The Rejected Banner.

THE RED FLAG

Flag of flame, tho linked with glory,
Chains of shame and rich with story,
Free of blame and misdeeds gay,
Trail thou in the dust.

Till the right be hailed with gladness,
War and sight forgotten Routes,
And the might fades with sadness,
Trail thou as thou must.

Flag of flame, thy heroes slander,
Without fame, in countless number,
Without shame, in peace they slumber,
Like thee, in the dust.

Sleep they still until the morrow,
Sleep they will, till crone and sorrow.
No more fill the world with horror,
Then thou will, rejected banner,
Be uplifted from the dust.

Revolutionary Minorities.

"All you say is well and good," our opponents often remark. "Your ideal—Anarchist Communism—is admirable, and its realization would indeed signify comfort and peace on earth. But how few men desire and comprehend such condition, and how insignificant is the number of those who possess the necessary spirit of sacrifice that the realization of this ideal involves." You are only a small minority of weak and scattering groups, here and there, lost altogether in the great and indifferent mass, and before you stands a terrible, well-organized enemy, armies, capital, and education at your command. In fact, the struggle you have undertaken exceeds your power.

Such are the objections of certain of our adversaries, and often also raised by our own well-meaning friends. Very well. Let us see whether the objections will stand the test. That the Anarchists compose only a small minority to those millions which populate France, Spain, Italy, Germany, etc., who will deny? But have not all aggregations, representing a new ideal, begun with a small minority? Yes, it is very likely that we—as far as our organization is concerned—will remain in the minority till the day of revolution. But is that an argument against our ideal? Shall we forever embrace opportunism because the opportunists have at present the majority behind them? Is that reason enough to become opportunists ourselves? Till 1790, the royalists and constitutionalists were in the majority. Should the republicans of this epoch therefore have renounced their ideal and become royalty, until the abolition of the kingdom was near at hand?

The fact that we at present are still a small minority is in reality unimportant and insignificant. The question is not whether the number of adherents is small or large, but whether the ideals of Anarchist Communism are in accord with the evolution of the human mind, which at present, and especially among the Latin races, are developing. In this respect all doubts are removed. The tendency of evolution is not toward authoritarianism; but its consummation tends toward the freedom of the individual, toward producing and consuming groups, the free commune and free federation. Neither does evolution tend toward the property-loving individualism, but toward joint production and consumption. In large cities nobody is scared by Communism when—mark it well—Anarchist Communism is in question. In the country evolution travels on the same road. And indeed, if we except some parts of France in which its populace developed under particular conditions, one must admit that the peasant has much in common with us, which especially becomes apparent when the common use of implements is observed. It is for this reason that we are everywhere, in the centers of industry as well as in the villages, met with approval, as soon as we explain our ideas to the great mass, whenever we talk to them in their own and comprehensible languages, supported by practical illustrations, and telling them of the coming revolution.

And could it be otherwise? If Anarchy and Communism were nothing but the product of a philosophical speculation, coming forth from the shadows of a college room, verily, it would nowhere find its echo. But these ideas came forth from the people. They are the expressions of the worker, the peasant, of everything he thinks and talks as soon as he sooner or later discards traditional superstitions and begins to contemplate a better future. They are the expression of a long mental development, the expression of the large tendencies of the present century. Finally, they are the popular conception of the revolution which shortly will carry justice, solidarity and fraternity into the villages. Coming forth from the people, these ideas are readily accepted by the people, whenever they are presented in a plain, comprehensive manner.

Here in fact, rests the force of our ideas, and not in the number of their active and organized adherents, who are courageous enough to face all the dangers and consequences of the struggle which the participation in the work of the proletarian revolution involves. But even the number of the active followers grows daily, and the promulgation spreads, and on the day of insurrection this minority will become the majority.

History shows us that those who before the revolution were in the minority, on the day of uprising became the decisive power, provided they represented the popular strivings and when—and that is another essential provision—the duration of the revolution lasts long enough, so that the revolutionary ideas are given an opportunity to sprout and to bear fruit. Let us not forget that it is not a revolution of a day or two which we expect will transform society into Anarchist Communism. An uprising of so short a duration can overthrow one government and substitute another; it can replace a Napoleon for a Jules Faure, but it cannot transform the foundation of a society. It may perhaps require a period of insurrection of three or five years to accomplish our revolution in the province of proper relations and the mode of federation. It required five years of permanent revolution—from 1789 to 1794—to wreck the system of feudalism and the power of king, and it will take three or more years to break the power of the bourgeoisie, the power of plutocracy.

In such revolutionary period, in which the mind works with extraordinary rapidity, when the whole world, in the cities of splendor as well as in the dark huts, exhibit great interest for public affairs; when people talk, discuss and try to convince others,—in this fermenting period the Anarchist ideas, which are even now disseminated by the existing groups, will sprout and bear fruit, and implant themselves in the minds of the masses. Then will the indifferent of to-day become adherents of the new ideas, of which the great French Revolution is an example.

Certainly the French Revolution was not of such deep nature as will be one of which we dream. Aristocracy was overthrown and the bourgeoisie substituted. The power of private property was not shaken; on the contrary, its authority was strengthened—it was the French Revolution that inaugurated the system of exploitation of the bourgeoisie. Yet the abolition of serfdom was a great thing. This came thru force, which proved itself more effective than the law. The French Revolution has cleared the way for an era of revolting, which at short in-
Free Society.

Criticisms on the Propaganda.

If the comrades will pardon a few friendly comments on the methods of propaganda, I suggest to offer them. I write in the kindliest spirit, and having the whole at heart my words come spontaneously without any desire to offend anyone. Knowing some of my own shortcomings, and finding flaws in the words and work of others, I wish to stimulate an interest in an impartial examination which remarks may be deemed worthy of serious consideration, all well and good. If not, they have been written in vain. My remarks are not inspired by any particular case, nor directed at any particular comrade. Most of what I shall say I am as much amenable to myself as anyone else. It is not my province to dictate to any comrade how he or she shall conduct the propaganda, but the sacred right of criticism no comrade shall deny me.

I hold it to be every person's privilege to express his opinion in language of his own choosing. Yet I must question the efficacy of certain methods of propaganda, especially the right of propagation of denunciation.

The Anarchist propaganda has never been at that level where it could be reasonably accounted sufficient to rail at the powers that be and shout, "To hell with the government! To hell with the law! I am an Anarchist, and don't care a rap. Hurrah for Anarchy!" Such may arouse the coarse passions of the mob, the passions that defy men today and beset them tomorrow. Such passions had better be held in subjection till tempered and remodelled by the precious elements of Anarchist reason.

The elements of hate,—prejudice, jealousy, revenge, etc., have no place in the Anarchist mind. The counter elements of love,—comradeship, tolerance, etc., must rise uppermost in the human breast before we are fit for the life our ideal deplors. The former are the chief elements of the savage brain; the latter are the result of ages, countless ages, of associate life and elements upon which Anarchism is based. The latitude and tenderness of the propaganda, therefore, must be toward the further development of those love elements, for on them alone depends the ultimate realization of Anarchism.

The free society is based upon hate. Hate begets force, which is government. Government, therefore, is the natural offspring of hate, and the chief enemy of order and Anarchism. Hate exalts the brutal, the cruel, and the strong above the refined, the tender, and the weak. Love equals all men and women and makes of them lovers, comrades, and friends. Hate is traceable back to the core; love endures our ideal at the uppermost heights of human conception. Hate is of the past, love belongs to the future. Hate is slavery and death, love is liberty and life. Hate was and is, love will and be. Hate conquers the bodies of the weaker, love conquers the hearts and the minds of all.

If men are converted to Anarchism thru preaching the doctrine of hate, they are yet the same men, having changed only their creed; convert them thru the preaching of love, and they will be converted....

The Anarchist, has a credo to which I would not conform, and he hates me, berates me, and calls me by some other name to which he has attached an odious idea, while another
FREE SOCIETY.

We all know there is nothing so like an Anarchist as a Quaker. At the beginning of the slaveowner's rebellion there were a great many Quakers in Virginia and Tennessee (the mountainous part). All were anti-slavery and Union men, which is doubtless why the rebels really would not touch. General Sheridan, under orders from General Grant, devastated their portion of the country with peculiar barbarity. One day, a relieving column, under orders from General Sheridan, was sent to Quaker country. "What's that?" said "Colonel Vaughan. "'I thought you Quakers didn't fight." "The sanctified don't fight," replied Ephraim, who had reached boiling-water heat. "But I perceive that I am not sanctified yet." "Exit 'the colonel.'"

Machiavellism moral, to give those who deal with the philosophic Anarchist,—"Don't tread on me."—C. L. JAMES.

PUNISHMENT.

If there is only one thing above all others that history has taught us it is that brutality cannot prevent crime. The punishment of the Roman empire certain crimes became so universal that the lawmakers deemed it high time to use extreme methods. But, at the same time, the terrible tortures were inflicted, those crimes continued to increase down to the very end of Rome. During the middle ages and the period of the reformation, blasphemy, heresy, and other crimes of offenses against the Church and against God were punished with a brutality and severity almost incomprehensible to freeborn Americans. Did this stop the offenses? By no means,—they flourished all the more. Violence begets violence. Cruelty begets cruelty. Show me a country where the people are particularly atrocious, and I will show you one where homicides and crimes of a brutal nature are very frequent. [As in this "free" country, for instance. A.A.]

It is a notorious fact in this country, that a man with a large fortune or a high social position is seldom convicted, or, if so, he gets a comparatively light sentence. If he is willing to use money freely he can generally go scot free unless popular opinion is too strong against him. In short, if a man has enough money he can buy most anything, from a seat in the United States Senate to immunity from punishment... —Leo, in Prison Mirror, St. Louis, Minn.

LETTER BOX.

Are a liberal and live, Colonel, Why don't your excellent publication reach me any more?

A. Lapointe, New York City.—Kindly send us your address. Your letter has unfortunately been mislaid.

J. R. Davidson.

"The recognition of private property in land and other resources would require authority to protect such monopoly, which would not be Anarchist. The other question will fall another day..."—J. F. Cleland. If the Liberator or the Pacific is not received by our Society, we will replace and the paper regularly.

will love me in spite of a difference of opinion, yes, maintain it my right to differ from his, and not be cast down without sacrificing his love and respect. Which of the two are the more commendable, which the more worthy of the title Anarchist?

The man who hates is yet a government, no matter how loudly he may proclaim himself an Anarchist, for to hate carries with it the unavoidable desire to force the hated to do or not to do something which called for the hate. The coming man, who does not hate, must not have enemies. The doctrine of hatred ought not to be preached. If hatred overcomes hatred, of what are we the gainers?

Discontent is rampant. Nearly everybody is ill at ease with the present state of things. What is wanted to be preached is a basic knowledge of the cause of our discontent, and a presentation of the ideal of Anarchy. This can best be done by cool, unfeeling, argument, rather than by fiery denunciation; for denunciation is never argument and can only be used where argument is wanting. The object of our propaganda must be to arouse men to think and reason by first overcoming their old prejudices. Democratic arguments will not do. It may destroy an old prejudice only by supplanting it with a new one, and nothing is gained thereby.

Anarchism is not a patent medicine that can be injected into people thru the pores of their hatred for the present order of things. Anarchy is a high ideal for cool, rational-minded men and women to ponder over, to reason about, and to absorb into their beings thru their warm hearts and thinking minds. To those minds, whipped into a frenzy by fiery rages by the orator's word picture of the insanity that surrounds us, Anarchism has no message. Only calm minds can grasp the message of Anarchism. Why, then, all this fiery denunciation? Is there not hatred enough in the world already?

I know how hard it is to restrain oneself at times in sight of the mountains of inequality and misery everywhere one looks. But we must talk less, and read and think more, rather than mimic our favorite orators or writers, which some of us are wont to do. The propaganda will become a true propaganda, an awakening, only by a calmer consideration of thinking minds unless we who write and speak in its name beit ourselves better for the task before entering upon our work of love. I do not mean to exclude anyone from the propaganda who feels he or she can advance the good work with tongue or pen. But I do wish to urge the youth to a deeper study of the fundamental principles underlying the philosophy of Anarchism, and to a better knowledge of the language used in this line of work. Unless we give this important matter more attention the cause will suffer greatly, our own individual advancement crippled and Anarchism be deprived of representatives of its own class.

Intelligence directs all the great movements of the world. Ignorance and hate destroy nations and never build a hut. Knowledge must be our guiding star to the land of Freedom. We will never have plowing and reaping, no matter how much love and friendship favors, we will not need to trust to luck and denunciation in the prosecution of our propaganda; and shall have learned what very poor weapons they are, Argument, logical argument, based upon fact and tempered with the soothing emotionalism called forth by the love of our ideals, will then be the lever that will move the world; and we will force for making a strong hand of love and comradeship that will bind us, one to the other, the wide earth round.

JAY FOX.

"Philosophic" Anarchism.

J. M. Clarke thinks it is time to acknowledge that there are Anarchists and Anarchists, some who do believe in assassinating tyrants, some who don't, etc. But suppose there are not? It is very much my opinion that there are not. There are, indeed, a few Anarchists, among whom Tolstoy is best known, who say they do not think fighting and bloodshed can ever be justifiable. But I apprehend that the distinction drawn on this ground between them and other Anarchists is really a distinction without a difference. Because what they say is abstract and metaphysical. Make it practical and concrete—ask them with which they sympathize as between Bresei and Humbert, Caseo and Czar, Bambino and Cannon, etc. and you would quickly find them take the same view as other Anarchists.

Contrariwise, if you ask any Anarchist whether he approves of assassination or rebellion, he will be apt, not only to answer in the negative, but to give a reason for disapproving. He will say that rebellion means war; that assassination means terrorism; and war and terrorism are the methods of government, and cannot destroy government, tho they may, at least temporarily, substitute a more tolerable (which, in the long run is a more mischievous) government for a less tolerable (and therefore less dangerous); that the only weapon which can be expected ultimately to conquer war, terrorism, and government, is reason; that—in each siege—victory by means of this is certain; while by flourishing red flags on the foremost barricade nothing can be expected, easy as it may be generally prevailing circumstances, set back and hand back. So much for the facts. Now for the application.

I perceive that some comrades credit me with a Machiavellian way of looking at things, which, from the standpoint of a revolutionary movement, is a very useful way. Assuming then the premises of Machiavelli, the two kinds of Anarchists may have been good stuff to talk when most people supposed Anarchists to be the members of a secret society which met in Lager beer saloons and selected individuals to kill persons allotted for the purpose. But that view is superseded. It has been abandoned by the multitude to lawyers, by lawyers to pencil pushers, by pencil pushers to preachers, and by preachers to our accidental president. Consequently it is not worth guarding against.

The facts about the two kinds of Anarchists being stated, how does the Anarchist with a book differ from the Anarchist with a bomb? Mainly, I conceive, in not being expected to push his propaganda. If new field hasmacheter method is reliable for making a bomb—Anarchist out of a book-Anarchist.
If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your Free Society, your subscription expires with this number.

**Notice.**

Correspondents and exchanges will please take note that we have moved from 515 Carroll Ave., and change and direct their mail accordingly. Our new address is 331 WALNUT ST.

Also all mail intended for La Protesta Umara should be sent to the same address.

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**Certain Comments.**

The temporary suspension of Discontent, as the result of government machinations, has not in the least diminished the ardor of the comrades at Home. In Tacoma and Seattle, and throughout Washington, the attempt to persecute the members of the settlement at Home has resulted in making friends for the community, and in advertising Anarchist ideas. The colony was never in so good condition as it is today.

The latest instance of the removal of the postoffice, being altogether unreasonable and unpromising, has set many people thinking. It is a fine object lesson of the tyranny of government, and of its hostility to progress—where there is not even a pretense of justice in the matter. The postmaster, general, in response to inquiry by Senator Turner, informed him that the postoffice was abolished on the recommendation of Congressman Coxe, because there was no suitable person at Home for postmaster. In other words, we are to be deprived of our rights on account of our opinions. We must be subject to all the burdens and disabilities of government, without sharing the few privileges which it affords. A few shallow would-be wisps are wont to make merry over the supposed inconsistency of Anarchists in expecting to share in the facilities provided by the government. But there is no inconsistency in it. If the government would only take its hands off, we could provide all these facilities ourselves. The postoffice and other public services are but meager compensation for the injuries and inconveniences suffered by us by arbitrary authority. The government seeks to justify its existence, on the plea that it makes an adequate return for the curtailment of individual liberty. It makes a contract, which is bound to fail. Individuals who advocate the abolition of government form no exception to the general rule. The exercise of private opinion on their part does not involve the taking outside the pale. Unless they commit what the constitution defines as an overt act of treason, they are entitled to every right claimed by any citizen. Any other conclusion is fatal to the government. In any event the full-fledged governmentalist will admit that government is a means, not an end, and that the people have a right to alter it when they desire. Those who are not actually in arms against it cannot legitimately be challenged, on account of their expressed wish that it were changed or abolished. A political inquisition is an indefensible monstruity. The fact that this monstruity actually exists, and that individuals are continually harassed on account of their convictions, substantiates the Anarchist contention that all government is misgovernment. It is impossible for power to be exercised with even tolerable proximity to justice, and the Anarchist knows that this is so, and knows why it is so. Hence the forces of organized greed hate him, and seek to crush him. They would force him to become party to a contract against his will, and because he protests against the injustice, would compel him to be subject to all the disadvantages of the pretended agreement, without sharing any of its benefits.

But there is more behind this postoffice matter. Coxe knows almost nothing about the people at Home. Nor has the postal department any other information of a reliable nature. C. L. Wayland, the post inspector, official sneak and unscrupulous liar, who has several times visited the colony in the hope of making trouble, has never so much as spoken to more than eight or ten out of the hundred members of the community. He knows absolutely nothing of the character of the wayland and has so insidiously mulcted. The post mistress very properly declined to act as spy for him, the rules of the office not requiring her to perform any such dirty work. Upon this, the filthy wretch, whose name should be perpetuated as one of the side issues of his vile model, made a lying statement to the grand jury, about the postal privileges being abused by a group of Anarchists and free lovers. In the secrecy of the grand jury chamber, the ladastor would retail falsehoods to his heart's content, safe from contradiction. His mendacious slanderers prevailed on that long-eared body to recommend the abolition of the Home postoffice. This was the true and all the dust on the ridiculous charge of obscenity. It sufficed that the prosecuting attorney in that trial, to whom the course of Judge Handford in directing an acquittal was a stigma and a richly deserved rebuke, in his brother of Congressan Coxe; and the assault on our post office is his cowardly and dishonorable re-venge for defeat. The rights of a whole community can be easily trampled in the dust to gratify the spite of a sneaking spy, and the mordant enmity of a third-rate ped- tifogger. Of course, we shall keep at the matter until we get our postoffice back again; but it may take months, or even a year or two, before the requisite amount of red tape shall be fully undone.

Meantime, the liberties of two of our members are in peril. Lois Waisbrooker, at 70 years of age, is a victim of Wayland's bestial machinations. He has virtually held her for his own pecuniary advantage; basing the charge on filthy imaginings of his own indecent mind. The article he cites is a plea for fair play to woman and high ideals in love. It takes a man to read such an article as the above, coming from such an illustrious source as Cox; and perish the idea that the government is of the same unbelieving school. Outrageous the charge is, it must be vigorously defended; or we shall have the unspoken shame of seeing this aged toiler for human rights, dragged to a felon's cell, to spend the last years of a life which has been devoted to active effort on behalf of humanity. 

Matteo D. Pensabell, the other comrade under indictment, is the victim of as scurvy a trick as was ever hatched in the brain of a Wayland or a Comstock. She was the postmistress here, whom Wayland hated, because he could not get her to prostitute her body for his purpose. The following is an account of the case:

"The charges in the indictment are as follows. That on Saturday, the 8th of November, the defendant Lois Waisbrooker, a woman, having during the months of August, September, and October, 1899, committed for murder the defendant Lois Waisbrooker, a woman, at the period of her confinement in Cook hospital, and that the said Lois Waisbrooker has since then, to wit, on or before the 8th of November, 1899, and in the county of Cook, State of Illinois, and are now to be tried for the said murder, as charged in the above indictment."

It was intimated that her office was looked upon as a funnel in the matter. The Ballard postmaster knew that he was wangling, at Wayland's instigation, since the "subscriber," whether Wayland or a decoy duck acting for him, did receive the paper, and the wrapper in which it came was shown by Wayland to the grand jury. Mrs. Pensabell fell into the trap, procured a copy of the paper from Mrs. Waisbrooker, and enclosed it in her reply to the Ballard postmaster. This was enough for the Waisbrooker had foreseen and hoped for, and for performing this act of courtesy, the low-minded wretch had her arrested. She cannot be convicted in a fair trial, is clear enough, since she had not read the paper, and did not know what it was called. But Wayland, whose chief delight is in working malicious injury on his fellow men, will eagerly swear to any lie, and will leave no stone unturned in his cowardly crusade against womanhood. He has already lost the respect of all decent people who know him; and he will emerge from this affair, branded with an ineradicable stigma.

All that is needed is money to meet the necessary legal and other expenses, that this court may not be allowed to triumph in his shame. The comrades at Home are working hard in the matter, and have sequestered the same lawmen who did such splendid service in behalf of the man and woman. The party are involved in principle of free speech, the liberties of our two comrades and perhaps the life of one of them, and probably the restoration of our postoffice and a decisive end to the persecution of the Anarchists. A clear victory will win the attention of thousands of people in Tacoma, Seattle, and the country round, and will enormously strengthen the propaganda in western
Washington. Is it any wonder we are unrest
gent in our appeal? We are poor in cash,
and need help to make this light. Contri-
butions, small or large, in preparation for the
mails should be sent. All to Oliver A. Verity,
Home, Wash. Money orders should be
drawn on the postoffice at Lake Bay, Wash.
A little help from each will quickly meet
the needs of the defense. But, there is need of
great haste, as the trial is set for July. I
hope no reader will pass this by without
some response. I shall pleased to give
some further information about this case, or
concerning affairs. Home.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

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Current Comment.
The world, and especially the United
States, is upon the brink of a financial panic.
Already indications of the approaching col-
lapse can be discerned by the close student
of public affairs. The shriveling among the
speculating money kings are already quietly
drawing in their investments, getting a good
breathing space in preparation for the
coming crash. The less informed and more reckless
ones will go on for a few months yet, but
gradually all will take alarm, and then
the scramble to cover will precipitate the crisis.
The temporary inflation of business, which has
prevailed in this country particularly
since the war with Spain, will prove a
very great boomerang for the plutocrats, and
especially for the Republican party. The
speculative disconnected will then
receive a powerful impulse, for the people
will be forced to realize that they have been
badly bunched by the false cry of prosperity.
As a matter of fact, the "prosperity"
has existed only as a figment of Republican
assertion. The people are about to realize
that they have the gold standard and the
empire and their inevitable concomitant—
slavery. A pack of trouble is brewing for
Termanaut Teley and his imperialistic crew.

This is about the place to assure my read-
ers that I am not now going to go
up to the hending of these notes. I have run
sacked the daily newspapers for something
"current" upon which to "comment," but I
have found nothing new. The world wages on
without any special incident, and why
should I bore you with a stale recital of
what was last week a repetition of the week
before? I might tell you that a few more
scandals in government have been unearthed in
Washington; that fresh facts concerning
the awful brutalities committed in the Phil-
ippines by our brave soldier heroes have
come to light; that the British government is
still murdering Boer women and children
in the concentration camps of South Africa;
that a few more victims of our industrial
barbarism committed suicide this week,
because they saw no other way to escape from
poverty's hell; that a few more "mergers" and
trysts were formed; that crime is still in-
creasing; that the leaders of the country are
grounding their usual grind of injustice,
convicting the petty criminals and ignoring
the larger ones; that capital, proud and ar-
rogant, sways national and State legis-
lature; and the common denominator of restless and rebellions; that the politicians are talking about the Porto Rico tariff;

that the preachers are wrangling over the
easy ceremonies and inconsequential stu-
pilities of church creeds; all this I might
note and ruminate upon, but it is not worth
the while. The mass of humanity is strug-
gling forward blindly, busy with the small
things, but Destiny, silent and grim, sits
brooding in the invisible court, while we
who watch her face, must wait.

Something is going to happen before long.
We cannot guess its nature, but it will hap-
pen. How do we know? Well, perhaps
next week I can tell you.

Ross W. Winn.

A Protest.
Comrade Winn's announcement that he intends to publish a paper under the name of Winn's Firebrand will not let us rest.

Too many almost hallowed memories are associated with the name of Firebrand in the minds of its founders, so I cannot refrain from suggesting to the comrade to choose another title for his coming journalistic venture. I am certain even without having asked any of the surviving founders of the old Firebrand, that every one of them dis-
likes to see this name appropriated. The privations endured, the ceaseless labor, the privations and all at the hands of the few com-
rades to keep the paper afloat in the first years of its existence have endeared the name
so much to us that we almost feel it as a sacrilege to have it restored with the pre-
fix "Winn's."

The old Firebrand was thoroughly Anarch-
istic and did not recognize the ownership of
anyone; it was the comrade's paper, every
reader had an equal interest in it, and the
stamp furnished at the end of every year an
expense account, for the information of all
concerned.

Shades of Herman Eich and John P. P. Watson,
arrive from your resting places and smite this
fellow on the brain, who wants to appropri-
ate as his own private property the banner
we first unfurled to the breezes and storms of
discontent; the banner which after many
unsuccessful efforts on the part of others,
has been the battle standard of the English
speaking radicals in North America.

Ross Winn's Firebrand! How do you like that
Mrs. Squires, you named the baby before it was born? What is the matter with
J. H. Morris', Henry Mads', A. Insik's, Mary Insik's, Chas. Doering's, and Mrs.
Squires' Firebrand? Comrade Herman Eich,
the reincarnation of Heinrich Heine, lost his
life while envisaging for the paper, and
our beloved John P. P. Watson. alias Bob Ingerisol, has disappeared. The above
mentioned comprised the old group.

The lack of originality on Winn's part sur-
prises me. If he insists on going thundert
ning down the endless lane of history as a pub-
lisher of a rival of his, I do not give it a
more exasperating name like "Winn's Win-
owing," or "Vaporings," or "Wisdom,"
anything of that kind, but leave the Fire-
brand alone! It cannot be resurrected.

-THOUGHTS OF THOUGHTS.

* * *

Judging from the bloodthirsty and private
information, Comrade John P. P. Watson is in possession under the
name of Carlos Candor, who makes "A Call to
Mandrals" in the *Daily Graphic* of Rome,
Buenos Aires, Santa Catherine, Brazil, to whom we wrote
information before we decided to publish the call,
gives in high tones on Comrade Candor, and tells us that he has been with us in Portland.

What is Liberty?
I see from your answers, correspondent that
you do not believe in equal liberty. Now in contrast to equal liberty there is un-
restricted or absolute liberty. Do you be-
lieve in that? And, while you are at it,
would you mind telling me what you mean
by that? Then, perhaps we could enter into a friendly dis-
cussion on some points of vital importance
to the understanding of what is Anarchism?

Boston, Mass.

A. H. SIMPSON

What liberty means ought to be toler-
ably obvious. Any external restraint on
the will is minuscule so much liberty. As no
one's power is equal to his will, there can be
no absolute or unrestricted liberty, if you
come to metaphysics. But from the stand-
point of social science, liberty is called abso-
late or unrestricted when limited by no
human law; and thus presents a contrast
to equal liberty, assumed to be established
by law. Liberty, absolute or unrestricted in
this sense, is what Anarchists believe in.
The proposition that liberty should beequal,
each person giving up a little of his own to
form some combination and thus calling
"invasion," is the theoretical basis of
government, and clearly quite opposed to
Anarchism. With the proviso that this portion
of liberty surrendered by each individ-
ual should be the head of an equal con-
invasion" others "and right" to combine for
the purpose of preventing others from "in-
vading" us. All that is metaphysical. It
is an example of those propositions about
Everything in General which are quite too
general to apply, and thus mean Nothing in
Particular. Take a case—ask who is to de-
clude whether refusing to be vaccinated,
singing a bawdy song, keeping a saloon—any
of a hundred like of personal liberty? Why,
please—"invasion" others "the equal liberty" of
others, and is a proper subject for them
to combine against; you will then see at once
that the Individualist doctrine is just the
general doctrine of government, and its
infinite recommendation not to govern
oppressively. Then it is not Anarchism.
The true Anarchist is not a metaphysician.

He believes in liberty as absolute and un-
restricted as entire absence of government can
make it, not, because he has any dogmas
about right and wrong, invasion or non-in-
vansion, equality, egoism, altruism, or any-
thing else speculative and incapable of being
tested; but because he has no quarrel with
anyone, and because he has no quarrel with
anyone. It is only when experience teaches him, as it also
do the Individualist, that the more there is of
restriction, human law, trying to fix it so
that everyone will have equal liberty, going
the wrong way to conduce to the maximum
of preventing invasion, and so forth, the
worse off we are. The worse that is, not in
the metaphysical sense of being happy,
for no one knows anything about that, but in
the practical sense of making those
particular things we pretty well want, such as plenty, peace and easy
settlement of controversies which admit settling at all, but especially moral—energy, ability, self-reliance, training in the way we should go. The only way to make sure of having equal liberty is to make the keenest and the kindestgentleman who takes pains to prevent our getting ahead of each other, have precious little. The Kilkenney cats had equal liberty while they were suspended over the clothes line by their tails. They were better off when they were good for nothing and expected to eat the cat food. The kitten cats are not sold out of the store anymore. We know better now. We have put an end to them. We live more like the South Americans where they have a warm climate and the bananas are grown in the orchards and are brought to the stores. The climate is better and the people are happier.

C. L. JAMES.

A Call to Comrades.

Comrades! I herewith send a call to all of your respective sex, nation, or opinion. All you who are tired of making propaganda only and consequently are devo of seeing at least a part of the good things of this earth in your own time of life: who wish to realize in part or in full an ideal mode of living—come to me in any way you can! The afterward is assured.

Philosophic and theorizing will never fill an empty stomach, put a coat on a naked body or helped, humanity a bit to enjoy life and the things of the world. Let us put preaching aside for once and practice instead. We all have done enough of the former to know what it amounts to. All if these ages, all had practised as much as they preached, in what good condition would we live! But is it already too late? I think, better late than never. What do we achieve by continuing in the old style? The answer lies before your vision everywhere. Where is our gain? For one we will no longer sail on this tack which only gives pain and no reward. I am in for another: one that will lead me into the right course; at the end of which lay the natural port the whole human race have been looking for all these ages. Those who go with me derive the same benefits that accrue to the joint and individual. But should we one go with me, well then, I shall go alone. You thereby lose a comrade; whereas I lose you.

Now, what inducement can I offer? By working and producing as well as I do, I can guarantee independence, sufficiency and ample diversity in all life’s necessities, freedom from oppression and lust but not least, enough spare time to enjoy life and some of the good things of this world, for you all, including the future welfare of your children.

Here is an outline of the prospect in view: I have 3000 acres of flat and hilly woodland, about one third of which is cleared, one half of the latter stump free, ready to be put under the plow, this being a rarity, as not one former of the coast range of this State has more than ten acres of plow land.

It also contains pasture and hundreds of different fruit trees, mainly orange, banana and walnut, as well as dozens of other kinds of fruit trees. This land lies on the bay of San Francisco, the most beautiful, the largest and deepest bay on the coast of South America. The climate here is very healthy, productive and stable: nearly all fruits, grains, flowers and vegetables of the temperate and semi-tropical zones are cultivated here. I have a number of large, massive stone buildings (the main one being two stories), fitted out as follows: nine living and one dining room and one kitchen. A large, rice stamping and cleaning mill; meal and grist mill; coffee stamping, and cleaning mill; a sugar house for the making and refining of cane sugar; other parts to be fitted out as a malt factory; a large wine factory with immense storage cellars; a granary and large granaries; a large still house for rye and moonshine; a large store for canoeing bananas; ample stables for cattle, horses, and poultry, and a good sized frame house at the wharf used as a ware house, and lastly a building fitted out for a retail store. I have the greatest water power in this part of the coast—sufficient for four water wheels of from six to eight metres in diameter, one half to one and a half meters in width. The best drinking water, the finest scenery, land and location imaginable.

Cosmos colony is reached in a three hours drive and in a half hours’ crossing of the bay by ferry from Joinville, a town of 7600 or 8000 inhabitants, the two and a half hours’ sail from San Francisco, the best and largest and most important port in South Brazil. Inhabitants, 3000 to 4000.

My intention is to conduct only such industries as the place is already fitted up to carry on, and with few goods we need little capital to start, and that require little work and bring large profits, and ready sales here and abroad. For instance, the drying of bananas, the making of wine and champagne of some, distilling of essential oils, fruit preserves and marmalades, extracts of coffee and cacao, vanilla, cocoa and their preparations; mangue leaf, drinking and grinding and the fabrication of tannic acid from the fresh leaves. Fish and large shrimp canned, tobacco planting and preparing. These products are mainly designed for exportation. A saw mill to utilize our valuable timber will also later on, not come amiss. Fruit gardening and all agricultural pursuits, just enough for our own consumption. The profits of the sold products to be partly used in the buying of more land and machinery, the building of houses and as a reserve fund. 

Those who come to go in gold digging will have an opportunity close by, but I cannot undertake to say how great would be their findings. What I have, however, and which is certain to be in the future very remunerative is an extensive porcelain clay field and asphalt pit. If enough capital could be arranged to utilize the former for the manufacture of porcelain ware, it would be the grandest as well as the only industry of its kind in the whole of South America. Another remunerative article of exportation are our orchards which are very numerous and variegated. In this part it is a natural flower garden, a paradise for botanists and other naturalists; for no part of the world has the amount of beautiful birds, bugs, butterflies and other insects, harmless and high-colored.

A grant of the future success of Cosmos colony is its location, in the midst of an ignorant population (natives), Joinville, Blumenau, etc., being mainly inhabited by Germans, with a few country settlements of Italians, Hungarians, Poles, and Russians. There are no other Europeans here. North Americans are only one in a thousand. All the roads of this State lead within a half an hour’s ride of Cosmos, and a railroad, whenever one is constructed, must do so. All steamers (through Buenos Aires and Brazil) Hamburg, Bremen, and English steamers call frequently this port.

It will be seen, with these chances, opportunities and inducements held out, that Cosmos once settled by energetic, willing-to-work, comrade, even without money, must be successful, as all causes of failure to a man, or a woman, to the country, are either removed or have never existed. Should a failure after all happen, it can only be the fault of the people. What is most needed here is willing working hands. Of course, comrades who can come with a little cash are very acceptable. If not willing to add it to the general fund, they can have shares in the business stock if so desirous (any round sum taken) receiving at the end of each year their part of the dividends in proportion to the amount invested.

Having in my opinion ample set forth for anyone who may take an interest in my offer and project, its advantages andpecularities remains only to show the different possible ways and means each inhabitant might arrange his or her mode of living, working, and diversion. 

1. Communitists of all phases can enjoy Communism in its fullest sense. Can have separate housekeeping in a single house, communal property, can enjoy land to be bought and paid for with money. 2. Individualists of all phases can enjoy Individualism in its fullest sense in separate houses without land. Can enjoy separate houses with sufficient land bought with money. Individual’s products (labor) will be bought and paid for in either money or goods. Both Communists and Individualists can have money shares in the general stock.

Another good feature is the independence that individuals of the feminine sex can realize in the preserve and fruit industry, which, if there are a sufficient number who so desire, will be left entirely to them. Besides, the gathering and cultivating of different aromatic flowers. From four to five miles a day on the average can be realized, possibly more.

I myself hold that men and women should have equal rights in all things, including assembly and intercourse. Full freedom in speech and action, each one tolerating the same in all others. In Cosmos there can be no restriction, force, censure, or war, disputes and jealousies, as every one has the chance and opportunity to arrange everything to his individual liking.

Consider, and act, comrades; for I am alone in this State at least, with thousands of miles a day away. The fare from New York City, or any of the large European cities ranges between $40 and $50. Letters for further information in any European language, will be answered in the same.
A Plan for Mrs. Craddock.

March 17, Mrs. Ada C. Craddock, a woman of education and refinement residing in New York City, was sentenced to the city prison on Blackwell's Island by Judges Hinshdale, McKeon and Mayer, for selling one of her books called "The Wedding Night" to a detective.

Such a verdict is one of the blackest assaults on the freedom of the press that can well be imagined. Mrs. Craddock believes she has a mission in life to give the people instruction on a subject of the most vital importance to the human race, and in her book she discusses the sex question in a way to arouse all the venom of that self-appointed censor of the morals of American people, Anthony Comstock, who determined to crush her if possible.

Mrs. Craddock is well known in England, where she was employed at one time by Wm. T. Stead, the famous British journalist. On her arrest at first, Mr. Stead at once wrote her a letter commending her for the work she was doing, and with the letter came a ten pound note from the writer, to help her pay the expenses of the trial.

So she was defended by Rev. Ramsford, but the opinions of these noted men counted for nothing with Judge Hinshdale, who, in passing the sentence on the woman, declared that "I have never before known of such indecent filth... We consider her a danger to public morals..." I think I may safely assume that the readers of Free Society will consider the judgment of the brilliant journalist and famous clergyman of greater weight than that of an unknown judge, who has used his power to send a woman to jail for uttering words of wisdom and warning to the rising generation. And I think they will also agree with me that the battle for a free press, the cause of freedom, is being won, so long as outrages can be perpetuated.

Provincetown, Mass.  J. T. SMALL.

Liberty.

How is it that men lose their liberty and become slaves in civilized life? As a rule this loss is a result of their own shortcomings, indolence, their supineness, their recklessness, their pride, their averseness and their fondness for display. They begin by conceding a little to those whom they accept as their representatives, and it is a short and easy matter after that. These benefactors are soon transformed into masters and oppressors—so it always is and must be. It is dangerous to give gifts, and still more dangerous to accept them. Where little is given at first, the demand is soon made doubly short. So it is, and has been in all the processes and transformations of government in the past. We begin by entrusting our business to others and putting our power, our liberty, into the hands of the few, and the most dangerous innovation that was ever permitted by man. The only safe rule in this world, is to deal with everybody courteously but cautiously, and to keep him always at arm's length. So far as practicable in daily life, trust nobody, make no promises or contracts, and assume no obligation of any kind. Thus and thus only can you continue to be your own master.

The growth of power and the increase of despotism has come from the same source in all countries and at all times. It all comes from small beginnings and from harmless concessions at first. Usually something is done from a sense of duty, in nine cases out of ten something to please the Lord, and they may well be proud of them, for they pay for them with their own toil and with their own blood. Unfortunately people can become accustomed and finally indifferent to anything, even to a despotism. People who are used to a bad government are not conscious of any better conditions of affairs than that which they find in their own country. That is the advantage that tyrants always have. People never like a change and so they are content to go on and suffer inequality.

J. WILSON.

—Philosophic—Anarchism.

In the last number of Document Friend Morton defined cowardice as "one who whitewashes his colors in the time of danger." How about one who does not dare to ever show his colors? Is cowardice not equally shown in failing to ever advocate the better as he does after all? Is it not the same as the one who openly advocates obedience to law while it exists: a courageous, monitors advocate of "absolute individual liberty," especially when all present methods of effecting changes in the law are to an Anarchist utterly objectionable? Again he says: "Every propaganda has those who attach themselves to it from good reasons (philosophy) and those who do so without sufficient reason. Who is to be the judge of "good" or "sufficient" reasons or reason? Is there an absolute "good" or "sufficient," an increment per se? 'Anarchy is something more than a creed.' Well, then, must it not be somewhat obscure? We are told that the "philosophic Anarchist" may draw ten thousand and erroneous conclusions, and make a million mistakes in action! Well, it rather seems to me that "philosophic Anarchism" needs strict limitation. Our interfering comrades [& does a name as pleasing as 'socially denote the quality of the writer?'] says that it is absurd to claim that we obey the laws because nobody does obey all the laws," and Comrade Morton adds, "Nobody disobeys all the laws." The true Anarchist, as I conceive, does not really obey any law, he only fails to disobeys it in letter. Obedience is conscious designed conformity. Every Anarchist is, I judge, more or less philosophic, in fact every one has to some extent "rationalyzed" thinking. Is not all thinking somewhat rationalized? Let us be more anxious to live truly our ideal than to concern ourselves whether the people shall regard us as "troubleurs" or not. A true man will drive all else but individual improvement, out of his inspiration to action, well knowing that mankind lifted up will be magnetic of unmeasured blessing to the world.

J. M. CLARKE.

—Here and There.—

The Swiss republic still does police service for the European monarchies. Comrade Morand was appointed by the Italian government and the republic obeyed.

Near Bare, Italy, 5,000 peasants burned the revenue houses and finally stormed the courthouse in the city.

Bolschanoff, the Russian rebel who shot the minister Sipigau and has been sentenced to death, utterly ignored the imperial court proceedings and did not even answer any questions. But when he was asked whether he had any accomplices, loudly proclaimed: "Yes, certainly, the Russian government."

Dr. Skarvan, an ex-military doctor of Austria, now living in Switzerland, refused to pay a ticket tax and sent the Locarno municipality the following letter:

"If I was sure that the money collected by the government would be employed for a useful and moral purpose, I would willingly pay double or threefold the amount; the government demands from me. But I know that the Swiss governmen—like any other government—rules by violence, maintains its armies called soldiers and a regiment of useless officers, builds prisons for the men led astray, helps the rich and oppresses the poor, supports the priests who falsify the Christian truth,—for these and other reasons I would commit an immoral act if I would pay only a centime of tax without protest."

Comrade Emma Goldman delivered her lecture on the "Modern Phases of Anarchism" to a large audience in Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, May 11.

One comrade was run out of town from Monroe, La., because he had distributed a number of copies of the pamphlet "Roosevelt, Creagh, and Anarchy."

Comrade Kropotkin's "Memoirs" have been published in the French language by V. Stock, Paris, under the title Autour d'une Vie.

—Home Defense Fund.—

Amount already reported... $57.78

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