the English bishops to require "that all the books and writings of one Martin Luther should be brought in and delivered up to them from all persons whatsoever possessing them under pain of the greater excommunication."

With the beginning of a new inspiration of freedom in England in 1644 came Milton's wonderful book, the "Areopagitica," written, as he says, "in order to deliver the press from the restraints with which it was incumbered, that the power of determining what was true and what was false, what ought to be published and what to be suppressed, might no longer be intrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals who refused their sanction to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of the vulgar."

With varying fortunes the fight for freedom of the press continued in England. The history of that conflict is one of the most interesting in the life of man upon this planet, but I cannot even refer to any of its details within the brief limits of this article. Should I write other articles, I may tell some of these inspiring stories.

In framing a new system of government with the object of avoiding the mischief of the old system and with the pernicious operations of the censorship vividly before them it is not strange that the founders of our American constitution should have been impressed with the necessity of carefully guarding the freedom of speech and of the press against mischievous legislation as well as against judicial tyranny. Hence that clause of the first amendment which expressly precludes congress from making any law "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press" was set in the forefront of our national bill of rights as the cornerstone upon which our free constitution was to rest for all time.

General M. M. Trumbull, better known to the plain people of this country by his writings over the signature "Wheelbarrow," than whom no more valiant or loyal soldier of liberty ever lived, used to say that the federal constitution was a very good thing for Fourth of July speechifying purposes, but as a guarantee of civil rights it has become practically worthless, and in this he was right, for not only has congress actually made a law abridging the freedom of the press, but that law has been made use of in the most wicked way to ter-



corise progressive thinkers and to threaten those who speak and write and act for the further emancipation of mankind.

I cannot stop here to narrate the flagrant outrages in the cases of Bennett, Heywood, Harman and others. At another time I may write of these. But as I now write there are under arrest in Portland, Ore., three men, Abner J. Pope, Henry W. Addis and Abram Isaak, who are charged with violating this unconstitutional law in that they have mailed "obscene" matter. The matter complained of is a circular originally written in Spanish which has been translated into every European language and widely circulated throughout Europe telling the story of the fiendish tortures practiced by Spanish officials upon the prisoners at Montjuich.

The fact that some of the tortures were practiced upon the sex organs of the victims furnishes the only basis for the suggestion of obscenity, but will any honest or humane person justify the arrest of these editors or contend for a moment that they have exceeded their constitutional rights in printing and mailing such facts? How is the civilized world to be called upon to stop such atrocities if the facts cannot be told? It is intimated that Spanish influence is behind the arrest of these editors, but even the degraded Spaniard should know that it is no more possible for him to suppress these facts than it was for Cardinal Wolsey to suppress Martin Luther. Is a document circulated all over Europe to be suppressed in free America? Already the arrest of these editors has stimulated the circulation of the matter they are arrested for mailing and the distribution of them goes briskly on, and justly so, for if a citizen of the United States is to be imprisoned his fellow citizens are entitled to know what for, and America, false and treacherous as her judges and legislators have been, is not yet delivered over to the inquisition.

Wendell Phillips once said, "They who try to suppress free speech are tampering with something more explosive than gunpowder." Let the officials who cater to Spanish influence be taught that the constitution must and shall be maintained, and that America is a country of free speech, free press and free mails. There must be no censorship, no injunction, no Montjuich in America.—Ed. W. Chamberlain, in Toledo Union.

### AN OMINOUS BABY.

A baby was wandering in a strange country. He was a tattered child with a frowled wealth of yellow hair. His dress was soiled with the marks of many conflicts like the chain-shirt of a warrior. His sun-tanned knees shone above wrinkled stockings. From a gaping shoe there appeared an array of tiny toes.

He was toddling along an avenue between rows of stolid brown houses. He went slowly, with a look of absorbed interest on his small, flushed face. His blue eyes stared curiously. Carriages went with a musical rattle over the smooth asphalt. A man with a chrysanthemum was going up the steps. Two nursery maids chatted as they walked slowly, while their charges hobnobbed amiably between perambulators. A truck wagon roared thunderously in the distance.

The child from the poor district made way along the brown street filled with dull gray shadows. High up, near the roofs, glancing sun-rays changed cornices to blazing gold and silvered the fronts of windows. The wandering baby stopped and stared at the two children laughing and playing in their carriages among the heaps of rugs and cushions. He braced his legs apart in an attitude of earnest attention. His lower jaw fell and disclosed his small, even teeth. As they moved on, he followed the carriages with awe in his face as if contemplating a pageant. Once one of the babies, with twittering laughter, shook a gorgeous rattle at him. He smiled jovially in return.

Finally a nursery maid ceased conversation and, turning, made a gesture of annoyance.

"Go 'way little boy," she said to him. "Go 'way, You're all dirty."

He gazed at her with infant tranquility for a moment and then went slowly off, dragging behind him a bit of rope he had acquired in another street. He continued to investigate the new scenes. The people and houses struck him with interest as would flowers and trees. Passengers had to avoid the small absorbed figure in the middle of the sidewalk. They glanced at the intent baby face covered with scratches and dust as with scars and powder smoke.

After a time, the wanderer discovered upon the pavement, a pretty child in fine clothes playing with a toy. It was a tiny fire engine painted brilliantly in

crimson and gold. The wheels rattled as its small owner dragged it uproariously about by means of a string. The babe with his bit of rope trailing behind him paused and regarded the child and the toy. For a long while he remained motionless, save for his eyes, which followed all movements of the glittering thing.

The owner paid no attention to the spectator but continued his joyous imitations of phases of the career of a fire engine. His gleeful baby laugh rang against the calm fronts of the houses. After a little, the wandering baby began quietly to sidle nearer. His bit of rope, now forgotten, dropped at his feet. He removed his eyes from the toy and glanced expectantly at the other child.

"Say," he breathed softly.

The owner of the toy was running down the walk at top speed. His tongue was clanging like a bell and his legs were galloping. An iron post on the corner was all ablaze. He did not look around at the coaxing call from the small, tattered figure on the curb.

The wandering baby approached still nearer and, presently, spoke again. "Say," he murmured, "let me play wif it?"

The other child interrupted some shrill tootings. He bended his head and spoke disdainfully over his shoulder.

"No," he said.

The wanderer retreated to the curb. He failed to notice the bit of rope, once treasured. His eyes followed as before the winding course of the engine, and his tender mouth twitched.

"Say," he ventured at last, "is dat yours?"

"Yes," said the other, tilting his round chin. He drew his property suddenly behind him as if it were menaced. "Yes," he repeated, "it's mine."

"Well, let me play wif it?" said the wandering baby, with a trembling note of desire in his voice.

"No," cried the pretty child, with determined lips, "It's mine! My mama buyed it."

"Well, tan't I play wif it?" His voice was a sob. He stretched forth little, covetous hands.

"No," the pretty child continued to repeat. "No, it's mine."

"Well, I want to play wif it," wailed the other. A sudden fierce frown mantled his baby face. He clenched his thin hands and advanced with a formidable gesture. He looked some wee battler in a war.

"It's mine! It's mine," cried the pretty child, his voice in the treble of outraged rights.

"I want it," roared the wanderer.

"It's mine! It's mine!"

"I want it!"

"It's mine!"

The pretty child retreated to the fence, and there paused at bay. He protected his property with outstretched arms. The small vandal made a charge. There was a short scuffle at the fence. Each grasped the string of the toy and tugged. Their faces were wrinkled with baby rage, the verge of tears.

Finally, the child in tatters gave a supreme tug and wrenched the string from the other's hands. He set off rapidly down the street, bearing the toy in his arms. He was weeping with the air of a wronged one who has at last succeeded in achieving his rights. The other baby was squalling lustily. He seemed quite helpless. He wrung his chubby hands and wailed.

After the small barbarian had got some distance away, he paused and regarded his booty. His little form curved with pride. A soft, gleeful smile loomed through the storm of tears. With great care, he prepared the toy for traveling. He stopped a moment on a corner and gazed at the pretty child whose small figure was quivering with sobs. As the latter began to show signs of beginning pursuit, the little vandal turned and vanished down a dark side street as into a swallowing cavern.—Stephen Crane, in the Arena.

### CAN'T GET INTO JAIL.

Judge Low was upon his bench in the police court yesterday afternoon when a little, old-looking man entered. The little, old-looking man had a full and tangled grayish-brown beard; and though he was attired like an ordinary vagrant there was an air about him that instantly attracted the court's attention.

Perhaps it was an atmosphere rather than an air.

"Well, what can I do for you, sir?" asked Judge Low, quickly.

"Send me to jail, your Honor."

"Send you to jail? For what?"

"For five or six months, if your Honor please."

"Why do you want to go to jail?" the astonished magistrate inquired.

"I have nothing to eat. I have nowhere to sleep, your Honor."

"There is no charge against you, though. I cannot send you to jail. Go to the police office and let them arrest you for vagrancy."

"They won't do it, your Honor. The police are down on me. I've had nothing to eat for two days, and I haven't slept on a bed in seven years."

Then the vagrant told a long story of former prosperity and latter-day misfortune. He said his name was Thomas Williams. For twenty-two years he had occupied a position on the bench, as a mender of shoes in Sacramento, and up to 1890 he had been a shoemaker to the governors. He had been acquainted with all the statesmen. Secret society persecution had at last driven him out of business and prevented him from obtaining employment.

"It even keeps me out of jail your Honor," he added. "It's harder for me to get into jail than for some men to get out."

"Have you been in jail lately?" was asked.

"I have just finished a two months' sentence for breaking a window. I had to break the window to be arrested. They won't take me at the Alms house, for I'm able to work. I'm a strong man, your Honor, and an athlete. I'm only forty-eight years old. In 1881 I won the state championship medal for long jumping at Badger's Park. I cleared 104½ feet in ten jumps and made thirty-eight feet in three jumps. Persecution is all that keeps me from being a prosperous man."

Judge Low said he would ask the police why the athlete should not be charged with vagrancy.

"'Twill do no good," said the petitioner, sadly.

"The police are against me. All I can do is to walk the streets. I can walk longer than Dan O'Leary and I've often beaten Dr. Tanner at fasting. I will never beg. But I know how to get in jail—and I'll do it."

Until early evening the bearded little shoemaker walked the police court corridor. Finally he gave up hope of arrest and went sorrowfully back to the streets. 7 minutes later he was looked up for throwing a stone through a city hall window.—San Francisco Examiner.

### A LIBERAL CRITIC.

We have received a few copies of FREE SOCIETY, "an advocate of communal life and individual sovereignty" published at San Francisco, Cal.

If some of our bigoted "law-abiding" citizens would read a few copies of the paper, with unprejudiced minds, they would have a quite different conception of Anarchism. They would see that there is nothing revolting or bloody in the methods of scientific Anarchy, but that, on the contrary, its chief weapon is the power of reason.

It is true the ideas advanced seem rather premature and perhaps somewhat absurd, but the reason therefore is perhaps to be found in our own inborn prejudice and unprogressiveness.

The fundamental principle of Anarchism is unlimited freedom, free from the restrictions of government, religion, social customs and other agents of oppression. It claims that poverty, misery and crimes are the direct effects of governments; and looking at the matter from a standpoint of reason there appears to be some justice in the claim. Who ever heard of an animal (not man) being murdered by others of the same kind, yet they have no governments to "protect the weak and prevent crime," while among the other animals (men) with all their various kinds of beneficent (?) governments murders and other crimes are daily occurrences.

Surely, there is something in Anarchism, and it would pay reformers to investigate it. We, however, believe that the time has not yet arrived for such a radical change.—Friend of Labor.

I am convinced that those societies (as the Indians) which live without government, enjoy, in their general mass, an infinitely greater degree of happiness than those who live under European governments. Among the former public opinion is in the place of law, and restrains morals as powerfully as laws ever did anywhere. Among the latter, under pretense of government, they have divided their nations into two classes—wolves and sheep. I do not exaggerate. This is a true picture of Europe.—Thomas Jefferson.

To educate the wise man the State exists; with the appearance of the wise man the State expires.—Emerson.



# FREE SOCIETY.

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50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY Lock 3535 San Francisco Cal.

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.

## READ THIS.

While we have no intention of dunning those who are unable to pay for their paper but desire to read it, there are hundreds on our list who are away behind and could doubtless easily pay up. Rather than continue sending it to those who desire to take undue advantage of the policy of this paper not to demand payment from those unable to pay we would send the papers now sent to the too-clever ones to new names each week. Of course many of those who are behind doubtless are unintentionally so. But we desire to state that all who are not up to date in their accounts should drop us a line if they cannot pay and wish the paper continued to their addresses, else we will be justified in the presumption that they are dead or have removed themselves in some other manner, and in either case don't want the paper, and we shall promptly act in accord therewith.

FREE SOCIETY.

## THINGS AND THOUGHTS.

"Flower Venders Behind Bars," such was the heading in a Frisco paper, a few days since, announcing the arrest of six flower peddlers for setting their baskets on the curbstone. In the eyes of the law this offense constitutes a crime, and the flower sellers, being poor, presumably have no influential friends, so off to jail they go while the crowds thread their way in and out as patiently as may be among the balconies and boxes of merchandise that cover the sidewalks in front of the stores and warehouses of "our merchant princes."

Municipal ownership don't always pan out according to the anticipations of its advocates, as was recently shown at Ft. Scott, Kan., where the city took charge of the water supply. The employees of the private company were not eager to work for the city and promptly went on a strike. The city went "dry" without resorting to the ballot box.

The beauties of war were recently illustrated in Cuba, where a party of Spanish soldiers surrounded and killed a party of pacifists and then hung the bodies up in the market place labeled "meat for sale; beef or rebel." Of course, the incident is denounced as unnecessary cruelty, but Napoleon was right when he said in answer to reproaches "War is war." Anyone who upholds war must not wince at its brutalities. It all belongs to the system of government, of forcing the minority or weaker part of humanity to submit to the majority or to the most powerful.

One comrade writes that because his name appeared in print in the Firebrand he was fired out of his job. This was the act of cowardly upholders of "law and order," who, bless your dear hearts, have no use for those mean, dangerous Anarchists.

The directors of the Merchants' association of San Francisco have asked the members of the association to grant two hours' time on election day to their employees in order that the latter may vote. The gentlemen need the commoners once in a while and when they do their solicitude for the rights of the voting king is something touching.

From one to three suicides a day has been the record in San Francisco for several weeks past, and perhaps for a longer period. This must be evidence of prosperity and the acme of civilization. One genius was heard to remark, a few days ago, that suicides were evidences of advanced civilization, but when a woman comrade hinted that his attainments were sufficiently large to warrant his proving his statement by jumping into the bay he couldn't see it that way.

A banker named Wrightman has been "doing time" in a Kansas penitentiary for the past year. His wife

recently appealed to the governor for a pardon for her husband. In the appeal she stated that \$200 of the \$500 embezzled went to the support of the church. This seems to startle some people, though I can't see why. When the church ceases to live on plunder in some shape or form she will be ripe for burial. What a pity that all who give to the church are not equally as candid as this woman.

Some people are much perturbed because we do not get permission to enjoy our "God-given rights." Leave us alone in the enjoyment of our natural rights and we will not worry about the supernatural ones.

A San Francisco district messenger company had a strike on its hands a few days ago. The messenger boys got \$8 a month, and from this large wage they lost \$6 a month in fines. If the boy appeared in the office, for instance, with his coat unbuttoned he was fined. As after their fines were deducted they only had \$2 a month left they won their strike for the very obvious reason that no boy would take their places on a \$2-a-month basis.

It is stated by consular agents of the United States that the number of deaths in Cuba from Jan. 1 to Oct. 1 (nine months) was 600,000 out of a population of about 1,600,000. The benefits of governments and wars are thus clearly shown. What bullet and fever don't kill seem to yield to starvation.

The Army and Navy Journal, in a recent issue, gave the list of fatalities in the Northern army in the last American civil war, in which the number of men who were killed in battle or died of wounds is given at 110,070, while the total was 359,525. This was in the army alone. It does not show the number of deaths due directly to the war but outside of the ranks of the soldiers. The same authority gives the number of deaths since the war due to wounds received in battle at 275,175. So that war appears to be a rather costly pastime even for the victorious troops. And what did the Northern troops gain as a result of all this loss of life?

They made a few men vastly rich, themselves correspondingly poor.

They held the right to rule over an unwilling people and desolated many a home.

They conquered a people that a few men might levy tribute from that people; but will some one tell me what they really gained?

The Columbian branch of the San Francisco S. L. P. seems to be nearly hors du combat so far as a fair fight is concerned. On all its hand bills it has carried the invitation for everybody to come, and also has stated that questions would be answered. But they don't want F. S. group there, and take no pains to conceal the fact. They have found that they can't fairly answer our questions, nor fool the audience, so they have dropped both lines off the announcement. More than this, they have got up a code of action and propose to call in the bluecoats, if necessary, to enforce the new mandates of the local joss.

There is a somewhat stale story of a man who, sentenced to life imprisonment, insulted the judge and got "10 years more." But in the state of California is a man who has actually been given two sentences of life imprisonment. He is puzzled to know how the infallible judges are going to enforce the second sentence.

I want to ask our L. E. friends a question or two. Do you claim L. E. methods will correct the wrongs now existing which are caused either by legal tender or any other form of government money? Does not the L. E. system compute values paid on deposits in dollars and cents? If I deposit 10 bushels of potatoes today and get \$5 for them and potatoes becoming scarce tomorrow Jones has to pay \$2 a bushel, or \$20 for the lot, does not the depository reap an unfair profit even if we could call the profit system just? Using the same illustration, suppose the retail price dropped to 25 cents per bushel, could not I go with my checks for \$5 and get twice as many potatoes as I deposited—if the branch had them, of course. Is all this a just system? If we are to have a medium of exchange could not the L. E. devise a plan whereby when I deposit 10 bushels of potatoes I get an agreement to pay me 10 bushels of potatoes (or their equivalent

at the time of redemption) on demand? Would this not be fair to all (unless a slight charge should be made for storage); fairer than the L. E. system?

San Francisco business men have had the nerve to apply to the mayor for \$3,000 to advertise "Alaska outfits," from which they say they expect to reap \$15,000,000 during the season. This at ordinary rates means at least \$5,000,000 profits. There is little need for comment on such begging as that.

Tennessee is one of the religious states of the country. It has "perfected" its morals by passing a "johnny law," which is intended to "prevent flirting on the streets." A young fellow was recently arrested under this law for courting a girl without pa's consent. This is only another sample of what the State will do for us if we get State Socialism. None of it for us, please. We don't need legal consent in order to follow a natural impulse.

F. A. C.

## PERTINENT POINTS.

"What!" howled a "scientific" Socialist in a mass meeting after an Anarchist had criticized the speaker, "a system without laws, in which a man can run down the street and shoot down everyone he meets? Excuse me, I want none of it!" I simply smiled and pitied the poor soul. The instinct of self-preservation would tell every sane man what to do with a mad beast which is running down the streets and killing everybody in his reach, but the "scientific" Socialists would not know what to do in such cases without asking the policeman or some of his "industrial administrators." But let us be charitable with such degenerated men, as they are nothing less or more than a natural phenomenon of their environment. The priest or preacher has for centuries taken care of their soul, the doctor of their body, and the lawyer of their civil affairs, and, consequently, there is not the least spirit of independence left in such men. He is doomed to work for his master and obey the powers that be.

"We must tell our children the truth about where they come from and how they are created as soon as they can comprehend," said a speaker, in a meeting of this city. "No," said I, "we must tell the children the truth whenever and as soon as they ask questions. To say that we must only tell them the truth when they can comprehend is equal to the assertion of the powers that be—that certain books and philosophical deductions are all right to read for the educated, but are dangerous for the ignorant. Who will attempt to draw the line when I am fit or not fit to read those books or can comprehend the truth?"

Some radicals, and even Anarchists, boast of the fact, when they live together with the opposite sex, of not having asked the church or State for their permission. Well, I can admire such acts when committed by Christians or would-be freethinkers, but it is only a matter of course that an Anarchist should ignore the State. But there is practically no difference between the marriage of good Christian folks and those Anarchists who simply "live together" and still believe in and lead a monogamic life. (\*) "But we will separate as soon as we don't love each other," I hear some say. Of course, you will separate whenever you "get sick" of each other, provided there are no children in the way, but when there are children who depend upon your support you will most likely stay together and while believing in a monogamic life be sick all your life or deceive each other.

"Well, I can't help it; I can only love one at a time. I admit that people naturally will become indifferent toward each other by leading a monogamic life, but that can only be remedied by separation," says another. Let us see. There are certain qualities in women and men that we love them for. Now will anybody tell me that those qualities are also vanishing when we feel that our love is decreasing? Or will they tell me that we do not like to appreciate those qualities any more? Nothing of the kind, but it is the monogamic life you lead which makes you "sick of each other," and to me there is no difference between those who lead such a life because God told them to do so and those Anarchists who are not yet rid of the old monogamic superstition and prejudice.



And here let me tell you, readers, when I entered the house of a comrade in Portland, a few days ago, coming from San Francisco for our trial, I felt at home again. How much less misery and how much more harmony and happiness, I said to myself, would there be among the Anarchists if they were clear and free-minded in their sex relations. Soon the house was crowded with men and women, boys and girls, and you could not notice that any of them were married or single; everybody felt as free as a bird, happy and joyful, although they are all poor. There is no jealousy or envy to be found, and nothing said when some let their feelings loose, no matter who they are. May they long live and increase in number. A. I.

—And there are other Anarchists (?) who, having rid their minds of reverence for superstitious ceremonies, seem to think that liberty means the license to force any woman for whom they may take a passing fancy to submit to their desires, even though the woman might have no responsive desire. Such being the case the woman would by submitting place herself on the same plane as the dutiful wife who makes a sexual slave of herself for fear of the legal consequences of refusal. And the free woman who declines to prostitute herself must be dubbed "just like a christian." Well, not among Anarchists! Varietists by practicing promiscuity might perhaps become "just like christians"—less only the hypocrisy.

F. A. C.

### COMSTOCK'S AX FALLS.

We are just in receipt of a letter from E. F. Ruedebusch, which will appear next week, to the effect that his "Old and New Ideal" had been "held up" by the postal authorities.

All who have ordered the book of us will please notify us what they desire in regard to the money sent:

1. Shall we return the money?
2. Do you wish to await the result of Ruedebusch's trial?
3. Shall we furnish instead "A Cityless and Countryless World," which contains the most advanced thought on the same subjects and in language that we defy any idiot to call "lewd and obscene?"

### ANARCHIST COMMUNISM STATE SOCIALISM

On Thursday evening, Dec. 30, 1897, A. Klemencic will speak on Anarchist Communism, at Friendship hall, Pythian Castle, 909 Market street. As Comrade Klemencic has tired of trying to get the soapy State Socialists to make arrangements to meet him in joint debate he takes this means of forcing them to show their hands. Any Statist who wants to debate will be given an opportunity to do so, and he won't be asked to produce a DeLeon certificate of character—all that will be asked of him will be that he shall produce a logical argument, failing in this all the S. L. P. certificates of Socialism won't save him from annihilation.

Everybody welcome, and the Statists may carpet the hall with copies of their papers and no police will be called in.

Women won't be insulted by an officious chairman and sappy secretary, so they need not fear to come, as this will not be a State Socialist camp meeting.

As at one of the S. L. P. meetings policemen were called in to prevent the free distribution of FREE SOCIETY and when protests against such actions were made the Anarchists were told to hire a hall of their own and bar out State Socialist literature, we wish to emphatically state that we do not fear their literature, and we will prove it by making this offer. At the meeting of Dec. 30 we will allow the Statists to put a copy of New Charter or N. Y. People—or both of them—with FREE SOCIETY, selling the combination for 5 cents, sharing proceeds equally. How is that as an answer to your "bluecoat argument?"

Candidly, though, we don't expect many of the Statists at this meeting, as they do not belong to the class of people who read both sides. One little creed is all they can see.

Don't forget to come and bring your Statist neighbor to Pythian Castle, Dec. 30, 1897. The meeting will begin promptly at 8 o'clock.

### NOTE AND COMMENT.

"Destitution is a subject which for some months past has been under special investigation at Columbia University," says the Twentieth Century. Such learned men as R. M. Smith, professor of political and social

science and F. H. Giddings, professor of sociology, aided by F. W. Holls, on the staff of the University, have with great care investigated the cause of destitution and have found that "the chief cause of distress is lack of employment, and the treatment most needed is to find employment." Great Scott! Why did not these "scientific" men ask any of the workmen on the streets before wasting so much time, energy and money? They would have learned from them all they have investigated and much more.

Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, says in one of his speeches that Socialists believe in a "government of the people, for the people, and by the people," and then after a few sentences he adds: "Socialism believes not in government of man by man, but in self-government, men and women combining to manage their own affairs." Logic has never been a strong point with the "scientific" Socialists of today.

The new district attorney, Hall, of Portland, Ore., seems to be very anxious to convict Pope, Addis and myself. He has asked for assistance in our case and so Judge Moreland will assist him in sending us to the penitentiary, simply because, it is said, our counsel, McGinn, is the attorney's political enemy. That is called justice.

In the Detroit Herald appears a satirical article about the "postoffice as a guardian of our virtues," which ends with the following little diatribe:

The Firebrand that weekly paper published in Portland! That is something I don't understand! The Firebrand has never contained pictures either dirty or clean; it has never entertained the reader with piquant stories, never accepted advertisements intended to deceive, never opened its columns to fortune tellers or women of easy virtue to publish their addresses by paying three or four prices for its insertion. It would not have paid these enterprising ladies to offer their charms and art in the Firebrand; it is only read by poor, even if they are not ignorant devils. The paper was really nothing else but a single cry, although a wild and ferocious cry about the injustice of the present social order, about the misery and distress of the poor. Such a cry, even if it may not sound pleasant in the ears of the rich, is certainly nothing immoral.

Of course it is something immoral, about as immoral as it can be according to the code of morals of the possessing classes. It disturbs the rich in their quiet enjoyment; it rouses them from their pleasures as once did the Mene, Tekel, Upharsin, the king of Babylon. Moral is today everything which brings pleasure to the ruling powers, to the money bag and its allies. Immoral, everything which interferes with their good digestion. For that reason the Standard and Police Gazette with their tickling pictures, the Dispatch and Illinois Staats-Zeitung with their piquant advertisements are highly moral papers; for that reason the Firebrand with its strong rebellious language is an entirely immoral journal; for that reason it must be rooted out and its publishers put in jail.

That is the moral of the fat bellies.

It was amusing to read the little article of S. A. P. in No. 5 of FREE SOCIETY in which she wants us to desist from discussing the sex question in all its phases, and then proceeds to explain and advocate variety vs. monogamy. If Lucifer has the right in this free (?) country to discuss the sex question why should we desist? FREE SOCIETY will have the same tendency as the Firebrand had, i. e., discuss all important questions of social life.

A. I.

The first man accepted on the jury to try, in Dover, N. H., a man accused of the murder of a bank clerk, freely admitted when questioned, it is said, that he had formed conscientious scruples against capital punishment, but despite these, he felt confident of his ability to render a verdict according to the law and the evidence. The State did not challenge and the defense accepted him.—Exchange.

A similar case occurred in Chicago over 10 years ago. But in that case the defense was compelled to accept, not one, but a dozen such jurors as that. The result forms part of the imperishable history of "man's inhumanity to man."

There is a sheet in New York which panders to narrow-minded and envious railings against the rich by those who howl because they themselves are not

among the plutocrats. The paper referred to is official think-promulgator of the S. L. P., or as the Western Miner once put it "none genuine unless blown in the bottle." In referring to Emma Goldman's speech in Detroit it tries to cover up the insulting actions of the Socialist Maennerchor by shouting the old "stop thief" cry of "capitalist tool." And the peculiar part of the business is that the denunciation is indulged in because Comrade Goldman said:

"The politicians and the Socialists, too, all want office; they all sell out; it is the politician who sold out to the capitalists the advantages the people fought for during former revolutions; the proletariat has again been enslaved by the politician."

In answer to a question as to whether the politicians had sold out the bourgeoisie she said:

"No! But should the proletariat elect their own representatives to power, they would make laws and enforce them in the interest of the proletariat only; this would take away the liberty of the others."

And in the vacuous mind of the S. L. P. "professor" this is proof that she is in the pay of the plutes. Anyone who won't say that the thief who has succeeded should be quartered and drawn while the thief who tried but failed to acquire a pile should be made a czar, is of course a capitalist hireling. Sapient professor, tell us again that anyone who denounces politics and politicians (including S. L. P. frauds) is crooked.

Another thing that worried the "professor" was that Miss Goldman was no such fool as to think that Anarchism meant absolute warfare between man and man as the Statists would have the world believe. So he got mad when he discovered that she knew the value of associated effort as a productive force is larger than that of isolated effort.

"The United States and Mexico will hold up the torch of freedom before the nations of the world and prove that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed and not from the rights of hereditary powers."—W. J. Bryan, in Mexico.

They won't prove anything of the kind, and the political bumcombe thrower knows it. Bryan's only loophole of escape from being called a liar lies in the word "just." But, in common with other governmentalists, he means by "just" that which pleases himself and his worshippers. All else is unjust. But if what pleases him does not suit me, and I do not consent to regulations which his government might choose to force upon me, he would not concede that I have a right to hold inviolate contrary opinions, to refuse to consent to be governed. Oh, no! Bryan's catch phrase tickles the ears of fool patriots who fall to the ground before him shouting "Great is Bryan, praised be his name!"

And, incidentally, as Bryan is not apt to see this, will some of his followers tell us for him what difference it makes to the governed whether the powers that force him into subjection by armed authority are hereditary or chosen by some one else? If we are non-consenters what difference is it to us who drives law and disorder down our throats by force or threat of force?

"Labor leaders welcome the negro." Such is the statement coming from Nashville, where the A. F. of L. was in session. Then comes this:

"The negro question occupied the major portion of the afternoon session, and a heated discussion was brought on by a resolution introduced by Henry Lloyd, reaffirming the declaration that all labor, without regard to color, is welcomed to its ranks, and denouncing as untrue the reported statements of Booker T. Washington—that trade unions were placing obstacles in the way of the material advancement of the negro, and appealing to the records of the Federation conventions as complete answers to such assertions. "The resolution was adopted."

The A. F. of L. is like all other capper games—a fraud. I was at one time personally well acquainted with the president of the Barbers' National union, and, in discussing the color line, I asked him how his union could belong to the A. F. of L. when they had the color line drawn. "O, that's easy enough," was the answer; "we can't openly refuse to admit a nigger, but the A. F. of L. can't make us elect him, and no nigger will ever be elected into my local union at all events. They may put in applications till hell freezes over. But, as a matter of fact, the niggers don't care much about joining us, as they know they'll be rejected."

The Realty Syndicate, of Oakland, Calif., has sprung a new game. Each employee has to take out at his



own expense an insurance bond of \$250, this amount covering any damage that may occur to the cars of the company. The company is "very slow," though, or it would have thought to get the lives of its employees insured in its favor. But perhaps they will get a Christmas present of a notice to that effect. F. A. C.

### LAWS NECESSARY TO MONOPOLY.

In FREE SOCIETY, No. 140, Comrade Daniels says: "To demolish established governments and yet allow any method for cornering and hoarding natural resources, or cultivated, or manufactured products, to remain is to leave alive and alert the enemy we wish to destroy." What is there, or can there be, but established governments that allow "any method for cornering," etc. Monopoly could never succeed except for government and laws. It is sentences like these that enables the individualists to convict the Communists of force. After you "demolish established governments" how are you to prevent "any method for cornering," etc., unless you employ force, that is to say established governments? For, when we set out to force people to do as we think right and proper, we establish government. Our comrade says: "No one is entitled to his productions if they be more than he has use for;" he has "no right to monopoly of and dictatorship over the product." The fact is the moment government and law ceases to protect riches they will take to themselves wings and fly. When law no longer protects the "profit mongers" they will very soon cease to exist. When vacant land, mines and all natural agents no longer rest under theegis of law the unemployed will find employment. No one will produce more than he wants, only as he intends to exchange it for those things he himself cannot produce. When the unemployed get to work production will be so increased that prices will be knocked out. And the producer would never hoard. "Hoarding is principally done with paper or metal money, titles, notes, etc," very true, but when established governments are demolished, what becomes of their "money, titles, notes, etc.?" Does not our comrade see it is impossible to hoard without government? The incentive would die with the laws of protection. The title to any possession would lie its use. Under economic freedom no one would care to possess what he had no use for. Let us demolish government; that evil destroyed I think we may safely trust all to liberty.

Porterville, N. Y.

A. L. BAILLOU.

### WANTS TO SWAP GOVERNMENTS.

FREE SOCIETY of December 12 came to me. I have read it with considerable interest. It is a somewhat new thought to me. These are peculiar times; it sets the thinkers to thinking what we shall do to put things in better shape. Lots of them are figuring to be at the head of the different political parties to get a good thing for themselves. Selfishness wants to be on top to hold the rest down, and as but few can get there a great strife ensues. FREE SOCIETY has my idea of Socialism under the head of Anarchism. It makes no difference to me about the name so we get justice to all.

I view the present state of things as the inevitable result of the age we live in. Being at the end of the first christian age and the commencement of the new, old things must pass away to make it possible for something better. As man is a free agent and full of selfishness it will take a great revolution to make the necessary change in sentiment before men will act justly, but it is only a question of time when we will get there. Things will get worse and worse to bring on the crisis. I look for a general national conflict to overthrow the present unjust governments, that just ones may be established for the world's benefit. The great architect is at the helm, and the ship will yet be moored in the harbor of safety, and the millennial kingdom will be established on earth to remain.

I feel strong sympathy for the inevitable suffering which will exist during the great conflict, but it must and will come. Co-operation with concentrated wealth has broken the back of competition, crushing the laboring man, teaching him lessons that nothing else would, all of divine permit.

The churches are as deep in the mud as the money combines; they seem to be all in a clique together. Money supports the clergy and the clergy is the tail of the capitalists, and if they were to lose their tail it would make a great change in things generally.

Capital knows that, so it gives freely to the clergy, their tail.

Capital could not get along at all without a tail, the clergy.

The clergy could very soon crush capital; they have a controlling influence in the world, and they know it, too.

And, as unrighteousness is doomed, the church and present governments will go down together and disappear like a morning dew. Then a new dispensation will be reared in righteousness and true holiness (wholeness). Then the few who are left will be willing to exhibit the Christ spirit, do as they would wish to be done by.

I would like to see the above in FREE SOCIETY. Money is hard to get. I am 74, but hope to live to see the end of the old, and the beginning of the new order. It may come very soon.

T. O. WIGHTMAN.

Garden Grove, Calif.

### NO CRITICISM ALLOWED.

The following item in the Altruist is by an ex-Ruskinite who, in connection with several other dissenters from Ruskin officialism, has begun elsewhere.

W. P. Tubbs, Dixie, Tenn.—"We are at present engaged in a co-operative lumber company, operating a good saw-mill. There are four of us on the ground at present, and three more will join us as soon as their finances will permit. We want five or six more so as to have all the labor done by members. The shares are \$100 and \$50 more are needed to begin with. Each receives the same pay for the same hours' labor. We eat in a co-operative kitchen, as it is cheaper, but we don't intend to make the method of living or anything else compulsory."

A little practical experience went a great deal farther with these people than a lot of theories.

Below we give a letter which was handed to the Coming Nation by a member of the association with the request that it be published so that C. N. readers could get both sides of the case, but this was not done. On the contrary it was laid before the executive board of the Ruskin Co-operative association, a majority of which voted a request to Comrade Kirsch to hand in his application for withdrawal from the association. They did not demand the withdrawal as that was not in their power.

Ruskin is, on a small scale, a fair representation of what we may expect from national State Socialism, which would have the power to enforce decrees of exile for anyone who ventured to criticize officialdom.

Here is the prohibited letter as it was written by a member of the Ruskin association (and incidentally we have an abundant supply of similar facts which we can draw upon at any time—AND PROVE THEM—if our Ruskin comrades do not get more honest treatment than the association has accorded them in the past):

#### "A FEW FACTS ABOUT RUSKIN."

"In an article in the Coming Nation dated May 29, 1897, headed 'Ruskin and Her Needs,' I find something which I cannot help but contradict. It is that part which speaks of the members withdrawing from the association as being selfish mortals. For, while I am willing to admit there are exceptions, I will also say that more of them are as good members as will ever build up a co-operative colony, therefore they should not be put on the same basis, but the true reason for their withdrawal should be brought out.

"As a member of the association since the 6th day of January 1897, I will try and give my opinion of the reason:

"When I left the outside world and started for Ruskin I felt happy to know I was coming to a place where we would all stand shoulder to shoulder and prove to the world that Socialism means the equality of man, and to know that everyone had a voice, and the decision of the majority would be abided by.

"But when I arrived I found things quite different from the lovely picture I had framed; I found the little force divided into two factions. Some came to me and said I should keep my eyes open and use my own judgment. Others came in a roundabout way to tell me that this or that member was not much good no matter where they put him. I could see nothing but dissatisfaction. But the cause of this I had to draw out by asking questions, and received little satisfaction, only that the first members were known as the charters and wanted to rule. I asked if the majority did not rule and was told that they held the majority by their wives having a vote which was given them by their husbands when the colony was founded. But I did not think much about that.

"Then I first attended the stockholders' meeting,

which was a shameful affair. Under the head of new business came the changing of the application blank, without any good reason for the change. In my opinion the one then in use was short, simple and implied everything that was necessary and I was in favor of its remaining as it was; and it was sustained by a majority.

"The members of the charter fact on had proposed the change and voted in a body, regardless of opinion. But this, owing to new arrivals, was the first time they had not carried the majority. Then I was told that my mind had been poisoned and that Ruskin was ruined. Then it was noised around that no members would come in on the old blank, and as it takes a two-thirds vote to elect, there were 12 favorable applicants rejected at the next meeting, the charter faction voting in a body as before. Then it was evident that the majority must bow to the wishes of the minority in order to go on with business. But this was not done without some withdrawing of members and great dissatisfaction in general, and caused some very unpleasant conversations, in one of which I am told a charter member remarked that they would rule or ruin. At this time all the offices were held by that faction, then there was a special meeting called and all officers resigned and new ones were elected, no distinction being made as to factions and things looked smooth for a short time, but to keep the ball a rolling 21 shareholders of the charter faction handed in a withdrawal; some of these were women who had been given a share of stock by their husbands, who never put in \$500 for their own share; others had worked out a share in a year, and they were each to get \$500 which is more than they could have saved in ten years on the outside.

"This looked like a bit of speculation to me and I was not in favor of it for we already have a debt hanging over us of \$11,000 and that would make it \$21,500. When they saw it was useless to try and get the consent of the people to a thing as base as that it was dropped. Then the next thing the association must be conducted under the system of direct legislation and do away with the stockholders' meetings and there was a committee appointed to change the by-laws to match, and at the last meeting they were adopted after a few variations were made; this meeting was held one Saturday afternoon, and as it grew late, was adjourned till after supper, and as there was no business outside of balloting on a few applications a great many did not go, but the charters had their forces well counseled and they were all on hand and with one man over a quorum they overthrew all the officers, and now every office is filled by that faction, this change being made without any reason being filed, which, in my opinion, was not the way to bring harmony about.

"Now, during this period there were eight withdrawals and I am satisfied that they are not all selfish mortals, but that they have come to the conclusion that there is something else besides Socialism here, and they did not count on fighting the cause among their own ranks. As for myself I am here for the cause, but when I am driven to believe as they have been, that Ruskin is not for the cause, then I will leave, but not because I am a selfish mortal. So far, while there are many things here that are not Socialism in my opinion, and must admit that there is a faction that is bound to be in power, I must say that I can see no other object but to illustrate Socialism to the outside world, for no one can injure the association without hurting himself, but with all this dissatisfaction you cannot blame a member for leaving.

"Our friend Lipscomb, like a great many others, has probably never heard any of the facts. But my mind is settled on one thing, that is that everything has two sides.

R. G. KIRSCH, Ruskinite."

While Comrade Kirsch was not exactly an Anarchist when he wrote that, as will be seen by his reference to majority rule, he acquired experience enough to cut loose from Ruskin, the land of promise, and tackle log-cutting for a change.

F. A. C.

The government has arrested a large number of editors since McKinley took his chair, and in every instance they have been the writers of papers opposed to the existing condition. Getting ready, you see, to head off "treason!" That word, if I mistake it not, will be more used in the next four years than "sound money" has been in the past. Why? Because an effort will be made to establish the American empire before McKinley's term closes, and as the plotters have possession of the government it will be "treason" to oppose it. See?—Coming Nation.



## NEWS FROM EVERYWHERE.

## FRANCE.

In consequence of the report of the parliament committee, which has been inquiring into the financial condition of the Panama canal dealings, several members of the former congress were arrested, among whom were some noted Socialists of the step-by-step kind of reformers. Antide Boyer and Gaillard were members of the Social Democratic party. Henry Maret, Flan-téau and Laisant were elected on the radical (populist) platform.

The voters look for angels at election time, but they can discover only humbugs in the guise of parliamentary Socialism, as there can be no such thing as an honest government.

Comrades Henry Dhoor and Sebastian Faure started again to lecture throughout the country, and are inviting joint debate wherever they lecture.

The cablegram also reports a theatrical performance at which the audience enthusiastically cheered the heroes of the "Commune."

## GERMANY.

The home of Social Democracy seems to be very much flattered by the ruling heads of that despotic institution. Mr. Frohme, Social Democratic congressman, was awkward enough to interpellate the government about the measures taken in regard to Hayti and China, and also made some criticisms of the military bill, to which the privy councillor said:

"Our discipline is unconditional devotion to the king, unconditional obedience to our superiors and good comradeship. So long as discipline is maintained we do not fear the realization of socialistic schemes."

So the government can quietly send the warships to the far East, to rob the Chinamen without any popular protest, and still the Statists will say that the leaders of their party are striving to establish an ideal government without a regular army.

Therefore do away with Anarchists, the disturbers of the social democratic law and order league!

## AUSTRIA.

The agitation continues in this country.

There were great floods last fall, damaging the crops, therefore hunger and starvation are at the door of a million families. In spite of the severity of the government there were hundreds of thousands of revolutionary leaflets distributed last week throughout the empire.

## ITALY.

Our comrades in the sunny country commenced, in several places, to publish periodicals and pamphlets adapted for propaganda in their communities.

"Il Bibebe" is the name of a new weekly published in Reggio di Calabria.

"L'Aurora" is a fortnightly literary paper published in Turin.

"Basi della Società," by Jean Grave, is translated and printed by Comrade D. Zavattero, Corso San Maurizio 19, Torino.

Also from Bologna and Catania comes the news of local agitation to start Anarchist Communist periodicals. A. K.

## ENGLAND.

Our London comrades have decided to meet at the Communist club, 57 Charlotte street, Fitzroy square, on Sunday, December 26, to plan organization for propaganda work. Following is the agenda of the meeting:

1, organization of the correspondence between groups; 2, organization of lecturing and propaganda tours; 3, preparing the organization of free schools; 4, publishing a weekly Anarchist paper; 5, the necessity of a leaflet fund. Comrade Rochelle Zolzman, 16 Parfett street, Commercial road, London E., is secretary of the meeting.

A series of lectures recently given in London were: November 29, J. Perry, on "Anarchism and the Labor Movement;" December 6, Dr. A. Gumplowitz; December 13, Henry Campbell, "Variety in Sex Relationship."

## PITTSBURG.

According to La Tribune Libre, Charleroi, Pa., our French comrades of Pennsylvania will hold a convention in Pittsburg, on January 1, 1898, for the purpose of discussing steps for the furtherance of Anarchist propaganda in Pennsylvania.

## PROVIDENCE.

Comrades of Providence will hold a meeting December 31st, at which Comrade Emma Goldman will speak in German and English, and Rev. George Vaughn will speak in English. There will also be a concert and declamations. Thus does brave little Emma keep her promise to visit Providence again in spite of the attempt of the police to prevent her from speaking there. Providence comrades, get her a good audience.

## SUNDAY LAWS, ETC.

## FROM THE "CIVIL SABBATH" PAMPHLET.

Thus Robert Baird in his work, "Religion in America," page 94, says:

"The rulers of Massachusetts put the Quakers to death, and banished the 'Antinomians' and 'Anabaptists' not because of their religious tenets, but because of their violations of the civil laws. This is the justification which they pleaded, and it was the best they could make. Miserable excuse! But just so it is; wherever there is such a union of Church and State, heresy and heretical practices are apt to become violations of the civil code, and are punished no longer as errors in religion, but infractions of the laws of the land. So the defenders of the Inquisition have always spoken and written in justification of that awful and most iniquitous tribunal."

The same argument is being used today to secure the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws. When addressing a class of religionists who favor the enforcement of religious practices by law, the promoters of Sunday laws argue that God wills it; but when arguing their cases before those who are opposed to religious legislation, or who are not religiously inclined, they resort to the old trick, and urge the enactment and enforcement of them for "civil" reasons, such as "sanitary measures," "physical necessities," and "for the public good." In corroboration of this, note the following statement made by a leading Sunday-law agitator:

"We are laboring with all our might to carry the religious Sabbath with our right arm and the civil Sabbath with our left. Hundreds of thousands will receive it as a religious institution, all the rest will receive it as a civil institution, and thus we will sweep in the whole nation."

## EMERSON AND A CRITIC.

Some one has said, "you know who the critics are; those who have failed in literature themselves." If the article that appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Sunday, March 14, on plagiarists, is a fair sample of the writer's English, he should be a powerful critic, as the article in question is not only crude in thought but slovenly written.

In said article Emerson is attacked as a literary thief, not only Emerson but Homer, Dante and Milton are held up to scorn. And the writer is jejune enough to expect his readers to accept his judgment; for he asserts only, and does not attempt to prove. To prove means to search, to have large acquaintance, to be able to discriminate nicely, but to all this the writer is averse.

It is well to criticize, but the critic should give reasons for so doing. We should be glad to see a single plain case of plagiarism made out against any of the authors named.

The atoms of oxygen that you breathe have been in many bodies before, therefore you are a plagiarist; the cloth in your coat was another's, therefore you are a plagiarist; every word used by our critic is found in the dictionary, every thought may be found elsewhere, therefore he is a plagiarist. If Emerson et al are plagiarists, it is to be hoped that all modern writers and scribblers may become plagiarists as speedily as possible.—Le Claire News.

## "COMMONER" COMMENTS.

The following squibs are from the Portland Commoner. They show a few points of beauty in government:

United States District Attorney Hall has shown his love of justice by declaring that he would move heaven and earth to convict Addis, Pope and Isaak, because Henry McGinn is their attorney.

Henry Addis was promised that if he would employ Hume that the case against him, Pope and Isaak would be dropped. Hume and Hall were partners before Hall was appointed District Attorney. See the point?

It seems that Hume has as moral a fit as the Oregonian. He is too moral to speak to or associate with Henry McGinn, he says, but I can't help wondering where his morality was when he urged a mob to tear down the house on the corner of Second and Glisan streets, in order to dislodge some objectionable primary election judges.

A certain lawyer of this city, in recommending Hume as the proper attorney to employ in a case before the United States court, said to the one he was advising: "The main thing these days is to get an attorney who has influence with the jury; who knows how to pick a jury." How is that for the "administration of justice?"

There is no government, however restricted in its power, that may not, by abuse, under pretext of exercise of its constitutional authority, drive its unhappy subjects to desperation.—John Randolph.

The greatest of all injustice is that which goes under the name of law; and, of all sorts of tyranny, the forcing of the letter of the law against equity is the most insupportable.—L'Estrange.

## Various Voices.

FREE SOCIETY is the name of a new weekly just started in San Francisco, Cal. It is "an advocate of communal life and individual sovereignty." Certainly a very commendable platform. FREE SOCIETY is bright and original, and it would do some of our State socialistic friends a world of good to study its arguments.—Milwaukee Advance.

Some one has been sending copies of your paper to me. At first I was prejudiced a little against the Anarchists, but after reading your paper I have changed my mind. I rather like them. But you are so far away, and sending money seems so risky in this "Christian country!" etc. I will only inclose 22 cents in stamps, to pay for five months' subscription. Cause: Rather poor in this world's goods—who ever heard of a rich Anarchist? After that I may know better what to do.

My creed: 1. I believe in ever striving to treat every one just as I would those I love best.

2. In doing all the unselfish good I rightly can.

3. To strive to allow to every one all the liberty they may desire or claim.

Maybe I am on the road to Anarchy!

Stanfordville, N. Y.

GEORGE L. ALLEN.

I have been a subscriber to the Firebrand for a year or more and also to Lucifer, and wish to keep on taking them. Comrades, they have opened my eyes so wide to the truth that I cannot close them, for I want to open the eyes of others as mine have been. Therefore, comrades, I address you thus—please don't stop the paper (FREE SOCIETY) and I will send you some money after the holidays. I have been out of work seven months and just found employment on Nov. 27. I will send you some money, as I said, together with a couple of new subscribers.

I am very sorry for our comrades of the Firebrand who are under arrest. I wish I had money to be p them. The government should be beaten; it is crushing the people.

I heard Comrade Kropotkin when he lectured in Philadelphia. He is good, as are also John Turner, Miss De Cleyre and Mrs. Fowell. The latter speaks quite often in the different leagues; she spoke Dec. 4 on "Objections to the Constitution of the United States;" it was a knockout for the governmentalists.

Comrades, I have made a hard study of the labor question in the last two years, and I have realized in Anarchy the only absolute free state of society, absolute individual liberty in all things embracing Anarchy. I have been a student of thought and a reader for 15 years, but I thought voting would settle the question. I see now ballots won't do it; force will. You know what I mean; it don't do to be too plain; I prefer peace, if possible.

Philadelphia, Pa.

M. C.



