

LUCIFER.

THE LIGHT-BEARER.

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LUCIFER--THE LIGHT-BEARER.

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A MARCHING SONG.

We mix from many laods,
We march for very far;
In hearts and lips and hands
Our staffs and weapons are;
The light we walk in darkens sun and moon
and star.

It doth not flame and wane
With years and spheres that roll.
Storm cannot shake nor stain
The strength that makes it whole,
The fire that moulds and moves it of the sov-
ereign soul.

We are they that have to cope
With time till time retire!
We live on timeless hope,
We feed on fears and fire;
Time, foot by foot, gives back before our
sheer desire.

From the edge of harsh derision;
From discord and defeat;
From doubt and lame division,
We pluck the fruit and eat,
And the mouth finds it bitter, and the spirit
sweet.

We strive with time at wrestling
Till time be on our side,
And hope, our plumetted nestling,
A full-fledged eagle ride
Down the loud length of storm's windward
wings divide.

We are girt with our belief,
Clothed with our will and crowned;
Hope, fear, delight and grief,
Whose face on wisdom burns,
Their calls are in our ears as shadows of dead
soul.

All but the heart forsakes us,
All falls us but the will;
Keen treason tracks and takes us
In pits of blood to fill;
Friend fails from friend, and faith for faith
lays wait to kill.

But under moon and stars
And shafts of the urgent sun,
Whose face on wisdom burns,
And mountain-heads is one,
Our march is everlasting till time's march be
done.

Whither we know and whence,
And dare not care where through,
Desires that urge the sense,
Fears changing old with new;
Hearts and palms beat the ways we press into;

Earth gives thorns to tread,
And all her thorns are tread,
Through lands burnt black and red
We pass with feet unshod;
Whence we would be man shall not keep us,
nor man's God.

Though the great desert heasts
Howl at our backs by night,
And thunder-forging priests
How their dead idols fire bright
And on their broken anvils beat out bolts for
light.

O nations unfaded,
O single people and free,
We dreamers, we derided,
We mad blind men that see,
We bear you witness ere ye come that ye shall
be.

We have the morning star,
O foolish people! O king!
With us the day-springs are,
We greet all the fresh day-springs;
Forsake, and with us, all the multitudes of
things.

O sorrowing hearts of slaves
We heard your heart from far!
We bring the light that saves,
We bring the morning star;
Freedom's good things we bring you, whence
all good things are. A. C. SWINBURNE.

The Age of Lying.

[See editorial, "Private Property."]

Comte separated history into a Theological Age, a Metaphysical Age, and its Positive Age; Draper describes the Age of Faith; Paine announces the Age of Reason; but the nineteenth (nearly twentieth) century progresses into the Age of Lying. This is eminently fitting and natural. To us have been reserved the "peaceful triumphs of commerce." Wars of conquest, of honor, of religion, deeds of errantry, love and romance have ceased, but the tariff—"it must and shall be preserved."

Well, so the philosophers decreed, and unlimited panegyric has attested the benefits, until Solon and Cicero, watching from their spirit observatories scenes in the New York Stock Exchange as the "bears" raid "Reading," do reverent homage to the dignity and purity of American institutions, weeping regrets that Athens and Rome lived and died unacquainted with the graceful accomplishments of "puts," "calls," and "straddles."

Pre-eminently, ours is an age of bargain-making. What is bargain-making? Defined by that most sacred of all laws, custom, it is the buying a thing for less than its worth and selling it for more. Heroism and truth, like other manifestations, flourish according to influences, extraneous and innate. Will the critics discover, for

the average understanding, wherein sublimity is exercised in bargain-making? What ennobling element, or elements, inherent in the art of buying a thing for less than it is worth and selling it for more? To judge principles by results, successful merchants, brokers, speculators, preachers like Talmage, politicians, manufacturers, traders, all professions supported by public patronage, are not generally types of high moral development. This can hardly be denied. The characters of coal barons and railroad kings, landlords and traders, studied for their actions as opposed to hired testimonials, contain little of candor. Instead, a union of selfishness, unscrupulousness and cruelty. Compared with corporations directed by (Gundis or Armours, Napoleon loses his egoism. He used cannon, they dollars; he caused instantaneous and bloody destruction; they wear out lives gradually, unless the creature, disdaining his slavery, shortens the road by suicide. Estimates of men and actions change. Tenyson now asks:

"Home of Caesar, Rome of Peter,
Which was crueller, which was worse?"

Truly great men rarely follow, or, if follow, succeed in commercial pursuits. Newton and Burns, Spencer and Webster, died poor, while a lesser neighbor, intellectually and morally, makes the fortune. Physically, life thrives by the law of survival of the fittest; commercially, survival of the meanest.

One universal law has science found—the dependence of effects upon causes. Logic, then, is underneath commerce producing faithfulness, and that not only with the individual but with the nation, in politics and in religion. The human atoms which compose society strive for the frutrage of earth. They are so nearly matched that slight advantages frequently determine possession, hence they struggle and try to over-reach each other. He who fails to avail himself, whether from dullness or scruples, of the arts of this warfare, generally suffers defeat. Once personal progress, high resolve, sincere belief, animated and decided this tournament of the human race; now cunning awards the prizes. The first was the Age of Chivalry, the second is the Age of Trafficking. Examples of integrity are notably picked from the walks of life least bounded by business exchange.

The ruralist and recluse, though in all respects human in frailties, hold to their faiths and consciences in matters spiritual and temporal better than men of "affairs." In many ways the difference may be seen—politics a gamble, business the practice of artful misrepresentation, religion a farce, society a pantomime of affection. Honesty, the best policy, still a proper doctrine to teach clerks, has long been obsolete with employers. The one must lose his position by sharp practice, the latter maintains it by the method. Clerks should tell facts to employers, but not to customers. Only refined and progressive liars can bring forth mercantile advertisements for papers with the due solemnity. Consequently, moral character, in scientific nomenclature, has become functionless, rudimentary, degenerated into an absurdity. It is no longer among the signs by which we conquer. The faculty needed instead is judgment sufficient to combine fact and falsehood in a way they cannot be distinguished, and to use them discreetly in the world's marts.

Yet people to-day are not constitutionally worse than in other ages. History is merely repeating an old result—commerce destroying integrity. If partners in business soon dissolve their partnership after discovering fraud in the firm, society, too, will disintegrate whenever the sincerity of its members is impaired.

When mankind fought for religion, however barbarous and mistaken they were, a strong sincerity dwelt in them. They believed in the professed creed. Armies meeting in conflict for the supremacy of Europe were inspired by patriotism, faith, or glory. High and noble feelings, these, though destructive in results, compared with cold, plotting avarice.

History repeating itself means that America, in all conditions of similarity with the past, shall reap the same harvest. Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome, once mighty empires, are gone. Time, then, has a sovereignty over nations as over individuals. In vain do apologists labor to explain the decline of civilization by licentiousness. Homer and Ovid depict their countries sensual in youth as in dotage. In truth, an effeminate nation can never be extremely licentious. Vice requires physical stamina. Other causes for ruin must be sought. Behold! In every instance, commerce, with its consequences—an opulent few, an impoverished many preceded decay. The patriotism, confidence and earnestness of the people died from uselessness. Wealth led in importance. The great, sympathetic, national heart throbbed no longer. Disintegration began. While Rome guttured the earth and sought not riches, Rome was invincible; when gold and traffic had engaged her people, until the throne sold to the highest bidder, such as political nominations now wait on the biggest "barrel," only disperser and toil could purify the fallen race. A less mercenary nation succeeded her. In Europe, Asia and Africa war and agriculture have characterized the growing powers, wealth and trade the declining ones.

A sturdy economy, the country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.

First a republic, afterward opulent, Rome required a sterner government, and erected a monarchy. This monarchy, created for the protection of wealth, was, of course, favored and sustained by it. Money and despotism have always borne a reciprocal relation, each leaning on the other. Why is absolutism a tendency of the old age of nations? Because, when the masses of people are poor and a few enormously rich, when commerce has impaired public and private confidence, the disintegrating process has begun, and the influential classes instinctively feel the need of a strong, watchful, arbitrary power to hold, by ready force, society together. But despotism never averts the catastrophe. Despotism confines and postpones it a few centuries, only for it to burst, finally, with terrific force. Already in the United States appear indications of the monarchical stage. The Roman and American senates bear an ominous resemblance. Though inhabitants of rural parts are shocked at the bare suggestion of monarchy, many thoughtful people of our large cities think a strong, or, sterner executive government imperatively required. They cite election forces, characters of candidates, insecurity of life, barrenness of political influence, miscarriage of justice when capital is interested. Such things naturally begot despotism. Even hired soldiers support corporations in their undertakings, and, at common warning, the enthusiasts of our country could place a well-equipped army in operation to serve their interests. When the revolution takes place, to which, plainly and steadily, we are drifting, these private armies will be prominent fighters on the side of capital, for Pinkerton marksmen forerun Praetorian Guards! Given, too, a disciplined two hundred thousand soldiers, a respectable minority support in the wealthy classes, a military genius to command, a time of revolution, and the Republic, despite every virtue and boasted intelligence, may be ruled with power and severity equal to Russian absolutism. Popular mobs are the play targets of trained military, except when the Uniforms don't care!

Like persons, nations and civilizations do not grow old by the annum. The duration of their lives are chronicles by events, and a century with one count for a thousand years with another. America in many respects has lived longer than China. Until lately commerce was not a common pursuit with celestials. Instead, the emperor with his viceroys annually plowed some furrows and cast the seed to emphasize agriculture as the basis of society and occupation of their nation. Yet so invidious are the effects of trade that already this vast people, founded in prehistoric antiquity, weakens at home and abroad. True, the mechanical inventions of defense, gun-powder and steam crafts, have prevent-

ed the destroying blow of a foreign foe injuring modern institutions, but these are powerless against another and equal danger, internal disruption. Hence to civil war falls the work of foreign war in the future. When from any cause a republic becomes mercenary with the auxiliary politics and practices, absolutism is not only inevitable, but desirable. If railroad and telegraph monopolies exorbitantly tax public industry, while judges and legislators do the bidding of capital, we suffer the losses of despotism without its advantages. Micarrings of freedom, with unjust taxation, are the losses; the compensating advantages not received are expeditious, unterrorized civil administration, and generally justice. Napoleon governed France better than her Republic has or can do. The dream of universal empire, crowned and fed by constant efforts to crush him, exhausted the people, but his civil policy as First Consul displays the wisdom of his administration when unharassed by foreign war.

Can the crisis be passed? Has time and experience no relief? Successive peoples have experienced these conditions, ending in desolation and terror. Now, with sixty centuries to furnish a philosophy, possessing a sum total of intellectually never existent before, in an age of mechanical and scientific wonders, must we suffer and die from a long-known affliction? Whether hoary Despotism, by right of primogeniture, shall succeed in the government of earth, or younger and juster influences prevail, the stamens of this age must determine. What has political economy to say?

Amid the bewilderment of secondary causes, back of appearances, we find in scripture a passage of prophetic insight: "The love of money is the root of all evil." This age of lying, rule of Mammon, fall of nations, death of civilizations, have one birthplace. In the cradle of PRIVATE PROPERTY a wrong can always be rocked. Sensuality, Superstition, war, are incidental causes mainly brought on by the great One. Property is the greatest incentive force at work in the universe. It separates families, parts lovers, debases youth, tortures old age, corrupts government, declares war, commits murders, and deceives friends. Yet dollars represent honest toil!

Why should a factor so necessary produce wide-spread misery? This leads to a second question. Is property, or private property, the dawn? Is our system of private property the best possible, or is any system of private property expedient? Is Co-operative Society the remedial principle? In the early periods of nations, storing up wealth was not the shadowing ambition. Danger and suffering from adverse holding of goods and lands might then rationally be scoffed at. With the density of populations, inventions of machinery, division of industries requiring a handmaid in Commerce, private property changed to Second-hand Slavery—no less inexorable and insupportable than any baneful, Lamb-like in infancy, tigerish in maturity. Property and exchange, both on a genetic scale, are indispensable, in a state of civilization. How to enjoy these advantages without counterbalancing their abuse political economy must think out or fight out. The situation is Quincy's "Peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." Happily, for the first time in history efforts are made to avert despotism and following dissolution by harmonizing commercial factors instead of punishing them. A few have recognized in the situation the work of natural causes. Agitators, reformers, labor cranks, are offering explanations, and endeavoring to impress the popular understanding with the regenerating power of a new economy. If they fail, either in securing an approval, or, afterward, achieving the results promised, then Despotism, left without a competitor, can mount the throne of the world.

To emerge purified and triumphant from the many corruptions of avarice, to relieve freedom from the deadly manacle of economic laws, require measures adapted to the heart as well as the hand, and necessarily radical in their practice. Exhortations to honesty and charity can avail little while the objects of life draw in an opposite direction. Viewing a wrecked past and darkening perils in the future, if only fundamental changes can rightly and equitably adjust the factors of human happiness, then our course is plain to accept with manliness the new organism for society and different status to property, believing them suited for the activity in common life of truer, nobler and sweeter motives—H. W. B. Hewen, in *Freethinker's Magazine*.

LUCIFER

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MOSES HARMAN & E. C. WALKER

EDITORS.

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We date from the First of January 1601. This era is called the Era of Man (E. M.), to distinguish it from the theological epoch that preceded it. In that epoch the earth was supposed to be flat, the sun was its attendant Light revolving about it. Above was Heaven where God ruled supreme over all potentates and powers; on earth ruled the Pope as the viceroy of God; below was the kingdom of the Devil, Hell. So taught the Bible. Then came the New Astronomy, the astronomy of Copernicus, Galileo and Bruno. It demonstrated that the earth is a globe revolving about the sun; that the stars are worlds and suns; that there is no "up" and "down" in space. Vanished the old heaven, vanished the old hell; the earth became the home of man. Bruno sealed his devotion to the new truth with his life on the 17th day of February, 1600. During the 17th century Grotius wrote the first work upon international law. This was the herald of the Arbitration which is to supplant war in the settlement of national differences.

Carlyle says: "Tell me what a man thinks of this universe, and I will tell you what his religion is." When the modern Cosmogony came, the Bible and the Church, as infallible Oracles, had to go, for they had taught that regarding the universe which was now shown to be untrue in almost every particular. So we take the beginning of the 17th century as an appropriate and a convenient starting point from which to date the Era of Man.

ONE MORE APPEAL.

As the day appointed for the judicial strangulation of the Chicago Seven draws near, it behooves every friend of justice and humanity, every lover of his race, all who prefer peace and safety to war and bloodshed, to arouse himself and themselves to a realization of the full meaning of that contemplated murder. We use the word murder advisedly, well knowing that by common consent it means "killing with malice aforethought." Nothing but malice, hate, revenge, can be named as an adequate reason or explanation for the infliction of the death penalty upon these men, as we think we are prepared to show.

To those who have read our paper for the past eighteen months or two years it is needless to state or restate our attitude towards the so-called Anarchists of Chicago, and the methods of reform proposed by them. We have iterated and reiterated that while sympathizing with them in their struggle to better the condition of the laborer we do not indorse the methods of redress advocated by them. But because we do not indorse their methods, this is certainly no sufficient reason why we should now, in their extreme peril, turn our backs upon them and leave them to their fate. We believe in human solidarity. We believe that a wrong done to one is a wrong done to all. We believe that in the realm of ethics and of psychic forces, as well as in the realm of physics, so-called, action and reaction are equal. We believe that the reaction from the murder of the Chicago Seven—if the people of Illinois carry out their present murderous intentions—will be incarnated in more murders, and that these in turn will produce others, until, in all human probability, every city and perhaps every hamlet in the land will be the arena of red-handed war. The killing, the murder—if murder it was—of the seven policemen at the Haymarket was doubtless the harvest of a crop that they themselves had sown. In saying this we do not mean that the convicted seven or any of their friends, throw the death-dealing bomb. Up to the time of the trial, relying, to some extent, at least, upon newspaper reports of the affair, we thought it probable that such was the case, but when the prosecution, with all the advantages possessed by them

before and at the trial, so completely failed to connect any one of the seven with the overt act, we were compelled to admit that that theory was untenable. We do not need to take any other evidence than that furnished at the trial, and in the published accounts as given by the press dispatches, to justify us in saying that the police reaped as they had sown when they met a bloody death at the Haymarket. For weeks and months previous to that truly lamentable affair the police of Chicago had been in the habit of brutally clubbing unoffending people, and in several instances shooting and stabbing them to death. The Haymarket meeting itself had grown out of a most inexcusable, most unwarrantable abuse of power on the part of the police, whereby six persons had been killed and many wounded at the McCormick works, only a day or two before. For some of the facts bearing on the case in hand, see the fourth page of this issue. This statement of facts is made by Col. Norton, editor of the Chicago Sentinel; a man who has had abundant means of ascertaining the exact facts in regard to the matters of which he speaks. These facts and many others of like kind, point with almost infallible certainty to the conclusion that the condemned seven did not throw the bomb and did not expect a bomb to be thrown; and inasmuch as the legitimate result of the tragedy was the defeat of the eight-hour movement for which these men were working, the natural inference is that the bomb was thrown by an agent of capitalism.

But suppose it could be shown and had been shown, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that these men or one of them, had thrown the deadly weapon. What then? Did not a Chicago judge, of equal jurisdiction with Judge Gary—Judge Sloan, we think it was—give it as his opinion, that when policemen step out of their line of duty and assail a peaceable assemblage they do so at their peril? According to this opinion, if the policemen met death while forcibly trying to break up a meeting of peaceable citizens then the captain who gave the order under which they acted was the guilty party, and should be tried and punished for manslaughter if not murder. The constitution of the United States guarantees protection to its citizens in the exercise of freedom of speech; it also declares that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Of what use is the right to keep and bear arms without the right to use them when unlawfully or criminally assailed? Is the person of a ruffian in the uniform of a policeman any more sacred than is the person of an individual in citizen's garb? That these men were ruffians, hear Mrs. Wilma's, editor of *Woman's World*:

"Am afraid to speak my thoughts? Yes, I am! My paper would be condemned in the mills if I did, and I should run the risk of having my ribs stamped in by a ruffianly police that have treated hundreds of people in this manner since the 4th of last May, when every soul in the city of Chicago was put under gag law under penalty of death."

Any required amount of evidence, almost, of a similar character, might be quoted if called for.

Once more: Let no one misunderstand our position. While thus contending for the natural right and the civil right of the citizen, the true sovereign, to use force in defense of his person against all comers—the public servants called policemen included—we deprecate and have always deprecated the exercise of that right to use force so long as any other means of defense is left to us. We think it far better, a thousand times better, to oppose passive resistance to legalized invasion, so long as the right of protest, by tongue, pen, types and mail, is allowed us. When this is gone it will be time to consider the expediency of meeting force with force.

More than a year ago, in giving something of a review of the situation in Chicago we penned and printed the following:

"We claim no prophetic powers of vision but will simply venture to say that in our humble opinion if the people of Illinois allow the condemned Socialists to be hung it will be like the sowing of dragons' teeth in the field. The planting in the ground of these seven Anarchists so-called, unwise and misguided as they may have been, will bring forth enemies to the state and to Chicago a hundred fold in numbers, power and vindictiveness; and if the result should be that in less than five years Chicago should witness scenes

more fearful, carnage more revolting, than was ever witnessed by revolutionary Paris, the men who have authorized and abetted these judicial murders will have themselves to thank for the reign of blood and terror."

To-day we see no reason for changing or retracting anything we then said in regard to the probable effects of this proposed wholesale sacrifice upon the altar of the god Nemesis. We close as we began by calling upon the friends of justice and humanity everywhere—all who love peace, fraternity and safety, and who deprecate war and bloodshed—to do all they can to prevent this more than national calamity.

A DANGEROUS "REMEDY."

ALCOHOLISM AND BALLOT-BOXISM.
The wise physician may, in many instances, find it necessary to prescribe moderate doses of stimulants to a patient far gone in the later stages of alcoholism, but because this is true it does not follow that it is an equally wise action for the social reformer to prescribe voting as a remedy or partial remedy for evils which dependence upon the ballot has produced, or even as a means of "sobering up."

In the first place, the parallel does not permit us to consider the "body politic" at all. Our physician deals with the individual inebriate and we must deal with the individual voter. The question is, What is the best advice to give to the man whose mind has awakened to the need of doing something to bring about better societal conditions? "Cease to do evil" is an injunction of primary importance. So long as a man depends upon the ballot, so long is he incapable of working efficiently along other lines. His zeal and energy are expended in the profitless craze of the "campaign." During a few weeks or months he works feverishly, fiercely, blindly, and then, the election over, he sits in the stupor and inaction that necessarily follow the intoxication, and his last state is worse than his first.

But we are informed that he is a charlatan who advises the victim of the voting habit to quit all at once. He must taper off gradually! "Vote, if you must, but vote to abolish rather than to enact laws." Right here is where the parallel between the man sick from alcoholism and the one sick from ballot-boxism, ceases. The former is his own slave master and his own chief victim; the latter is the master of others and his may be the casting vote necessary to keep one class in subjection to another. Let him release his own slaves and trust to the force of example to help on the work of emancipation. But here comes our physician and tells us that his patient must vote for a while yet, his constitution is not strong enough for total abstinence. Let him vote to repeal, not to enact laws, he says. The important consideration overlooked by this physician is that the man who has advanced far enough to perceive that repeal is the thing needed, is not very anxious to vote, and can, with perfect safety, be advised to vote not at all. Besides this, voting for repeal is a tacit admission of the right of the majority to decide how much of the citizen's private concerns shall be under the control of said majority. Still again, voting for repeal is ineffective so long as the repealers are in a minority, and long before they become a majority the corroding corruption of political life will be sure to have spotted them with the leprosy of law-making and the original purpose of repeal will have been replaced by some scheme of social regeneration by law.

MARK IT WELL.
Our physician's patient, the one who must vote yet awhile to cure him of the desire to vote, is not a repealer. He may think that if all men were as wise and good as he, voting would be unnecessary, but, as they are not, all that he demands now is that they shall quit voting him down. For himself, he is going to keep right on voting patent plasters of "ameliorative measures" upon the sores and inflammations of everybody else. This is the very man for whose benefit the victim of alcoholism was brought upon the stage, and he is of all men the least likely to heed the advice, "Vote for repeal." If he has any faith in repeal, it is only as a secondary measure, to be applied to the Other Fellow's laws after he has gotten all his own pet schemes through the legislative mill.
The exhortation to him to let alone those who do not vote is

breath utterly wasted. Why, bless you, he votes for no other purpose than to secure conformity to his views, believing the practicalization of those views essential to human happiness, and do you suppose that he is going to willingly permit the non-voter to make useless his machinery? In other words, the "governmental crutch" is not for his own support, he doesn't need it, but as a "club to beat out the brains of those" who do not like its pattern or who have outgrown the need of any crutch of any kind, it cannot be excelled in handiness and persuasive force. Dropping metaphor, he wants the ballot, not to make him walk in the path of duty, but to compel others to do as he thinks they ought. And then to tell him that, if he must vote, to vote for repeal only!

There are tens of thousands of good men and women in the various labor parties, and their agitating work is accomplishing much for reform by setting people to thinking, but they all desire to blanket us with laws and their success would make the government yet more paternal than it is now. There would be changes, some, doubtless, for the better, but the general result would not be in the direction of Liberty. On the contrary, the principle of Authority would be strengthened.

The conclusion we reach is that so long as the existing governmental machine is running, all who take a hand in operating it are enemies of the LET-ALONE principle, practically, whatever they may be theoretically, and that the advice they are sure not to heed is that given by our physician, viz., to vote for repeal only when they do vote. Our work as Anarchists, Individualists, is to insist upon the right and necessity of SELF-RULE and SELF-HELP, and to practicalize these as far and as fast as we can by abstention from the polls, passive resistance and voluntary mutualism.

"TRUE ANARCHISM"

While we have no wish nor intention to forestall or anticipate the reply of Comrade Soreng to the criticisms of J. Heron Foster, as given on 4th page, we ask leave of those two gentlemen to point out a few only of what seem to us the incongruities, the self-contradictions, of said criticism. We do this mainly for the reason that many who will see the criticism will probably never see the reply that may hereafter be made by friend Soreng.

1st. To say that under "Anarchism he can do wrong,.... can steal if he so desires by submitting to the forms of punishment awarded to thieves," etc., is a contradiction in terms. An Anarchist cannot steal the property of another, for the moment he attempts to do so he repudiates his Anarchism and becomes an Archist. No laws are needed to restrain or punish Anarchists. The Restraint advocat I by us is for the restraint, the punishment, of Archists, not Anarchists.

2. "You cannot restrain a criminal," says Mr. Foster. Not true. If two men see a third man in the act of cruelly beating a woman, or taking a neighbor's corn against his protest, they, being the stronger, can seize hold of and restrain the wrong-doer from completing his act of invasion. And if, when released, he should repeat his criminal attempt, his fellow citizens, in self-defense, could provide an asylum or penitentiary for him and for all who cannot or will not restrain themselves from trespassing upon the personality or property rights of others.

3. "All, or nearly all governmentals do contend that we have a right to punish an individual for its effect on some other individual as a deterrent of crime." The principle that punishment should be inflicted as a "deterrent to crime" is constantly acted upon. The prohibitory liquor laws, for instance, are enacted and men are punished for selling liquor, not because liquor-selling is of itself a crime but to prevent the crimes that are supposed to follow the drinking of liquor.

4. The evils of State Socialism—i. e. of governmentals—are not simply "incidental," as stated by Mr. Foster. Most of these evils are inherent in all systems of government of man by man. Governmentals seek to rule the good as well as the bad.

5. There would be little "dispute as to what is bad"—i. e., what is criminal—under Anarchism. Natural crimes are few in number and easily defined, but under governmentals there is no limit to the number or classes of crimes. Whatever the government forbids becomes a crime, whether it is such in the nature of things or not.

SERVANT OR MASTER?

Under the head of the "New Party," Samuel P. Putnam, in *Freethinker's Magazine* for October, says many good things. Describing current politics and average politicians he says:

Politicians are cowards. Their own thoughts are carefully concealed. They study popularity. They are not versed in principles, but merely a policy. Expediency is their gospel. They do not seek for justice, but for the majority vote.

Deprecating an appeal to physical force Mr. P. declares that

To use physical violence to-day is to set back the world a thousand years. Reason is the broad road of advancement. Education is the lever of progress. The sword is a terrible arbiter; it never sets things right, it simply overthrows. Physical violence may be necessary when liberty is at stake and the foot, and the bomb may break the manacles. But with an inch of room freedom can appeal to intelligence and win the day.

These utterances are truisms, as we think, that will meet very general acceptance. But when Mr. Putnam speaks of his proposed "new party" and of its relations to the state, it seems to us that he gets things somewhat "mixed." Hear him:

There must be a state, and it should stand for liberty and equality. It should be the servant of the people, and not the master.

There is need of a new party—a party of ideas, and not of methods merely. It must first of all be the people's party—the workingman's party. The rights of labor are to be considered hereafter. They must be protected so that opportunity can come to every one who is willing to toil. It is so now that one is the ruler for a chance to work. It is fortunate if he is not obliged to beg for the chance. Work, like the air, should be every one's common inheritance. To be obliged to work for a chance to do a thing wrong somewhere. The state cannot do anything, but it can at least see that honorable occupation is guaranteed to every citizen.

Why must there be a "state"?

Mr. P. says the state "should be the servant of the people," but in a land of equal rights there are supposed to be no servants, or at least that the servants are such only so long as the arrangement is mutually agreeable. But if "we the people" were to talk of discharging our servant the state and doing our own work without his aid, we would be accused at once of talking treason! The fact is, the state—i. e., those who discharge the functions of the state—is always "the master." There never yet was a state in which the so-called "servants of the people" were not the rulers, the masters of the people, and there never will be. When the "elected persons" cease to be the rulers, then the state, as such, will cease to exist. The last sentence of the extract just quoted shows that mastership, rulership, is Mr. Putnam's idea of what constitutes the function of the state. Here the state—its officers—is expected to take a paternal relation to the citizen. How can it do this—how can it provide honorable occupation for its citizens until it owns or at least controls the natural resources without which labor, occupation, can neither be honorable nor profitable?

Nay, nay, friend Putnam, not more power, but less power in the hands of the State, is what is needed. Let the state, the nation, as fast as the change can safely be made, release its grasp upon the resources of nature—the land, water, the mines, also the money, the commerce, etc., of the country. Let the people elect their own boards of arbitration to settle disputed claims, and trust to natural morality, natural sense of justice, instead of paternalistic legislation, to give a chance for "honorable occupation to every citizen." Legislation and the enforcement of laws are, in their nature, most corrupting. They debauch the conscience, create class distinctions and obliterate the natural sense of justice. The gigantic frauds, the organized monopolies, the rings and syndicates, that now make millionaires of the few while honest industry must beg for a chance to earn its daily bread, would be impossible if we had no organized state.

Mr. Putnam says further that "we want a people's party, swayed by universal intelligence—not a party manipulated by a half-dozen wire-workers whose plan is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer." Ah! yes, to be sure, but where shall we find that first requisite, "Universal intelligence"? And even if the masses of people, by some miraculous interposition, should to-day come into possession of this universal intelligence, would not the few professionals, the "wire-workers" continue as now, to manipulate the elections and control the government in the interest of the few? For, be it ever remembered that the poor, be they ignorant or intelligent, must devote their time and their energies so exclusively, so exhaustively, to their daily struggle for bread that they have neither time nor energy to devote to the elucidation of political and industrial problems.

Again: "The state must not protect the tyrannical use of capital." Allow us to ask, Who are you, Samuel P. Putnam, that you dare to say must, or must

not," to the state? The state is autocratic, or, rather, it is plutocratic. Better say, *Capital must not protect the tyrannical use of the state!*

This latter form of advice is by far the more sensible, by far the more nearly in accord with the facts in the case.

Time was when like the honored secretary of the Secular Union we had faith in political parties—especially a "people's party," yet to be formed; but observation and reflection upon basic principles have convinced us that so long as men love power and wealth as they now do, and so long as the political and governmental machines remain substantially what they now are, just so long will the capable and cunning few continue to use these machines to advance their own selfish purposes and to rob the less cunning, less capable and more scrupulous or conscientious, of the fruits of their labor, of their equal share of Nature's opportunities.

A TENNESSEE JUDGE.

The people of Tennessee lately voted upon a proposed prohibitory amendment to their State Constitution, and defeated it by a good majority. That they did so is small wonder if all the arguments in support of the amendment were of a like nature to those advanced by Judge Trewitt, a reprint of whose letter to the *Athenian* lies before me. In this number of *LUCIFER* I shall quote and suggest some thoughts upon only two sentences, but in subsequent issues I shall give our readers some more samples of the Judge's logic. These are the sentences:

First, no man in organized society has any right except such as the laws of that society or government give or concede to him, and no man in or out of society has any natural right as that which is self evidently wrong or an avowed evil.

The second sentence, as printed, is somewhat obscure, but the first is perfectly clear and is one of the most remarkable assertions that I have read in many a day. It is an utter denial of the fundamental postulate of the Declaration of Independence that all men possess certain inalienable rights. It assumes that neither the property, liberty nor life of the citizen has any other security than the caprice of the majority. It strikes straight to the heart of Liberty with the dagger of Authority. If Judge Trewitt's idea could be fully embodied in law and that law be enforced, the life of an unpopular man would not be worth a week's purchase. Is this strong language? It is, but it is none too strong, and it is not one bit stronger than the Tennesseean's statement warrants. If the Judge is right, if it be true that in society no man has any right not given or conceded to him by the laws of that society, then his life is his by sufferance only, he lives, not because he has a right to live, but because the majority does not deem it expedient to kill him.

I would ask Judge Trewitt where his omnipotent society gets the rights which it only, as he says, can give or concede to the heritage-less individual? If society is the sole possessor and bestower of rights, then the individuals who composed the first society had no rights until they had organized said society. This being indisputably true, according to Judge Trewitt's premise, where did they get the right to ORGANIZE THE SOCIETY?

Prohibition has a very alluring face in the morning twilight of Philanthropy but seen in the searching light of the noonday sun of Reason the seeming angel of Morality is known for what it is, the hideously repulsive devil of Despotism, which the pious Judge Trewitt commands us to fall down and worship. How many prohibition Liberals are prepared to follow the leadership of this man who "speaks as one having authority?" But if the principle of prohibition is right he is logical and man has no rights not given or conceded to him by society.

Private Property.

I desire to call especial attention to the article on the first page, entitled "The Age of Lying," and reproduced from the *Free Thinker's Magazine*. The author clearly perceives the symptoms of our disease and his warning should be rung into the ears of every man and woman in the land. In the race for wealth, liberty is forgotten and justice has become a word of mockery. To gain money and the social position it brings, men sacrifice their honor, their convictions, their rights. They have no time to watch the machinations of designing theorists, the ruinward hastening steps of ignorant fanatics, and they dare not protest against that which they do see lest they shall lose a patient, a client, a customer, a vote. And the millions who are struggling for bare

subsistence more than for luxury know that their lips must be sealed if they would not jeopardize their positions and find themselves with hungry mouths to feed and no work to do.

But our essayist is mistaken in looking upon private property as the demon to be exorcised. It is true that Co-operation is an essential principle of society growth and I think that it is to accomplish very much for human happiness in the years and centuries to come, but never at the sacrifice of individual rights and liberty? What is it that piles up colossal fortunes for the few while it reduces the millions to a state bordering on beggary? Is it private property, the possession of the fruits of toil by the individual toiler? No, it is nothing of the kind. Rather, it is the exact opposite of this, it is the denial of private property by PRIVILEGED PROPERTY. The monopolization of the gratitudes of nature; the special privileges granted by governments to favored individuals and corporations; government issue or control of currency; compulsive taxes of all kinds,—all these are the potential or active factors of Privileged Property, which is the deadly enemy of private property and the great cause of social inequality. One of the minor causes is the prudence of some and the imprudence of the many, but this is sufficient to account for moderate competence on the one hand and the hand-to-mouth living on the other, only; it does not explain the mighty fortunes and the vast army of the unemployed, or employed part of the time only. Millionaires are not made by prudence and economy but by Privilege.

Demand liberty of production and exchange; sweep away the reigning monopolies, chief of which are those of money and land, and refuse to support longer great armies of non-producers, who are the spoilers of the people, and private property will be secure and happiness prevail as never before.

Flashes.

Here Most did not lead the mob of Anarchists against the New York police the other day, although he was near at hand. Since the spouting beer-guzzler was pulled out from under the bed and put in jail he has had a holy horror of the police.—*Topka* (Kas.), "Commonwealth."

Oh, you unscrupulous perverter of the record! Have you no sense of justice, of honor, of fair play? Are you so completely in the power of capital and privilege that you can glory in the shame of the New York police? There was no "Anarchist mob" in that city, and you know it. There was a peaceful meeting of State Socialists (who believe in reform by voting, as Anarchists do not) in Union Square. There was not an Anarchist; either on the platform. They were all State Socialists, and they were there to urge the people to vote for the candidates of the Progressive Labor Party. Voting is your pet panacea, so why do you call these people Anarchists?

There was no mob save that led by Captain Reilly, and this also you know. The 10,000 men gathered around the various stands were quiet and orderly. There was not the slightest excuse for a police attack. And yet it came. Between one hundred and one hundred and fifty policemen charged, without any order to the assemblage to disperse, upon the unsuspecting people. They were infuriated and their clubs fell unmercifully upon all whom they could reach. Men and women were alike the victims of their savage assault. Heads were beaten, arms broken, prostrate men and women kicked and pounded by the uniformed ruffians. In one instance a man, stooping to pick from the ground a helpless woman, was fiercely clabbed and knocked down by one of the pursuing policemen. Scores of perfectly innocent persons were thus severely wounded, and all was done that the police could do to break up the meeting and create a riot. But they did not succeed in doing either. Not a hand was raised against them, and subsequently the audience returned and listened to the concluding speeches of their leaders.

And in the face of all these facts you have the insolent effrontery to call that gathering an "Anarchist mob!" But had there been a mob, had those most cruelly maltreated people resisted the scoundrels who made a cowardly and unprovoked attack upon them, and in thus rightfully defending themselves had they killed some of their tormentors, what a howl all you mouthpieces of the plutocracy would have raised! How you would have clamored for the blood of those people, even as you now clamor for the blood of the speakers at a meeting in Chicago which was similarly attacked, and where a bomb thrown by

an unknown hand killed some of the aggressors.

John Swinton, whom the New York Socialists nominated for Secretary of State, says that he is "without fortune, health, and the resources of life." That is where those who serve Anarchy and Socialism are certain to bring up sooner or later, and where all would bring up if the Socialists and Anarchists should have their way.—*Topka* "Commonwealth."

It is no reproach to a man that he spends his fortune in an attempt to popularize ideas that he believes in, and if he labors so unremittingly that his health is impaired, none but a logician of the *Commonwealth* school would think of tracing that impairment to his Socialism. Of course, no Republican ever failed in "legitimate business" or injured his health by too close application thereto!

But, doubtless, this about Swinton was merely introductory to the portentous warning regarding the horrible things that shall come to pass if "the Socialists and Anarchists" "have their way." Which way, please? That of the Anarchists or of the Socialists? For, permit me to inform you, their ways lead in opposite directions, and they agree mainly in demanding freedom of speech and of public assemblage, which you deny. Hence your confusion regarding their respective principles, and your hatred of both.

A lady, Mrs. Arthur Cheeswright, president of the Denver Rocky Mountain Social League, recently went among the professional and business men of that city, asking for contributions to the Chicago Socialists' Appeal Fund. The *Labor Enquirer* reports what she heard, and it makes very interesting reading. Here are a few specimens of ruling opinion:

Governor Adams—I have no money to give for that purpose; I think they had a fair trial, and I consider it none of my business. They ought to hang.

As suggestive as the governor's remark is this:

Governor's Private Secretary Vaughn—I don't think they had a fair trial; neither do I think they'll get one. I will give \$1 towards it.

Lawyer Thomas M. Patterson said: I don't know anything at all about the case. I have no time to talk to you; I think they had a fair trial and ought to hang.

He does not know "anything about the case" and yet he thinks the Socialists had a fair trial and they ought to hang! What a brilliant and judicial mind!

Another lawyer, Mr. Cayless, said: I haven't got a cent to give to defend them. If you were collecting for the other side I might contribute something; I believe all such agitators ought to hang. Yes, it is the "agitator" as much or more than the bomb thrower that these leeches fear.

Lawyer Croton—I know but little about the case, but I think they are guilty, with the exception of one or two. They're not dangerous; they're just a nuisance. I have no money to contribute.

Guilty of what? Teaching "dangerous truths?"

A business man, W. B. Daniels, made the confession that it is for the language used that these men are to be hung:

I have no money to give to defend people who use the incendiary language which these men used. I pay \$10,000 yearly to have such people prosecuted. It is the poor people that ought to furnish the money to defend them, as it was their interests they were working for.

Here follows an equally shameless declaration from an alderman, Mr. Burke:

I don't think they had a fair trial. I don't believe in capital punishment, but I think they ought to be imprisoned a few years. I wouldn't like to have them at large because they are dangerous to my kind of people. I can give nothing to the fund.

Merchant McClair showed his respect for the "law" by remarking:

I think they ought to have been hanged without any trial.

The sweet candor of Louis Doll needs no comment:

I had to give nothing. All these rebellious foreigners ought to be put out of the country. I think hanging was not enough for them. You've a rebellious woman—I'll bet you put out of my store.

The *Prison Mirror*, published by the convicts in the Minnesota State Prison at Stillwater, has reached our X table. We welcome it most heartily, not merely or chiefly because of its own merits, but as an evidence that men and women are beginning to see that we are all the children of circumstances, and, consequently, that we should regard "criminals," so-called, as unfortunate rather than outlaws, and so do all possible to train them into integrity and usefulness instead of driving them, by harsh and vindictive punishments, still deeper into the slough of degradation and crime. I hope that other prison authorities will follow the example wisely set at Stillwater and give those under their charge the opportunity to healthfully employ their brains in the publication of a paper that shall help make Humanity one.

Great scenes in the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor! Powderly makes a very tropical speech against a

resolution expressing sympathy for the unfortunate men at Chicago, and declares the resolution out of order. Mr. Powderly is acting very unwisely for his own reputation among progressive people. He knows that the trial of the Socialists was most unfair; that there is no evidence to convict them of the bomb-throwing and that the police were the real aggressors in the affair of the Haymarket. But, like George, in order to court popular favor he wishes to repudiate everything of a socialistic nature, or, more properly, everything bearing that name. No organization is worth the lives of seven good men, and Powderly must choose whom he will serve—Justice or the god of the rabble. If the K. of L., with Terence V. Powderly at its head, refuses its support to the imprisoned laborers it will deserve to die in disgrace.

There is no question now before us but that of Free Speech and Meeting. That swallows up all minor issues. Many of us differ far more vitally from the convicted men than does Powderly, but we should be ingrates and cowards indeed if we did not in this crisis protest against and do our best to prevent the purposed seven-fold legal murder in Chicago. Let Mr. Powderly beware; he is treading on dangerous ground for his organization. True men and women will not stand by a man who fears to let his voice be heard in condemnation of such crimes as those committed and contemplated by the Chicago authorities, nor will they remain in a society which has such a man for chief, a man whose highest ambition seems to be to receive the plaudits of the Bishop of Rome.

In the *Truth Seeker* Dr. Lazarus (Edgeworth) speaks of the "abortive pretensions to personal liberty of the Harman and Walkers." Our disgruntled friend is, as usual, somewhat obscure in his language, but I infer that he meant that our attempts to be free in our social relations have been thwarted by some outside power. If so, I fail to see how we can justly be blamed for the crime committed against us by the state. Perhaps it may be counted in our favor that we have tried to practically help the cause of liberty, which, possibly, is more than could truthfully be said of some of our hyper-critics.

Mr. Soaver, of the *Boston Investigator*, makes some very sensible remarks concerning the teachings of Epicurus. He shows clearly, what should have been known to all intelligent Liberals, that the current slanders upon this sage had their origin in religious bigotry and that there is nothing in his philosophy, as we have received it, which can justify the affected or real horror of those who so loudly denounce it. I trust that the misrepresentations of Epicurus will in future be left entirely to Churchmen.

There is a large Irish vote in this country and so the political papers are very fervid in their denunciations of the tyranny of England in Ireland. The killing of Kinsella at Mitchellstown by the constabulary threw those journalists into a white heat of wrath. And yet the meeting was unlawful, there was rioting, and race hatred played its part in inciting hostilities. But the coroner's jury has brought in a verdict of *willful murder* against the inspector and all the constables engaged in the affair. Of course this will delight our popularity-hunters, and they will praise the verdict by their denunciations of "Anarchists." Am I to praise this really just verdict in Ireland?

As matters of sober fact, the police at the Haymarket in Chicago, at Union Square in New York and at Union Hill in New Jersey were much more clearly in the wrong than the Irish constabulary in the affair just cited. In each instance in America peaceful and lawful assemblies of citizens were attacked in the most illegal and cruel manner, and at the Haymarket some one, yet unknown, succeeded in killing seven policemen. But for all the trouble and bloodshed our "satanic" press holds the people responsible, loads the police with praise and declares that their dead are martyrs. Why this wretched inconsistency? If this coroner's jury, which has just declared that the policemen who killed a man while they were trying to disperse an unlawful meeting, are murderers, had set upon the victims of the Haymarket bomb it would undoubtedly have held *Bonfield and his men as murderers*. (What would the plutocratic papers, little and big, which are so reluctant

about free speech in Ireland and so bitter in their opposition to it here, have said then?

Stormy indeed is the outlook, but, I repeat, the issue to-day is that of Free Speech; it overshadows all else. Nothing can be settled rightly while our papers fear to speak the whole truth, while the lips of reform speakers are stricken dumb with policemen's clubs. There must be freedom of public assemblage for the discussion of all questions or the end of order and peace is assured. This is why we take so much of our very limited space for the consideration and denunciation of these gross police outrages,—invasions of citizen right that would scarcely be tolerated in any European despotism outside of Russia. We must arouse and work as never before. What we fail to do peacefully and by pen and voice the next generation must do in other ways.

"You cannot restrain a criminal," avers Mr. Foster. What does the gentleman mean? Most assuredly you can restrain the criminal if you can catch him, and while this is beyond dispute as a matter of fact, it is equally beyond dispute as a principle of right that he is the man you should restrain. On the other hand, if you put men in the straight jackets of paternalism when they have not invaded the rights of their neighbors you are governing them for fear they will commit crimes. This is wherein the Restraining and the Government differ essentially. So far, the critics of the new word have picked at it apparently because it is new, not because they have found any valid objections to it. At all events, they have advanced none.

We suppose that our case has been continued to the next term of the U. S. court. When we were in Leavenworth it had not been given to the grand jury and so we were permitted to go, on our old recognizances. We have not yet learned who the prosecuting witness is. In short, we are in the hands of government; subject to its inscrutable providence.

We desire our readers to remember that the names of Free Thinkers and labor reformers are always gladly received. We wish to send sample copies to all men and women who are not afraid to let their reform faith be known. Write name postoffice, county and State plainly.

The 2d Convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held in Baltimore, Md., December 13, '87. For particulars, inquire of the president, Sam'l Gompers, or the secretary, P. J. McGuire, 332 E. 8th St., N. Y. City.

While waiting the action of the grand jury, in Leavenworth last week, we, that is, "H.", had the pleasure of hearing two lectures by Mattie E. Hull, to the workmen of that city. The first was delivered in the "Musical Conservatory" Hall, and the other in Old Fellow's Hall. These meetings were arranged chiefly, as we understand, by Bro. Hutchison and Wheeler, who seem to be the most active and persevering workers in the Leavenworth organization. The lectures were well received, but we regret to say, the attendance was not what it should have been.

Just as we go to press the news comes that our veteran friend, the well-known Free Thought writer, Joseph Henry, of Salina, Kans. is no more.

LIST OF OUR AUTHORIZED AGENTS
Athens, Mo.—E. S. Galloway.
Baltimore, Md.—Dr. J. B. Cooper.
Birmingham, Ala.—J. McLaughlin.
Boston, Mass.—James Griffith, 1712 Dodge St.
Canton, Mo.—J. H. Hutchison.
Cincinnati, Mo.—(East)—Geo. H. Hutchinson.
Cincinnati, Mo.—(West)—Wm. Rath.
Cincinnati, Mo.—Chris. Brown.
Cincinnati, Mo.—C. Gregg.
Cincinnati, Mo.—W. W. Frazer.
Cedar Junction, Kan.—J. C. Collins.
Chicago, Ill.—Vernor Brocklin.
East Burlington, Iowa.—James Toft.
Kansas City, Mo.—(East)—J. M. Allen.
Kansas City, Mo.—J. M. Allen.
Scranton, Kan.—John F. Young.
Carbondale, Kan.—James H. McDantol.
Fresno, Iowa.—John Durant.
St. O. Hicka, Sioan Springs, Ark.
H. L. Joslin, Mankato, Minn.
T. E. Palmer, Hannating, Iowa.
Kansas City, Mo.—Dr. O. Lona Masters.

Don't!
let that cold of yours run on. You think it is a light thing. But it may run into catarrh. Or into pneumonia. Or consumption. Catarrh is disgusting. Pneumonia is dangerous. Consumption is death itself. The breathing apparatus must be kept healthy and clear of all obstructions and offensive matter. Otherwise there is trouble ahead.
All the diseases of these parts, head, nose, throat, bronchial tubes and lungs, can be healthfully and entirely cured by the use of Doan's German Syrup. If you don't know this already, thousands and thousands of people can tell you. They have been cured by it, and know how to help themselves. Don't delay 75 cents. Ask any druggist.

THE OUTCAST.
She stood in the midst of the jeering crowd
With features dark with scorn
And eyes defiantly, boldly proud,
And skirts bedraggled and torn.
And some women prayed and some women
Trowed
And tossed their heads with a jerk;
And some men pined, but more turned round
And laughed at their handiwork.
Alike to both prayer and jeer,
With clenched hands, alone
She stood, with neither moan nor tear,
As mute as a sculptured stone.
When, through the twilight's falling mist,
A child that could scarcely stand
Came forth, and on her clenched fist
He closed his tiny hand.
The fires first lit by heartless men,
By thoughtless women fanned,
Were quenched for the floodgates opened
Then
At the touch of a baby's hand.
—"Times" of Australia.

Crime.
Crimes are wrongs inflicted against the consent of the injured party. Keeping this definition in mind would, it seems to me, enable us to always draw the line of demarcation between vices and crimes; between actions which should subject the actor to restraint, and those actions which should not do so. Under the *Restraint* it will remain necessary to define and catalogue crimes. Under Government, crimes, vices, sins, iniquities, &c. are synonymous. Blasphemy, for instance, is punishable as a criminal offense, whereas, according to the above definition, it is no crime at all. If, under existing conditions, we want Liberty we must have a *Restraint* for criminals. Now who are the criminals?
J. M. H.

A Question.
To ZENO, HASKELL, et al: I am constrained to ask this one question; What will you do with me if I do not see fit to join your State Socialistic Governmental Co-operative machine? Now don't try to convince me that joining is the proper thing for me to do, but answer my question without equivocation.
FENWICK.

Facts to Remember.
The Supreme court of Illinois has affirmed the decision of the Anarchist cases and fixed the day of execution November 11th next.

At present we have simply this much to say in regard to the matter:

Remember that the occasion of the Haymarket meeting was to discuss the killing of six workmen by the police at McCormick's. No attention was ever paid to it.

Remember that the killing of these six men was never so much as brought before the grand jury.

Remember that Carter Harrison, the mayor of Chicago, swore that he was at the meeting and heard the speeches, but heard nothing that warranted him in interfering with the meeting.

Remember that immediately after mayor Harrison left and after the meeting had nearly dispersed, Captain Bonfield ordered out the police contrary to the mayor's opinion (expressed to Bonfield by him at the time) that there was no occasion therefor, and marched them to the place of meeting.

Remember that some of the speakers had their families at the meeting, and that Parsons voluntarily delivered himself.

Remember that there was no pretense on the part of the prosecution that either of the convicted men threw the bomb; and that the only witness that swore to anything of that kind was impeached by the most creditable witnesses.

Remember that the supposed thrower of the bomb (Schmabelt) was once in custody of the police and was voluntarily released, and that he afterwards is supposed to have made his escape to Europe.

Remember that the great eight-hour movement was most disastrously thwarted by the throwing of the bomb—and that its effect therefore was in the interest of the opponents of labor.

Remember that the only real offense clearly proven against the defendants was that of making speeches and printing documents exciting antagonism between capital and labor.

Remember that it is not a question whether these men are Anarchists or not, but whether they threw the bomb or not.

Remember that the Arbeiter-Zeitung, "the organ of the Anarchists," was for several years the official organ of the City of Chicago. —Chicago Sentinel.

The Political Lie.
But whenever I find my dominion over myself not sufficient for me, and undertake the direction of my neighbor also, I overstep the truth and come into false relations with him. I may have so much more skill or strength than he, that he cannot express adequately his sense of wrong, but it is a lie, and hurts like a lie both him and me. . . . This undertaking for another, is the blunder which stands in colossal ugliness in the governments of the world. . . . I do not call to mind a single human being who has steadily denied the authority of the laws on the simple ground of his own moral nature. —Emerson.

Is it not the characteristic of every government that the criminal rules and guides the philosopher? . . . The very first necessary act of government is criminal—the enslaving of its subjects, that they may be successfully manipulated. . . . To appoint a ruler, or rulers, over you, is to create privilege—to give another man a license to rule and rob you, or deprive you in any way he chooses of your rights and your liberty. No matter what form of government, your rulers must have power—power enhanced by the withholding of your own, and by the organization of soldiers, police, courts of justice, jails, and all the paraphernalia by which rogues hold fools in subjection. —D. A. Andrade, in *The Radical*.

It is the duty of every man to think for himself. The duty of this age is the duty of inquiry. The old Israelites demanded of Pharaoh liberty of worship. The Puritans demanded liberty to believe. The French Encyclopedists insisted on liberty to think. We demand liberty to inquire, to question, to study. —Kansas State Register.

The tendencies of the times favor the idea of self-government, and leave the individual, for all code, to the rewards and penalties of his own constitution, which work with more energy than we believe, whilst we depend on artificial restraints. —Ralph Waldo Emerson.

There is only one cure for the evils which newly-acquired freedom produces; and that cure is freedom. —Lord Macaulay.

"If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever. —Lord Macaulay.

FREE PLATFORM.

"True Anarchism."

Eds. Lucifer: Friend Soren's thoughts under above head in issue of 26th of Aug., are, many of them, very solid and good. I am glad to see one proclaiming himself as an Anarchist willing to admit that he is "not claiming that we are ripe for Anarchism pure and simple." This is perhaps why I find him in the State Socialistic boat called "Credit Foncier de Sinaloa" (Mexico.) But I opine that much of the trouble the "Credit Foncier" people have met with has been due to the fact that fully one half of the first "rush" of workers to Sinaloa were Anarchists who were trying to fit themselves into State Socialism at the same time that they cry down Government and assert that State Socialism is but its "utmost logical extension," the very "opposite of Anarchism." If Government is bad one would suppose that "its utmost logical extension" would be worse. At this point there were four subscribers to the stock of the "C. F." and all were opposed to State Socialism, as but another form of slavery.

While reading A. A. S.'s remarks a simile would come at his effort to show "the difference between tweedledoo and tweedledum." In a state of Anarchism one is free—he can select his course of life, but in Governmentalism he is forced into a certain line of conduct.

In a state of Anarchism he can do wrong if he wants to incur the vengeance of the law against evil-doers who "infringe equal rights." He can steal if he so desires by ennobling to the form of punishment awarded to thieves. Glorious liberty of choice.

But in Governmentalism he has no choice, he is deprived of his liberty. The Government says you must do right, you must be honest or suffer the form of punishment provided as a deterrent against thieves.

Behold the difference between "deo" and "dum." Two darkies of the colored persuasion were partners in a barber shop. Suddenly there came a chance to attend a picnic. Rushing into the shop comes partner Sambo and says to Bill, "There's a picnic; now, one of us must stay and I will go—so take your choice."

You cannot "restrain a criminal." He is not a criminal until he has acted and then you cannot prevent that act. You may punish him for so acting by various methods. You may think you are thereby restraining him from future similar acts. Perhaps you are, perhaps you are not. I suppose no reformer, be he Anarchist or Governmentalist, will contend that we have any right to punish an individual for its effect on some other individual as a deterrent of crime.

I admit that many of the punishments now meted out to criminals are unscientific. Most of those who say "we must rule the bad people" mean exactly the same in essence as S. does when he says "we must restrain these bad people." It is more often a question in dispute as to what is bad.

In the present degree of development of the race there are evils incidental to the practical working of State Socialism. A simple form of co-operation is worthy of trial, for "Integral Co-operation" is very intricate. Soon I shall issue a little semi-monthly paper, (at 40c per year, 30c in clubs of five, or 25c in clubs of ten); 20c in clubs of twenty-five to one address) *The Industrial Co-operator* (organ of the proposed "Lako View Industrial Co-operative Association") in which I shall give plans of a simple form of co-operation.

Fraternally,
J. HAZEN POSTER.
Tangerine, Orange Co., Va.

Books

For The Defense Fund.

Below is a list of excellent books, pamphlets, etc., which we desire to sell at once. They were mostly contributed by generous friends to aid in our defense, and the prosecution under the "Comstock" statutes necessitates the raising of more revenues than we now have at command. These are good and interesting publications, and the purchaser will be pleased with them, we are sure;

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Plain Home Talk; by Dr. E. B. Foote, Sr. Price \$1.50
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Health Hints and ready recipes; by E. B. Foote, Jr.
Every housewife needs this little compendium of domestic science.
Cudd's Yokes, by J. C. Wood.
Mr. Bennett served thirteen months in the Albany (N. Y.) penitentiary for sending this book through the U. S. mail, for which "offense" Mr. Heywood was imprisoned in the same penitentiary. Everybody should read it.
Self-Contradictions of the Bible.
In this work there are 114 propositions proven both affirmatively and negatively without note or comment.
Medical Good Sense; by Dr. T. R. Kingst.
This is an excellent work on the subject of which it treats.
Social Wealth: Sole Factors and Exact Relations to Acquisition and Appropriation; by J. K. Ingalls.
No person who desires to be well-informed on economic subjects can afford to fail to read "Social Wealth."

Economic Equities. A Compend of the Natural Laws of Industrial Production and Exchange; by J. K. Ingalls.
This pamphlet should be put into the hands of every truth-seeking man and woman in the world.

Study the Bible; or Brief Criticisms on Some of the Principal Scripture Texts; by Emma Drake Slesker.
This is a neatly-bound book of 133 pages, and is a splendid missionary document for the times.
A letter to Grover Cleveland, and his Inaugural Address. The usurpations and crimes of law-makers and judges, and the consequent poverty, ignorance and suffering of the people; by Lyander Spooner.
There was no clearer thinker on questions of natural right and constitutional justice, or of justice, than Lyander Spooner, the veteran reformer.

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Another of his best.

Sketch of Moses Hull, by Fides et Justitia
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