When Peace Shall Come.

Oh, would that I might fall asleep, and wake again to life far down the stretch of time, to realize the fullness of the dream
Of Liberty and Human Brotherhood—
Their swords and ribs rusted useless things
Whose only end and object is to teach
The love of peace the world's past history;
The story of the time when Might was right
And empire boasted of their martial strength—
Their ships of steel, their guns death-dealing guns.
The time when weaker nations fought in vain!
While strong hands robbed them of their liberty.
—Robert T. Hillides

Shall We Be Free?

I wonder if it ever occurs to any of you how like a sort of pantomime a great part of our life today is. That is to say, we go through certain motions as if by force of habit or custom, but while not at all aware that these motions have any real meaning or value. How many people do you suppose are in civilized lands who are finding a deep enthusiasm or a joyous inspiration in what they are doing day after day? How many people are there who actually live in their daily tasks, whose real life and character and hope and intelligence and moral sense enter or can enter into what they are doing? How many of us are putting ourselves or can put ourselves into the things to which we devote so much of our time and strength? Does it not seem sometimes as if we were really, in the whole round aspect of our life, doing something more than wooden figures moved hither and thither by unseen hands?

Today there have been I know not how many thousands of meetings like this one over all this continent. And yet, as you think about these numerous assemblages of supposedly intelligent beings, of men and women like ourselves, who are really faced with all the undiscovered potencies of human life, of thought, deed, aspiration, character,—are you not sure that at none of these thousands of meetings have men and women really faced one single vital problem or caught sight of one inspiring task or been aroused to one soul-stirring purpose that has the smallest chance of fulfillment in human action?

It is a dilettante world that we live in. We are living today, it seems to me, as people who walk and talk in their sleep. The world is full of speculations and vagaries, of dreams and fancies of actors and jesters and graffers. There is a vast deal of talking and writing. We are surfeited with books and papers, with lectures and sermons. And, of course, there is a tremendous amount of activity, physical and mental—I dare not say intellectual and moral. Factories and fountains and mines and shops of every kind are turning out an unprecedented quantity of things. And yet, if you stop to think about it, you will see that the great mass of mankind were never more sterile of conscious and inspiring deeds—were never less sensible of any goal or purpose in existence. We are not doing things. We are not grasping with serious tasks. We do not mean very much. Human life has rarely, if ever, been more lacking of an enabling incentive or less conscious of an inspiring destiny.

What are the questions that we are dealing with in such meetings as these? Really we are not dealing with any vital questions at all. These have innumerable meetings are not held for the purpose of dealing with anything. It is the farthest thing from our minds that these meetings shall issue in any definite or decisive action. We do not come together to prepare to do something, to lay plans for a campaign, to lay violent hands upon the reins of destiny, to turn the ship's prow toward some alluring harbor, to add to our moral stature, to enliven ourselves as men in some struggle that means something for human needs, No, we come together to see each other, to hear music, to listen to some new voice, to gain some momentary diversion, just as we go to a theater, a base ball game, or a prize fight. We do not dream of associating anything in these meetings with our own lives, or with our destinies. They have no historical quality. We see no connection between them, and thus far there is none. What we do in such meetings as these—indeed, what we are doing anywhere today in public assemblies—has about as much bearing on human well-being or on that higher unfolding for which our nature waits, as the forgotten dreams of the pasting night. We either have no consciousness that anything needs to be done, or, if we have, we are utterly unaware that anything can be done. We accept things as they are, as if they were final.

Today is exactly like yesterday, and tomorrow will not be different from today. Time, as we think of it, is something to be measured by clocks. We have it all reduced to such a perfect system, that we feel ourselves released from any necessity of thinking about it: so many hours in a day, so many days in a week, so many weeks in a year, so many years in a century. At least, when most people feel the need of in order to measure life is a clock and a calendar. "What time of day is it? What day of the week, what month, what year?" These are the all-absorbing questions of our life. These pretty nearly sum it up. Today I shall do this. Tomorrow I shall do that. Next week I shall attend the meeting of this society, next month that other. And nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand societies in this world today might very appropriately be called "Societies for the Prevention of Thought and the Discouragement of Life."

We measure life by the clock and the calendar—and our measure is utterly and pitifully false and uselessly wrong. We say this man, dying at 90, had a long life. That man, dying at 40, had a short life. John Jones, the vegetable, died at 99. Jesus of Nazareth, the prophet, died at 33. John Jones had a long life, and we envy him. Jesus had a brief life, and we pity him and avoid his fate.

This man, who has succeeded in accumulating a large amount of property—no matter how—rich and successful, and greatly to be envied. That man, who has accumulated no property at all, no matter why, is poor and a failure, and to be thought of with pity or contempt. Thomas Paine, Louis Agassiz, Abraham Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, and all the rest of those whom the world is bound to remember with love and reverence had no time to make money and meditate—could not have done so if they had tried, were of a type and quality with which money-making cannot be associated. The greatest and most successful financier of the nineteenth century was J. P. Morgan.

It is your misfortune and mine today to live in an age of words, an age of inaction and fear. If there is for you or me anyone among us any opportunity to achieve mobility of character, any chance to escape from the degenerating influence of our time, any hope of living a true or worthy life, it lies, let me remind you, in the direction of making this an age of deed, an age of freedom and courage and joy. We deceive ourselves if we imagine that we can win anything fine or good in the shape of character or that we can even keep from inevitable decay and lose what little we may already possess of mankindhood or womanhood, while we tamely adjust ourselves to the soul-starving, life-warping, character-destroying sort of existence that this dead system, that the dead system, above.
DAMNING INDICTMENT OR SO BE CARRIED OUT AGAINST ANY CHURCH OF THAT TIME OR ANY TIME. IT WAS A LIVING LIE. BUT THAT IS TERRIBLY TRUE OF THE ADORATION OF FREEDOM. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT IDEAS IS THAT IT IS THE IDEAL THAT IS ALIGHTED, AND USUALLY IT IS BELIEVED. WE ADVERTISE THE FACT THAT SOMEONE DIED ON A CERTAIN DAY, EVEN SPECIFYING THE HOUR WHEN IT OCCURRED. THE TRUTH IS, OFTEN TIMES, THAT HE HAD BEEN MOURNING FOR THE SHADOW OF THE ELIDERS. AS THE EXECUTION OF CORPSES, OF PEOPLE WHO DO NOT KNOW WHAT IT MEANS TO LIVE, AND NEVER WILL KNOW. OUR WHOLE LIFE IS A PARODY OF SHADOWS AND DISEARMS.

The question, then, which I propose to you tonight is not just the theme of a sermon. It is not my question. It is nothing that my brain has originated. It is your question. It is the most immediate and real and vital question that can force itself on our attention, and I do not see how we are going to evict it. Indeed, if we know what is the best interest of our life, we should refuse to evict it. It is the question that life itself asks of us all: Shall we be free? Shall we know by experience—we can know it in no other way—the meaning of freedom? Shall we possess as we exercise this so-called inalienable human right and necessity?

A strange question it may seem to men and women living in what we have been taught to regard as "the land of the free", and the "home of the brave." But you are quite old enough to know that there is no such land as that. Freedom has nothing to do with geography and courage does not more readily grow in one soil or climate than it does in another. The land of the free remains to be discovered or created, and the home of the brave is wherever brave men and women are to be found, no matter what the latitude or longitude. There is no merit in the "land of the free". It takes something more than geographical position to impart courage to human souls or to give them the priceless treasure of freedom.

There was something more deeply pathetic than most men are aware in the event from which we date the birth of this nation. We have grown accustomed to think of it as one of the grandest and most glorious events in human history. White men have been called heroes and freedom. Historians tell us that when the news was sent from Philadelphia out into the scattered colonies that the Declaration of Independence had been adopted and signed, it was everywhere hailed with tokens of deepest emotion. Strong men wept tears of joy and gratitude. People gathered in their places of worship and offered fervent prayers of thanksgiving. Drums were rung, cannon fired, and all the jubilations of a great and momentous event were to be seen. And on the famous "Liberty Bell" that first announced the signing of the Declaration was inscribed the words: "FREEDOM LIBERTY ELABORATE THE LAND UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

But you and I know nothing so surely as that no such significance belonged to that event as we have thus attributed to it. The inscription on that bell is an utter falsehood. It is no sense entitled to be called "Liberty Bell." Within the last few years we have discovered that our national deity was made of very common clay. Our old idol seemed at first a terrible sacrifice that any one should speak lightly of the Declaration or that it should be lightly esteemed in determining national policies. And while the motives of those who have thus spoken of it may have been far from noble, what they have said is true. That idol is shattered and it is well that it is so. Idols are not a good thing. They can never be made a substitute for the thing they are meant to symbolize, without a fearful moral loss. We can find a substitute for the real thing only as we break the idolatrous substitute. "Truth is never discovered in committee." The assemblage of men who met in Philadelphia in 1776 to call forth and sign the Declaration of Independence did not discover any truth nor did they promulgate any doctrine of freedom. They attached no serious meaning to the big, sounding words of the document to which they appended their names. All they did was to decide upon a separation from Great Britain. They committed an act of rebellion—of revolution, if you like. They did not inaugurate freedom, but had not the remotest intention of doing anything of the kind. They had not the faintest conception of what liberty is. To have conceived its meaning would have meant the inauguration of an era of philanthropy compared with which no other is worth considering.

There has been no so far any serious attempt to establish men and women in possession of the right of liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. There were only empty words to the men of 1776, and it is not to be wondered at that men of intelligence are now rethinking the idea that that Declaration was or was not in keeping with the fundamental law of the land. There was nothing that the men of that day believed in less or more profoundly feared than freedom, and the same is true today.

The people of America do not know the meaning of freedom either as a people or as individuals. Freedom of any kind—freedom of thinking, of speaking, of living—the right to live a human life—is unknown among us. It has no tie to religion or our institutions. It is the very antipode of all that our civilization stands for. We have yet to take the first steps toward securing for the mass of the people any one of those inalienable rights which are guaranteed in the Declaration.

I am not speaking hastily or at random, but in all seriousness and with deliberation. To a very great extent and for most people, freedom of thought or speech or deed is rather an effect than the act of the will. It is the natural product of certain conditions. And the absence of such freedom is likewise not at all due to human volition or lack of it, but to certain conditions. Can you think of the intellectual and moral conditions which prevail in this country today, and at the same time think of such a thing as moral or intellectual freedom existing among us? I think you will see that the very use of the adjective "free" in connection with any sacred expression of human life immediately gives it a taint in the public mind. To call a man a "free thinker" is to place him under the ban. It is to call down upon him the suspicion and hostility of the mass of his fellow men. No man can maintain the highest standing in the respect of the community as a free thinker of high and noble thoughts, to actually and openly and frankly exercise this prerogative of self-regarding manhood and womanhood is to invite upon one's self the enmity of the greater part of the community, to be branded with some evil name, and to distinctly lose an equal chance for livelihood and respectability.

Suppose, again, that you attach that word "free"—a word which in some ways we hold as most sacred, for it is associated with every divine virtue and every noble thought and feeling, with every noble act, with every noble act that ever hallowed a human life—attach that sacred word "free" to another sacred word, "love," and in their combination you express a sentiment which immediately calls down on your head the well-nigh unanimous anathemas of organized society. For a man to express the belief that love must be free and only in freedom can exist—of which ought to be self-evident, for who can even think of the possibility of a "corded" love, a love which is the product of force? To express such a belief is to be guilty of a social heresy for which that man would be, in the eyes of the vast and unthinking multitude. To exercise such freedom—to obey the sacred behest of one's own soul in the sacred relation of love—is to put one's self beyond the respect or sympathy of this community.

Or suppose, again, that you associate this thought of freedom with the thought of labor, of employment, of putting forth one's best effort in the creation of things of use or beauty. There is absolutely no way of escaping the idea that that condition which exists in this country is to be the same for all laborers. Probably two-thirds of them have practically nothing but their labor power. Many of them have the same right to that kind of freedom either as a people or as individuals. Freedom of any kind—freedom of thinking, of speaking, of living—the right to live a human life—is unknown among us. It has no tie to religion or our institutions. It is the very antipode of all that our civilization stands for. We have yet to take the first steps toward securing for the mass of the people any one of those inalienable rights which are guaranteed in the Declaration.

I am not speaking hastily or at random, but in all seriousness and with deliberation. To a very great extent and for most people, freedom of thought or speech or deed is rather an effect than the act of the will. It is the natural product of certain conditions. And the absence of such freedom is likewise not at all due to human volition or lack of it, but to certain conditions. Can you think of the intellectual and moral conditions which prevail in this country today, and at the same time think of such a thing as moral or intellectual freedom existing among us? I think you will see that the very use of the adjective "free" in connection with any sacred expression of human life immediately gives it a taint in the public mind. To call a man a "free thinker" is to place him under the ban. It is to call down upon him the suspicion and hostility of the mass of his fellow men. No man can maintain the highest standing in the respect of the community as a free thinker of high and noble thoughts, to actually and openly and frankly exercise this prerogative of self-regarding manhood and
this world affords or ever will afford is a laborious man who works who can do something. There can be no substitute for that. Money or property has no personality, no soul, no sacredness. The self-respecting man is the man who can do something represents capacity to put his own life and personality into some creation of hand or brain. Such man is the noblest thing this world knows. Labor is the life of civilization. What the building of the industry labor represents, that civilization represents. It is the only soul a civilization has or can have. All its morality is there. All its value is there. Upon that as upon a foundation it rests.

But what is the condition of these millions of workers? To the very last man of them today they are beggars. They are forced to go to the owners of factories and foundries and mines and railroads, of land and machinery, and say: "Please, sir, will you kindly give me leave to eat? Will you please grant me permission to live on this earth?"

I am here to try to state and find what you know, that these millions of laborers—men, women, and children—do not know the meaning of freedom or any element of the vacuum, which you know, that just so long as they are in that condition where it is absolutely necessary for them to ask other men for permission to eat and to exist, they cannot know the meaning of intellectual or moral freedom. I am, as you ought to know, that this condition of economic dependence inevitably carries with it a condition of ignorance and superstition, and moral and intellectual impotence. Men and women and children whose economic condition makes them beggars for the mere privilege of eating and living simply cannot develop any such thing as ability to think or freedom to act. They cannot draw a breath of freedom. They are slaves and they are doomed to the life of slaves.

Just think how much dependence is to be placed, in an argument, on a rack and a hurdle. What I think that is the country in a country like this either from the vast army of people who not only do nothing on their own initiative, but by the very condition of their existence must feel their dependence on the will of others, or from that other and smaller class of men whose industrial system forces to be the arbiters of these millions—these to be their masters. Do you not know that such a thing as democracy is an utter impossibility except as the product of a free citizenship? No country that tolerated slavery ever succeeded in maintaining democracy. No country which does not establish its citizens in conditions of liberty, equality, and fraternity has the smallest prospect of realizing democratic ideals. There is no sure way of understanding and destroying democratic government than that which we of the United States have freely adopted—that of making or permitting one class of people to be the literal dependents of another. That is the exact meaning of our political and industrial life today. We can see clearly how faith in democratic institutions and ideals is subsidizing. Our "whole drift is that of making the bulk of the population one of these undemocratic, but less, and you hear a few belated statesmen lamenting our fate and wondering what we are coming to. And these men have not the smallest concern about the fact that at the very base of our national and social life lies the principle of industrial absolutism.

A prince comes over from Germany to be present at the launching of a yacht. There is no crying need for an exchange of courtesies between the United States and Germany. The building of the industry is a purely business affair. Besides, Germany has a representative here all the while, and when we wish to show our respect for that people the opportunity is right at hand. But a prince comes over here—a man who has never done an honest day's work in his life, who has been purely and only a parasite, consuming much and producing nothing whatever, adding no more to the real wealth or welfare of Germany or the German people than a cancer does to the human body—a man who typifies something that menaces liberty and hinders human beings, more figurehead comes to our country, and what do we see? Why, his passage thru our cities and towns is like a triumphal march. People throng the stations to get a sight of him. And who are those women who thus exert themselves to see a parasite? They are the men, on the one side, whose industrial position in the community exactly corresponds with the political and social position of the prince—our industrial princes and kings—and, on the other, the great mass of those whose industrial condition corresponds to the political and social condition of those who in Europe believe in and maintain the principle of political absolutism—our brainless industrial serfs. We reap what we have sown, and we have not gathered all the harvest yet. We have been sowing the seeds of industrial monstrosity for more than a hundred years. What wonder that we should reap on the one side a spirit of tyranny and distrust of democratic ideals and on the other side, such lack of personal initiative and a sense of economic freedom as breeds the acrophage, the toady, the professional dependent?

Mr. Crosby, in his recent satirical novel, "Captain John," has that only satirized and exposed the meaning of militarism. When asked by the German emperor, "What do you think of expansion?" the hero replies: "I beg your majesty's pardon, but I do not think. I obey orders." And when at last, wearied and broken in spirit, the hero breaks down and is taken to a lunatic asylum, his old friend, Cherry, on a visit, finds him playing with a box of lead toy soldiers. "They say I am a lunatic," he said, "but I'm not. When they say I am a lunatic they mean I'm a perfect soldier—a complete soldier. And they call these fine fellows lead soldiers. I love lead soldiers, indeed. Well, suppose we are? I tell you an army of lead soldiers with a lunatic at the head would be the best army in the world! We do what we're told and we're not afraid of anything." There is something thrilling in that satire that the majority of its readers will get out of it. Few will fail to see how utterly true it is to the facts when applied to the military soldier—to the man who belongs to the army and the navy. The best part of the matter is that we are going to be fatally long in finding out that the same principle applies equally well to the "captains" and "soldiers" of the industrial army. If we cannot maintain the kind of militarism that we associate with guns and ships and battlefields of carnage, without destroying the freedom and independence of men, without rendering them not only utterly useless as men, but a menace to the welfare of all others, whether we can maintain an industrial militarism without precisely the same terrible result. And the industrial militarism is practically universal.

It is the question of all questions most solemn that is facing you and me today, whether we see it or not. That which puts freedom in peril—that which defeats it or prevents it—is the arch-enemy of human life, is a menace to all that we have any right to hold dear. No man or woman and no good cause of any sort is injured or can be injured by the fullest possible exercise of freedom of thinking and freedom of utterance of one's thought. And whether we find it out soon or late, we shall one day discover that the keenest interests of mankind and the best test upon the fullest freedom of loving and being loved and of its untrammeled expression. Need I remind you that every religious denomination and practically every Church contends that nothing makes men freer than persecution or discouragement or suppression of such freedom? Need I further remind you that in the very nature of things neither an organized religion assuming for itself a supernatural sanction, nor any form of class government such as every government on this earth today is, can tolerate, much less promote or foster, freedom of thought or freedom of speech or, what is unspeakable, rather than all else, the freedom of the soul to express all of itself?

But any influence which would menace my freedom of thinking or living tends to make me a cowardly or a hypocrite, undermines the whole structure of character, destroys the very ends of existence. Any institution or civilization that hinders the free expression and fulfillment of human love, that attempts to clip its wings or keep it from flying, in any way lays violent hands upon it, violates life at its fountain head, poisons its spring, robs humanity of its birthright, and decrees that the world shall be populated with the accidents of last or the abnormal fruits of a loveless union. I claim it for myself and for all other human beings the divinest right a man or woman can have—the right to be the offspring of a pure and unforced affection, the right to be the blossom of joy and freedom.

I am not so particular to know who was my father or who was my mother, as I am to know whether I was loved into being, whether I was the natural offspring of the fulfillment of joy. And if I was not, I cannot help feeling that, however fortunate the surroundings of my existence on this earth may be, I must go thru my years under the shadow of the divinest right, the freedom of the soul to express all of itself. (Continued on page 14.)
FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY THE FREEMAN.
Published Weekly by L. ISRA.IL.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 321 WALNUT ST., Chicago, III.

Established at Chicago post-office as second-class matter, October 20, 1901.

The publishers as a rule are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.

ANECDOTE—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of men by man as the political ideal. Absolute individuality. Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JUNE 29, 1902.

368

If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your Free Society, your subscription expires with this number.

Notes.

To anyone sending us $2 we will send Free Society and Dr. Greer's "A Physician In the House." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and $2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

Comrade Jay Fox, 210 E. 19th St., New York, N.Y., will furnish information to comrades interested in Cosmos Colony, such as the best means of transportation, fare, etc., to Brazil, and other useful intelligence.

Some Chicago comrades wish to start a Tolstoy literary club immediately. Its purpose will be to read, discuss, and properly understand the great Russian writer and philosopher. The necessity for such an association is very apparent. At this time when pamphlet writers and reform speakers are manufacturing so much ignorance of the man and his writings. Those wishing to join will please address R. Goodheart, 906 N. Washinaw Ave, Chicago.

Certain Comments.

The "price that staggers humanity" has been paid; and England has won a disgraceful victory. England wins the gold mines; but the Boers win all the honor. By dint of terrible exertions and the expenditure of an enormous amount of money, the British have at last managed to conquer an army about a tenth the size of their own. Even now, the sudden flight of the Boers in the field have succeeded in extorting from the mighty British empire every possible concession short of independence. England's military glory has departed, never to return. Her national honor was forfeited long ago. What is all this to Anthony? It is just the measure of the formation of huge trusts, involving the crushing of smaller business, is to Socialists. The disappearance of the lesser nationalities, by the criminal aggression of the larger ones, is in itself an infamous wrong, but it is a historical necessity. The governmental ideal must work itself out, and bear its worst fruit; before it can become so abhorrent to men that they will revolt from it. The governments of the world are the great Anarchist propagandists, and they are digging their own graves. Every unworthy victory is a defeat in the end. The Boers have fallen; but they have driven another nail into the coffin of the British Empire.

The organ of the Socialist Labor Party is exultant over the success of its supporters in Wisconsin, who have succeeded in preventing the franchise from being given to those who have been refused the ballot in the past. The Socialist Labor Party, in California, has a considerable following; but the Socialists for years have been lost the ballot. The present condition is a result of the campaign conducted by the Socialists, which has been successful in obtaining the franchise for the negroes in California. The Socialists have been successful in obtaining the franchise for the negroes in California. The Socialists for years have been lost the ballot. The present condition is a result of the campaign conducted by the Socialists, which has been successful in obtaining the franchise for the negroes in California. The Socialists have been successful in obtaining the franchise for the negroes in California. The Socialists for years have been lost the ballot. The present condition is a result of the campaign conducted by the Socialists, which has been successful in obtaining the franchise for the negroes in California.
The "frost government on earth," however, has better weapons than "respect for authority and regard for the Church" to suppress the desire for better conditions. Bulletts and bayonets are its most prominent arguments; and when the tools of "law and order" hesitate to shoot the strikers down indiscriminately, as for instance the chief of police in Paterson, N. J., they are promptly denounced and disbursed. Humanitarian sentimentality has no place in the "land of the slaves and the home of the knives."

But the godsend exploiters are never as regards means to accomplish their foul ends. Since the chief of police of Paterson has failed "to do his duty," blackmailing and other "civilized" means are to be employed to drive the Anarchists out of Paterson; and, in order to justify their noble method, a "plot to blow up the mills" has been "discovered." But strange to say, all the members of the "conspirators" revealed the plot to the mayor, while the men of the Anarchists have been arrested. But the silk manufacturers have begun their work by intimidating the printers who printed La Fayette and the Italian Anarchist weekly. The employers of Paterson do not know that all such means to exterminate the Anarchists have proven a failure in European countries.

Final Appeal.

In response to my last appeal concerning the telegraph strike in New Jersey, I am informed that several dollars have been sent to Miss Notkin, so that at present, we need only $8.75 to complete the amount necessary. Assuming that this will be raised, we have ordered the printer to go ahead with the work, and the pamphlet will soon be ready. Meanwhile we urge all to whom this notice may come, who are interested in seeing this absurd and dangerous menace to free speech, to send the money they can spare to Miss Notkin, 337 South 5th St., Philadelphia. All receipts will be duly acknowledged by her.

For New York.

For the benefit of the radical press a picnic will take place Sunday, July 13, in Liberty Park, Cooper Ave. and Ridgewood. 25th and 26th Divisions, Music, songs, prize-harrowing, and other amusements. Tickets 25 cents, which are good for six glasses of beer.

The park can be reached from all trains. Take the street car, go and bring train to Ridgewood, transfer to Cypress or Myrtle Ave. cars. From 34th St. Ferry: L.I.R.R. to Myrtle Ave. Station, fare 5 cents.

FREE SOCIETY

Literature.

LAST DAY OF THE RUSSIAN COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

This is an account of Raskin, or rather its troubles and quarrels, by a member. Although several versions of the dissensions at Raskin have been published, no one has received only a meager account in one of the last numbers of the Coming Nation. So to form a fair judgment of the issues between them both accounts by both sides must be required. Perhaps the merits of each side are immaterial, and it is enough to know that the Russian failure was due to combativeness of its own members, who spent their energies fighting each other in stead of building up their enterprise. That is according to Professor Broome. He blames the charter members, but liberally distributes it all around. One receives the impression that if Professor Broome had run the colony it would not have been a failure, and perhaps each member had the same opinion about his own capacity. If there is a lesson to be learned from the Russian experiment, and Professor Broome says there is, it is hardly conclusive. His estimate of the people at Raskin is so low, that there was no fair chance to succeed with such caliber to work with. But one fact stands out clearly. They governed too much down to Raskin. Everybody "owned" everything, and consequently wanted to run it to suit himself. And he had a vote, too. A man is able and knows how to do something, and is willing to do it. And then, "a committee would undertake to direct him in the management of the business, and then he would say, here is your sheep ranch, run it your way." (p. 163). This is Socialism-State Socialism. What guarantee have we that we shall not have more committees when we have it on a grand scale? The Socialists published this book to teach the lesson that colonies cannot succeed at present. But the lesson that I draw from it is an Anarchistic one. Don't govern so much. One governor is bad enough. But where everybody is a governor, "it is not possible, and that is why Raskin failed. The following remarks about the Raskin board of directors are significant. "The moment they began to do business as legislators all nobility and musicalness seemed to leave them. They became paralyzed and utterly helpless when matters of business were before them." The first thought that arose was, if I vote for this measure who will I run against or incur enmity from? (p. 44).

We are in receipt of an anti-vaccination pamphlet from Dr. Morgan Kipley, Unionville, Conn. It is an address delivered before the New England Eutectic Medical Association in Hartford, Conn. It is extremely vitriolic against all vaccination, compulsory in particular.

Home Defense Fund.


O. A. Varnes, Texa.

Home, Wash., June 16, 1902.

Two Kinds of Anarchy.

I see in Free Society of June 15 that Kate Austia, of Caphinger Mills, Mo., denies the existence of two kinds of Anarchists, and she quotes Dr. J. C. Barnes, Hinsdale, III., who has rebuked me a little for my circular in which I made a distinction between the "reds" and the philosophicals.

In consideration of the prepondering testimony of Dr. Barnes in the press in favor of a "purely peaceful propaganda," I never deemed his rebuke to me of any weight, but as Kate Austia now seeks to emphasize it, I will emphasize myself toward both her and Dr. Barnes and will ask them both if Dr. Barnes considers himself the same kind of an Anarchist as the man who killed the king of Italy? I have considered that man a "red" Anarchist and Dr. Barnes a fitting type of philosophical Anarchist.

I will not call Collozoas an Anarchist, for I think him simply a product of the public schools, and more of a Socialist discontent than anything else.

For myself, I do not pose as an Anarchist of any kind, as I think the term "Christian," properly applied, covers more liberty than anything known.

FRANCIS B. LIVINSKY.

Syracuse, N.Y.

For St. Louis, Mo.

Readers of FRee Society, Free Labor, and all friends and comrades are invited to a family picnic which will take place Sunday, July 20, at the Red House, Cotati, III. Take ferry boat at the foot of Sydney St. in case of rain the picnic will take place the following Sunday.

Here and There.

Comrade MacQueen has been arrested in New York on account of the Paterson riots. The Supreme Court of New York sustains the decision of the Appellate Court in the case of John Mont.

The last issue of La Question Sociale, of Paterson, reports that the lurid accounts of riots are all lies. An orderly procession was formed and passed without incident.

Altogether there are no Anarchists in Toronto, Canada, there are "terrible riots" nevertheless. The attempt to run street cars "resulted in the destruction of a half a dozen cars, the actions injury of a dozen men, the smashing of windows in various cur houses, and the wounding of two street railway officials." The troops are trying to restore order.

We have received a copy of an injunction issued against striking weavers of the American Woolen Co., at Plymouth, Mass. As usual the strikers are injunctioned to stop picketing, and in addition to this, from carrying on a boycott against the firm. The boycott is made up of the most sweeping nature, and "conditioned on the fact that the strikers cease to interfere or prevent anyone from entering into business relations with the boycotted company. The logic of the law is always on the employer's side.

Naturally we have the poor victims of the most unmitigated oppression, as the troops again have covered themselves with "glory." June 2-a day which the poor
toilers will ever remember—the strikers of Lemberg peacefully gathered at the plaza when suddenly cavalry and infantry appeared and attacked the workers without provocation. Even little boys who were gathered from a well were shot down. The result of the massacre was five dead and forty fatally wounded. The public excitement is great and a general strike may be the result.

St. Petersburg, June 16.—Russia’s perturbed autocracy is perfecting a new secret society with branches in the continental capitals and in London. The Paris branch will be called “The League for the Safety of the Russian Fatherland.” The new society has appealed to the friends of order to support the movement.

No political importance can be attached to the society. Twenty years ago the Russian police organized two leagues for the same purpose, but they were a complete failure. While suspecting everybody they were never able to penetrate into the real revolutionary group and only succeeded in rendering efforts futility and ridiculous.

It is interesting to note that the prime mover in those former leagues was M. von Plehwe, who was then beginning his political career. Scarcely has this individual been appointed to the ministry of the interior than he resurrects his discredited policy for resisting the spirit of freedom by secret police machinery.—News Dispatch.

The report of the German Anarchist conference last May is given in Neues Leben. It was decided to use a tabloid paper once a month, to be issued as a supplement to Neues Leben. Unfortunately the conference occupied more time about local unimportance than to topics of general interest.

The congress held at Brussels, Belgium, was attended by 150 comrades. The subject, “Trade Unions and the General Strike,” aroused a lively discussion. Until recently most of the Anarchists were opposed to trade unions, as they are mostly in the hands of unsuspicious politicians, which was clearly demonstrated in the recent general strike. (Many of these organizations are in some way a project of a Catholic worker is welcome acquistions.) But it was soon evident that the majority of the delegates were adherents or in favor of trade unions. It was recommended to join the labor organizations wherever possible, and to endeavor to free the unions from the political parties, which in the present situation should not be difficult to accomplish. Where it is impossible for Anarchists to join the trade unions it was concluded to form independent organizations. The already existing independent unions will be federated. Thus it is hoped to form a strong and independent labor organizations, which shall not be influenced by politicians. The international general strike will be propagated in these unions.

The second subject, “Labor Reform,” was also lively discussed. Many reformers, altho some speakers warmly defended the eight-hour movement.

A more detailed report will appear in Revue des Travailleurs. The next congress will take place next fall in Charleroi.

PEBB SOCIETY.

Anarchist Communion. *

Anarchism may be briefly defined as the negation of all government and all authority of man over man: Communism as the recognition of the just claim of each to the fullest satisfaction of all his needs, physical, moral, and intellectual. The Anarchist, therefore, while resisting as far as possible all forms of coercion and authority, repudiates just as finally even the suggestion that he should impose himself upon others, realizing as he does that this fatal propensity in the majority of mankind has been the cause of nearly all the misery and bloodshed in the world. He understands just as clearly that to satisfy his needs without contributing, to the best of his ability, his share of labor in maintaining the general well-being, would be to become the expense of others—to become an exploiter and to live as the rich drones live today. Obviously, then, government on the one hand and private ownership of the means of production on the other, complete the present social system—which keeps mankind degraded and enslaved.

There will be no need to justify the Anarchists’ attack upon all forms of government: it is a natural philosophical position that the spirit of freedom must be the same in every state. Political life is a sham, and economics its essence. Society is an elaborate fraud, and social structures are nothing but a conspiracy of the rich to enslave the poor. Hence the Anarchist deals with his utmost energies in the overthrow of the state and the abolition of all political institutions.

It is a fundamental truth that politically and economically his attitude is purely revolutionary; and hence arises the vindication and misrepresentation that Anarchism, which denounces all forms of social injustice, meets with the most violent attacks from the public speakers.

Rightly conceived, Anarchism is no mere abstract ideal theory of human society. It views life and social relations with eyes disillusioned. Making a thorough study of all superstition and false sentiments it tries to see things as they really are; and without building castles in the air it finds the simple solution of proved facts that the greatest good of the full and free life can be placed within the reach of all, once that monstrous bulwark of all our social injustices—the State—has been destroyed, and common property declared.

By education, by free organization, by individual and associated resistance to political and economic tyranny, the Anarchist hopes to achieve his aims. The task may seem impossible to many, but it should be remembered that in science, literature, in art, the highest minds are with the Anarchist or are imbued with distinct Anarchist tendencies. Even our bitter opponents admit the beauty of our “dream,” and reluctantly confess it would be well for humanity if it were “possible.” Anarchist Communist propaganda is the intelligent and radical effort to realize this “dream” and to ensure that freedom and well-being for all shall be possible.—From the Reformers’ Year Book.

—o—

Shall We Be Free?

(Continued from page three.)

cats, I am bound to believe that it is at least equally important that human life at its fountain head shall receive as much forethought and consideration.

I am not anxious that this boy who calls me father shall be a copy of me, still less that he should be in the same mould, any more than I want every tree in the field to be the exact counterpart of every other or every flower in the garden to monotonously repeat the form and color and fragrance of any other. I cannot believe that it is either a normal or a wise expression of human affection which would treat children as dolls or dummies to be utilized for the exhibition of fine fabrics or to test the results of practical experiments, if we believe that no parent has the right to assume proprietorship in the lives of children. Our children do not belong to us in any sense. Chattel slavery has been wholly abolished. We have none to sell, no more than their medicine or their toys. They are potential men and women. They are human beings. We have no right to offer them the barest outline of the lives they must live for their own existence. We want to make them live for themselves and not for us. They must develop their own potentialities, and in the process of doing so we must bear in mind that the development of their full human nature is the supreme consideration. We want to see them in the fullness of their humanity. We want to see them as complete persons, as self-sufficient beings, able to think and act for themselves. We want them to be free to develop their own talents, to follow their own desires, to be their own masters. We want them to be free to form their own opinions, to make their own decisions, to live their own lives. We want them to have the freedom to be themselves, to be free to develop their own personalities, to be free to be their own selves.

I do not want to limit their freedom, I do not want to put them in any restraint, I do not want to impose any control. I do not want to make them slaves, I do not want to make them dependents. I want them to be free to develop their own capacities, to be free to form their own judgment, to be free to be their own masters, to be free to live their own lives. I want them to be free to be their own selves, to be free to be their own persons, to be free to be their own beings. I want them to be free to be their own selves, to be free to be their own persons, to be free to be their own beings.
of living. They have paid a dearer price than death,—the price of misrepresentation, hatred, loss of friends and of all those things which men commonly hold most dear.

But this is not all. In the midst of all this little thought, we are bound to say that nothing can be so essential to manhood as this same freedom. It is the soul of manhood and womanhood. It is that which makes the diviner bloom on the tree of life. It is the spring of all life.

It is the spring of joy. It is the arbiter of destiny. It holds the keys to every treasure that life can ever unlock. It holds the thread that leads out of every labyrinth of error or evil. At its touch alone will the doors of a higher life for our race swing open.

And what is the deadliest foe of freedom? What is that which holds the darkest menace to manhood and womanhood? To the family? To every sacred interest of life? Where are we to find the secret of the decay of democratic spirit and ideals, the hold of ignorance and superstition and intolerance? The base of the pyramid of ignorance of the life of manhood and womanhood and intolerance and slavery is the industrial system. It is because other men possess the power to deprive me of life, to crowd me off the earth, that I am not of a spirit of terms, if any, I shall cast, whether I shall get what people call a living—it is because of this, that society can make and does make either a coward, a hypocrite, or a martyr of me. And I say that I do not admire cowardice or hypocrisy, and I do not desire martyrdom. I want to live. I want to express myself. I claim for myself and for every man the right to be free from all sense of dependence, to move about the community, to associate, to live. I claim to be my right as an able-bodied man, my right as a moral being, the right of character, of self-respect, of everything that is finest and best, that I have opportunity to pay my own way, to make my contribution to the wealth of the world, in order that I may without loss of manhood demand from my fellow men the necessities of life.

The only help a man has any right to give to another or that he can give without moral injury to that other, is the opportunity to live. And here is the question that opportunity should be afforded by the understandings of society, the whole community. Only as every man is taken into partnership in the establishment of the universal chance to live a free and unencumbered life are the divinest demands of character satisfied.

I demand for myself and for every other man, in the name of the dearest and most sacred interests of life, the right to know and the ability to do more than one thing. I demand the opportunity to acquire that knowledge and that ability. Inasmuch as the symmetrical development of the brain and therefore the healthful and adequate education of the mind and moral capacities requires the exercise and culture of every other function of the human body, I claim for myself and for all the right to know and to understand when we give the matter a thought.

I want the privilege of filling the soil against a system of things that robs me of the fruits of my labor. I claim the right to know how to do mechanical work, to understand beauty and art and to do so under conditions which are consonant with manliness and self-respect. I dare to say that we have not today any social or industrial or political equipment that can begin to satisfy that claim.

No such claim and no other reasonable or moral claim of manhood or womanhood can possibly be met or fulfillcd by this capitalist civilization. It is immoral and indecent from base to dome. It rests upon fraud and is devoid of honor. It is exploitation, it is robbery, it is murder and every crime against the human soul.

Well, what is it that decrees that we shall be slaves or pay such a fearful price for freedom? Is it the existence of a system under which I must be dependent on the will of others to live? Any such system has nothing good in it. There is no room for compromise with such a system, and no man who really understands what it means, no man who belongs to the vast multitude of those who produce all the things that make life possible and desirable and is conscious of his condition and his interests, will consider any compromise with it as safe. All those who are talking about compromise are the men who do not know what this thing means and involves. It is a menace to all that is sacred.

But if I find myself in this dilemma, if I have guaranteed to the man to work and its corresponding right to receive the proceeds of my labor, I possess the key to every other right you can name. No man then can tell me what I shall do. I have the living power to bear upon me to make me think contrary to what my reason dictates. No man then can tell me that unless I believe in this or that creed, I shall bear the ban of that creed. No one can tax me. I must necessarily purge itself of those false and immoral distinctions which now are its very warp and woof, for its basis will be labor, which is life. No man then can tell me how I shall live my life. No man then can limit the world according to which I shall be fashioned. Indeed, then the whole fabric of society bids me be myself, bids me to be free, summons me to my natural and equal possibilities, equips me with the secret of happiness, holds before me the divinest incentives, and makes certain the creation of a higher and better race of men.

How then, can such a state of things be established on this earth? Does someone say it is impossible? Take my word for it, that objection always comes from the men who have so much to say on Sundays and in their creeds and prayer-meetings about "faith." Does someone say it is a utopia? That is the word with which those who think they have most to gain by the exploitation of their fellow men would discourse every attempt to make a better world. Do not believe it. All the discourses of science lead us to believe in far greater possibilities for man. The evolution of man has been slow, but it has been steady. All the words and deeds of poets and prophets and Christ speak the same language. All point the same way.

And that way is becoming clearer. We are rapidly seeing the possibilities of putting into the hands of the people themselves, as people, as society, this whole vast plant of industry, making mankind the man for work in joint partnership of the earth and of all the means of being fruitful. Every human being is one of the people. When the people possess the land and industrial machinery which with much travail society itself has produced and makes useful, every man as a human being becomes a member of that firm, and no one can deny him the right to live. On the contrary, it becomes of the greatest advantage to all society that each and every one shall be given the freest chance to do his part. It is this, this is the gospel for today. If it is good tidings only to the poor, to the disheartened, to social and industrial slaves, I cannot help that. If it is being preached most clearly and persuasively by those who hold from some social or intellectual Nazareth of the nineteenth or twentieth century, and if there is a disposition on the part of the pillars of civilization to drown all argument with the question, "How can any good thing come from Nazareth?" that is not my affair. We ought to have made some little gain in knowledge during the lapse of nineteen centuries. We ought to have made some little progress in the solution of our moral and social problems than even the wisest and best of those men who lived so many centuries before these problems arose. The better that this or that nation tells me we cannot effect the industrial changes that we demand until we somehow create a morally better class of men, I ask him to tell me in all honesty whether he does not think that this is going on in the world, that there is some one, some one who is not conscious of having any deep personal interest in such a change.

It is going to require the incentive of personal gain, and I cannot see how all the forces of civilization are working together as inevitably toward creating at least the material framework of a social order in which freedom may be had without crucifying and all other things. It is with one eye to clothe our world with its garments of beauty. But only those people can be relied upon either to find the way or make the way who have such a conviction that under whatever personal interests compel them to do so.

One thing more and I am done. This question of freedom is one that may not come at all to some men—millions of men. Freedom means that he does not touch their consciousness, however deeply and deviously it may really effect their destiny. But it does come to others, and when it comes there is no evading it. When it does come, the whole fabric of manhood is at stake. A man must decide to save his manhood at the loss of everything else, or save his life and lose his soul. There is the place where the man that loses his life saves it, and the man who saves it loses it. For myself, I know no law—and there can be none—or so sacrificial or imperative as the law of my own being, the hunger of my own soul of an inspiring joy of my own heart. I will recognize none but the law of that. What I claim for myself I claim equally for every other soul. No man's freedom to express himself ever involves the stopping of the right or opportunity of any other soul to do the same. No sort of social order can wholly another freedom. Capitalism means for it crucification. Socialism means for it honor and revery.

WILLIAM THOMSON BROWN.
AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.
The following named persons will receive and return subscriptions for FREE SOCIETY.
A. L. clipper, 43, 73 Spring-

BOOK LIST.
ALL ORDERS FOR THE FOLLOWING BOOKS MUST BE RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE.

- Essays on the Social Problem.

- The New Herodotus—Grant Allen

- God and the State.

- The Same. (London edition)

- Whitman’s Ideal Democracy

- Other Writings—Hevens Born

- Protagonist of the Peace of Virtue—Rachael Cambpell

- The Worm Torus—Y. de Cleyre

- The Emancipation of Women. Child Labor

- Morbid Society and Anarchism.

- Anarchism and Socialism

- The Socialist in the House.

- The Education of the Feminine Will

- The Struggle for Life

- Anarchist Morality

- Social Democracy in Germany

- The Future: Its Historic Role

- The Wage System

- Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal

- The Economies of Anarchist

- The Slavery of Our Times

- Nihilism

- Making a Marriage

- Revolution and Revolution.

- Our Worthy of Primitive Social

- Woes: A Plea for Industrial

- The Coming Woman.

- The Chicago Martyrs

- The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists.

- ALBANY.

- Atlantic City.

- Boston.

- Chicago.

- Cleveland.

- Columbus.

- London.

- Philadelphia.

- San Francisco.

- FOR CHICAGO.
The Young Men’s Club meets every Saturday evening, 8 p.m., 332 S. Michigan St., where subjects pertaining to the social problem are discussed. Friends of liberty are cordially invited.

- JOHN H. CLARKE’S New Method for Learning Lessons. They include a desire for Practical Mathematics and Elementary Mathematics. This method is used in rural schools from the usual routine. Personal interviews desirable for anyone interested.

- MEMORIES OF A REVOLUTIONIST.

- PETER KOROPKTIN.

- This interesting autobiography of the well-known Anarchist and militant is one of the most important books of the Anarchist movement, as well as one of general interest. "It is more valuable to the historian of the contemporary than of himself," says the noted American critic George Price. "It is a truly significant work in the history of the Russian peasants and the Anarchist movement in the world." The book contains many facts about the life of its author, including his early experiences as a military officer in the Russian Army, his work for the Anarchist movement, and his experiences in the Russian Revolution of 1917.

- THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

- THE FAMOUS SPEECHES OF THE EIGHT ANARCHISTS IN COURT.

- ALDRED’S HEALING FOR PARDONING.

- HELMANN, HERBERT.

- This book contains a half-tise picture of our eight convicted and one of the most important revolutionary leaders of our century. It is devoted primarily to the memory of those murdered by the government. This is the best edition of the book ever printed. It contains 17 pages. Price 20 cents.

- Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.

- A PHYSICIAN IN THE HOUSE.

- IT IS THE BEST MEDICAL BOOK FOR THE HOME USE PRODUCED.

- DR. J. H. GREBER.

- IT HAS 15 COLORED PLATES SHOWING DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY.

- This book is up to date in every particular. It will save you thousands of dollars. It tells you how to care for yourself by simple and harmless home remedies. The book contains many important facts about the care of the sick and the prevention of disease. It is written in clear, simple language and is easy to understand. It includes information on diet, exercise, and other factors that contribute to good health. It also provides advice on how to manage your health during different stages of life.

- PRIZE $2.50.

- SEND ORDERS TO FREE SOCIETY.

- MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

- Translated from the French of JENY GRAY

- BY VOLTAIRE DE CLEER.

- CONTENTS.

- The Anarchist Idea and its Development.

- Individualism and Solidarity.

- The Theory of Man.

- The Family.

- The Anarchist State.

- The Egoist.

- The Right to Property.

- The Right to Work.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- The Right to Leisure.

- THE CRIME OF THE 1871.

- TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF D. O. LEGISLATION.

- BY N. W. MARCH AVING.

- The above book is the most reliable history of the American revolution, and is in every library of the student of revolutionary movements. Arran-

- Order from FREE SOCIETY.

- Price $2.00. Bound $2.50. Five copies 15 cents.

- Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.