

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

AN ADVOCATE OF COMMUNAL LIFE AND INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY.

NEW SERIES NO. 10.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, JANUARY 16, 1898.

WHOLE NO. 146.

THE PEOPLE'S ADVENT.

'Tis coming up the steep of Time,
And this old world is growing brighter;
We may not see its Dawn sublime,
Yet high hopes make the heart throb lighter.
Our dust may slumber under-ground
When it awakes the world in wonder;
But we have felt it gathering round—
We have heard its voice of distant thunder.
'Tis coming! yes, 'tis coming!

'Tis coming now, that glorious time,
Foretold by seers and sung in story,
For which, when thinking was a crime,
Souls leaped to heaven from scaffolds gory.
They passed. But lo! the work they have wrought,
Now the crowned hopes of centuries blossom!
The lightning of their living thought
Is flashing through us, brain and bosom:
'Tis coming! yes, 'tis coming!

Creeds, empires, systems, rot with age,
But the great People's ever youthful;
And it shall write the Future's page
To our Humanity more truthful;
The gnarliest heart hath tender chords
To waken at the name of "Brother":
'Tis coming when these scorpion words
We shall not speak to sting each other.
'Tis coming! yes 'tis coming.

Out of the light, you Priests, nor fling
Your dark, cold shadows on us longer.
Aside, thou world-wide curse, called King;
The People's step is quicker, stronger.

—Gerald Massey.

SEX RELATIONS.

Following is an address delivered in Providence, R. I., by Mrs. Hortense M. Davenport, who, it will be seen is not an Anarchist, but who plainly is drifting that way, if she carries out some of her ideas to a logical conclusion. But her plea for sterilization is a back number in barbarism. Whacking away at the effect does not remove the cause:

Every step we advance in wisdom shows us our past mistakes, accompanied by regret that we were not wiser in time to avoid them; but the most pitiful mistake of all is to spend the best years of our lives looking after other people's faults, and passing on to spirit life with our own uncorrected.—Francis Fisk Thatcher.

Probably no subject has been so much "handled with gloves" as this problem of sex relations. This proves the sham and mock modesty of human nature. It also proves—the lack of justice as an attribute in nature.

Where a sense of justice is acquired by education people are not steadfast or true to a principle. These thoughts and desires for the bettering of conditions must be wholly spontaneous to be genuine, must be the outgrowth of deep thought and experience.

What most of us are now seeking is by personal contact and mutual interchange of ideas to devise a plan whereby the human family may be lifted out of the depths of undeserved and unjust poverty and limitations to a plane of liberality, comfort and equality. The issue cannot be met by men alone, nor by women alone. We need better qualifications to further this cause, and these can only come from emphasizing our own higher qualities, by becoming ourselves prototypes of a race, or, in a sense, originals upon which they shall be formed. This implies sex relations and a righteous use of the sex functions, and the question arises: Can a set formula be made which shall apply to all cases of sex relations. I think not successfully—only a few general principles which shall give greater freedom in a universal sense.

Woman has been for years under sexual bondage to man and the cases of enforced and unwelcome

maternity are legion; to remedy this evil and institute reform in this direction is perhaps as important an end to attain as to ameliorate suffering and wrongs in any direction—because women are as prominent and useful a factor in the great economy as man. She is the mother of man and man collectively owes much to motherhood.

In my judgment reform is only possible along the line of "sexism," and until right relations are established between the sexes no reform can be permanent.

Woman is the peer of man in intelligence, and great trouble arises from the fact that she is not so considered. She is not allowed to belong to herself or manage her own affairs with the same freedom which man exercises; this of course cripples and paralyzes the will. The fear in her mind of being cut off from the support given by men if she refuses to "obey" the demands made by them is another great reason why the lips of so many are sealed, and while they conform in outward seeming—inwardly they rebel and for the children's sake suffer and keep silence. 'Tis not wholly a "dream of delight" to be a woman under the existing state of things—knowing, as any bright woman does, the wrongs heaped upon her because of the fetters she wears under the present system of laws, those pertaining to marriage being largely responsible for much that is cruel and degrading.

When people become wise enough to teach their children common sense instead of false modesty and making a mystery of the sex functions, a great step in advance will have been made.

If the wise and pure in heart do not inculcate the truth in the childish mind, the vicious will do it, because childhood is full of eager questioning.

Teach a child physiology as soon as its mind can comprehend, and teach just as minutely in regard to the generative system as to the heart, the lungs, the stomach or the circulation of blood—then when they reach the estate of men and women they are not going on in blind ignorance, with but one idea in life and that, to cater to the lowest phase of their nature and produce caricatures of humanity in a mental, moral and physical sense as a consequence.

How best to establish an improved order of things is the question we must deal with now. Everyone must in accordance with the text—till the soil thoroughly in their own garden—having always love for the neighbor and giving just and due consideration to their rights.

Marriage must be lifted above the plane of sensualism and child-bearing—out of the depths of animalism into the wise, calm, pure thought and election. Posterity has a right to be well born, and yet few exist today who have not been more or less robbed of their birthright by being the result of accidental sex gratification on the part of their parents.

As already stated, one sex has no real superiority over the other—taking even the bible as authority. We find in the book of Genesis two stories of the creation of woman, one in harmony with science, the other mere allegory.

The 1st Chapter, 27th and 28th verses represents God in council with the second person in the trinity, the heavenly mother.

Having made the plans ready for the development of the human race, God said: "Let us make man in our own image"—male and female made he THEM—and gave THEM dominion over every living

thing on earth." Nothing was said about one having dominion over the other. They were a simultaneous creation. As to the reproduction of the species, we grant the right of everyone to be well born, and how best to attain this consummation is food for earnest thought, and only through right relations sexually is it possible.

Every mother should be set aside during pregnancy for the ante-natal culture of her child—free from all sexual demands during the entire period of gestation. Will men agree to this?

If motherhood is the central fact in human life then control of appetite is the first step in human culture, and no man should allow himself to become a parent who cannot or will not observe the demands of temperance in all things for the benefit of his child. We find this emphasized in the scripture statement in reference to the parents of the child Jesus—that Joseph knew not Mary from the hour when announcement of the new life was made until the birth of the child. This involves a deeper and more important meaning than the christian world or the medical profession have discovered, and it is encouraging to know that not only women, but men standing high in learning and literature, espouse and teach this doctrine—note the fact—that many books are written by men strongly in sympathy with the needs of the race and not always by women with some fancied wrongs to redress. What is here written is intended to be as impartial as facts will allow.

I doubt not there are many men who would gladly grant women all that is due them if they really knew how. Men are not wholly selfish, and when they learn to think of marriage as above the plane of lust and sexual gratification, and to deny the demands of the animal nature and its power to control them they will see more in woman to love and reverence, and only true marriages will obtain and the divorce court will go into bankruptcy.

The truth is to many a revelation that shocks. I presume the garden of Eden story, plainly told, robbed of its mystical glamor, would bring blushes to the cheeks of most of our christian sisters. What made the trouble in Eden was no more or less than the perversion of the sex functions—the serpent was only lust and has ruined many an Eden since. I do not exonerate woman from great responsibility—in bringing order out of chaos.

We can all lead a horse to the trough, but not one can force him to drink. If by patience and long forbearance with those who are in power, the bonds still remain that bar her out from freedom and equality, then why not refuse like the horse, to drink the wine of servitude; and, by having the courage of her convictions, force men to see the truth in relation to her.

If when a man proposes marriage she should demand in him the same standard of moral purity he expects in her, would not that be one incentive for men to live better lives and look more to the development of higher qualities and live less upon the animal plane.

Great power is vested in woman to bring about her own deliverance, and if persistently used will eventually accomplish the desired result. We are told that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

All arguments have been made that ingenious minds can conceive of why woman should remain subservient to man. The only honest objection I ever heard a man make to political equality for women was the fear that the home would be ne-

glected, and by that he meant his own personal comfort. But woman has the advantage of a complex nature and can look well to all the domestic affairs of her household and still have time to think of the political situation and to vote as intelligently as the average man at least.

Sexual bondage is the worst of all slavery, and is the first to overthrow. Then the race will become one of quality rather than quantity, and this we need—right here and now. That alone would be a solution to many puzzles, and is the first step toward all that tends to elevate and ennoble character. Children would be born because they were wanted, and born into conditions of comfort and not into squalor, and poverty, and crime.

Legislation should prevent any increase of criminals by rendering them incapable of reproducing their kind—this would not only protect the rest of humanity but act as a preventive in the increase of crime.

In limited time and space one cannot write with all the wisdom of a Socrates, but, even the few thoughts here expressed will bear fruit if duly considered and acted upon.

We know that good is over all and will through good women and their influence make all things right and just. The ultimate good—the ultimate harmony—I see when the barriers of sex no longer stand in the way, and men and women sustain their true relations to each other in every walk of life.

OPEN LETTER

TO THOMAS GARRETT, CITY EDITOR OF "THE EXAMINER," SAN FRANCISCO.

DEAR SIR: Yours of December 23 to hand, in which you reply to my request that you would publish the essay on "How we may dispose of our surplus products, and how we may employ our surplus Labor," by saying: "I am sorry to say that, owing to lack of space, the Examiner will not be able to publish your paper."

How to employ our surplus Labor is the most important question before the world, both to the employed and disemployed; the rapidly increasing number of the latter being a menace to the peace and happiness of all humanity.

In my letter to you it was stated that the Mechanic's Institute had awarded the prize for the essay you were asked to publish and that it was only 2,500 words.

Your reply therefore speaks volumes taken in connection with the fact that the Examiner, prints 25,000 or 250,000 words on such inhuman matter as a prize fight, or Durrant; and can also find space for glowing accounts of such deceptive schemes as Booth's Salvation Colony, by which poor dupes are induced to grow beets for a millionaire, under the delusive hope, encouraged by the mayor, that they are actually going to work for themselves. Those people who continually advise the poor to be content with the position in which God has placed them, have no desire whatever to settle the Labor question—or how would they get a living—they would have to do some real useful work or starve—a most important decision for them to make!

I would commend to your notice "Confessions of a New York Journalist," lately published; in case you have not seen it, the following extract may be interesting.

"There is no such thing as an independent daily press. We are all slaves! You know it and I know it. There is not one of you that dare express an honest opinion. I am paid \$150 per week for keeping honest opinions out of the paper I am connected with. The man who would be so foolish as to write honest opinions would soon be out on the street hunting for another job. The business of a journalist is to distort the truth; to lie outright; to pervert; to vilify; to fawn at the feet of mammon, and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread. We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are intellectual prostitutes, and our

time, our talents and our possibilities are all the property of other men."

Many thanks for your reply. Faithfully,
J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.
San Francisco, Jan. 4, '98.

KROPOTKIN'S VIEW.

Comrade Kropotkin writes us 'the pleasing news that Freedom has been reorganized and that it will probably appear more regularly in future than in the past.

Continuing, he says: "I saw the first number of FREE SOCIETY in New York and was very pleased to see the paper living; and I very much encouraged the New York comrades to do the same—to start a paper, too, on this side of the continent. Long practice has taught me that two papers support each other instead of competing for readers.

"As to FREE SOCIETY, if I can give you any advice, I should advise you to leave alone the sexual question, which the Firebrand devoted so much attention to. Free men and women will better find the ways for arranging their mutual relations than we can even foresee now. This is to be a result of the free work of an evolution of free life, in which any newspaper guidance is as illusory as it is in most cases wrong.

"We Russian Nihilists have WORKED out forms of life entirely free. But we WORKED them out and despised TALKING about them.

"For an Anarchist newspaper there is so much to be done, that I really do not understand the predilection toward this question—vague and obscure yet as it is besides those too general principles—in preference to so many others."

Comrade Kropotkin appears to err somewhat in comparing "newspaper guidance" in America with his Russian experiences.

In Russia the revolutionists have had to depend upon themselves as individuals, inasmuch as the police have suppressed all revolutionary papers published. Stepaniak noted but one exception to the rule—the press of "Land and Liberty," which escaped the vigilance of the police for four years, but was finally captured.

In America the press has been free (that is, as compared to Russia, for no one can say it has been free in fact), though censorship of the press is fast becoming an American institution.

This comparative freedom has led the American proletariat to rely upon the press in a way perhaps not well understood by one so closely identified with the purely Russian revolutionary movement as has been Comrade Kropotkin.

And if the TALKING through FREE SOCIETY induces our comrades to WORK, then surely some good has been achieved. And that is in fact my conception of what a propaganda publication is for. I think it much better to WORK and TALK OTHERS into working than to merely work. Granting that Anarchy as a whole should occupy the attention of an Anarchist journal, this does not detract from the advisability of advocating free sex association as a vital question per se.

F. A. COWELL.

THE STANDARD OF JUDGMENT.

The following is part of an address delivered by Comrade Lois Waisbrooker before a spiritualist meeting in San Francisco not long since:

"Don't tell me that this world turns over every day! Where would we go to if it did, and what would become of the water in my millpond?"

What's the matter with the man that he should talk like that? Oh, he lived a long time ago; he had no knowledge of our modern system of astronomy, but argued from the old flat-earth theory—a theory deduced from appearances instead of from scientific data. He knew nothing of the law of attraction and repulsion which keeps all things in their places, even the water in mill ponds. His standard of judgment was wrong, that is why his conclusions were false.

"Oh, those miserable fanatics; they want to free our slaves! If they succeed no white woman would be safe on our streets!"

And what's the matter with him? Oh, he, too, lived a few years back—lived before chattel slavery was abolished. He knew that the black woman was subject to the intrusion of the white man, and professed to believe that were the black man free he would act the same way toward the white woman. He, too, judged from a false standard. He forgot that the intrusion of the white man upon the black woman was the result of the irresponsible power of a dominant race over a helpless and dependent one.

Let the black race rise and the white race sink till the latter are the slaves of the former, and I have no doubt that the black man would then do as the white man did in the days when black slavery existed, but to suppose that such would be the result if the negro were made free and equal before the law was simply the idea of unreasoning prejudices.

The white woman of today is in no more danger of assault from the black than from the white man. The result of freedom for the negro has not been an intensifying of the vices which resulted from his enslaved condition. He is rising above them—throwing them off. He is living a purer life. The mixture of the blood of the two races is not going on now as it was during the days of slavery. The fawning sycophancy of an enslaved condition has given place to the quiet dignity of self-respect, and today those who opposed the change the most bitterly would not re-enslave that race if they could.

Now, why have I given these illustrations? Because, when speaking here last I saw from remarks made afterward that my position in reference to the relation was not understood—that my ideas were measured by the false standard of present conditions—saw that my opponents believed the evils that are inseparable from sex slavery would be intensified if we were free. No greater mistake could be made.

Were I to ask which sex was the most passionate the almost universal reply would be the male sex, and yet man claims the right to regulate sex relations.

The collective man, as represented by Church and State, does this, while the individual man considers himself privileged to do his best to induce woman to join with him in breaking the law, then the woman is ostracized, while the man goes free.

Now, I say that the woman who fails to resist the man she loves when her own feelings second his pleading is a purer woman than is the one who cohabits with a man she hates because, in her ignorance of his true nature, she has consented to accept him as a husband; yet the former is the one that Church, State and Society repudiates, thus pushing her into the ranks of the Magdalene, while the other one—the one who submits to the violation of nature's law—is accepted by Church, State and Grundy. Then when I put in my plea for the natural woman it is inferred that I favor sensuality.

People do not seem to see that comparing two evils to find which is the least is not advocating either. Moses Hull once asked this question: "Which is the most sensual man, the one who associates with 12 women once each in a given time, or he who associates 12 times with one woman in the same length of time?" Word went out all over the country that he advocated living with 12 women. He did nothing of the kind. He was simply showing that he believed sensuality inside the marriage bond was no better than sensuality outside the marriage bond. Now, I want it distinctly understood that I ADVOCATE neither Church, State nor Grundy; I simply compare different features of a system which is crime-begetting in its tendency for the purpose of showing up its rottenness. Not that I condemn the people; I often wonder that they are as good as they are. Our young catholic friend says the church understands the human heart. I deny it. Woman, in spite of all the indignities put upon her, in spite of being classed by the state with minors and idiots, and by the author of the ten commandments with cattle, in spite of all this she is still human, and no man can fathom the repugnance with which she submits to an unwelcome embrace. So far as I am concerned death would be preferable. A God who would command such submission would earn my eternal curse.

Yet Church and State enforce, or try to, marital duty. If a woman rebels the State gives the husband a divorce; she is robbed of her children and must leave the home. The Church uses its own methods. One woman, whose history came to light, went to the priest and begged leave to go by herself. She was told to go back to her duty. In three months she was dead.

Will you listen to the Free Lover's creed? It is this: "A man has no right under any possible conditions to crowd himself upon a woman." I think for myself and my demand is: Unqualified freedom for woman, as woman, and all the institutions of society made conformable to such freedom. It is not possible to live our ideal of freedom and purity under the present system of things. Economic independence must be the boon of all before we can be free in the sphere of love, but with such freedom we shall rise instead of sinking. This the upward tendency of the colored race since they are no longer chattels fully proves unless we have a greater tendency to evil than they.

As to the claim that 90 per cent of our women would return to the men from whom they had been separated if marriage were abolished, I will say, first, that the abolition of the marriage bond need separate no one. Those who were happy would continue together. That of those who did separate 90 per cent of the women would return, if they could, may be true. A part of them would do so because not fully knowing their own minds when leaving; the others from the same reason that the black slave would return to his master rather than perish in the swamp. It would be the only opening left her except public or private sale of herself.

I knew a woman in this city over 20 years ago whose husband made her life a torture with his temper and his jealousy. She left him. There were no children to hold her. She finally went back to him, and, if living, is with him still. Why did she go back? Her first effort at self-support was as a housekeeper, and before she had been there 24 hours she found she was expected to keep the man at night as well as the house by day. She left. She was a woman of fine form and fair to look upon, and it was experiences like that which drove her back. Given economic independence, with the Free Lover's creed carried out in practice, she would not have gone back.

To abolish what little protection woman now has under the law, and leave her financially dependent, is what no sensible person asks, not even while showing up the tyranny of the marriage system. We want no half-way work. Economic independence for all will lessen crime to such a degree that prisons will well nigh disappear, and sex disease be unknown, provided woman is conceded the right to herself.

With self-ownership no woman will submit to unwelcome relations. I have talked with scores of physicians upon this point and they all agree that if woman never received only when she desired, and from whom she desired, such a thing as sex disease would be unknown.

This is why I like Bellamy's "Looking Backward." It is an ideal that, actualized, will give economic independence to all. In conclusion I will say that those who judge our ideal of freedom in love by the tendency of things under our present system, judge by as false a standard as did the man who feared for the water in his millpond, but we cannot be turned from our high ideals because of such misjudgment.

RANDOM HITS.

FREE SOCIETY, if I mistake not, is intended to publish anew the statement of Thomas Jefferson that it was necessary for the people to frequently return to the fundamental principles of government. Perhaps from his day to this no statesman has taken the pains to explain to his constituency what the fundamental principles of government are. In fact, I am reasonably sure that no statesman would do that, for he thereby would reveal to the dear people ruled by him that he was not only a drone in society, but was an actual hindrance to the people who were working for liberty.

By the fundamental principles of government we mean such a state of society as sanctions individual responsibility, dependence of existence and bodily protection; a community where each person would be responsible to no one man or set of men for his conduct except himself. This would not prevent man from forming associations which would tend to advance human interests with any number of groups of persons that experience with their conduct would seem to make such a course profitable for each member of the group.

How to keep the membership of a group from dividing into two or more classes which are inimical to each other is the riddle of the age. A social group that at the beginning granted to each member equal power to that of another in the group must ever remain so until

some of the members transfer some of their power over to others in addition to their own. When this is done those who have the added power regard their enlarged power as a sufficient warrant for exercising authority over those who have less. But now we come to a mystery, namely, to know how the persons who voluntarily surrendered some of their own power to their rulers should now, when hurled back at them in an oppressive and arbitrary manner, love, cherish and be content with such conduct on the part of their rulers.

These are the two chief classes, then, that the people of all social communities divide themselves into, namely, the ruling and the ruled, the master and the servant, the guide and the guided.

This division took place in the American colonies. The principles on which the war of the revolution was prosecuted were embodied in the declaration of independence. But the theory that all men are free and equal in any sense whatever was denied in the constitutional convention, although it was the pivotal principle of the war for independence.

When the federal congress adjourned in 1784, with the exception of a resolution to have appointed in each of the federated colonies a member who should have the power with his associate members of the other colonies when appointed to exercise executive authority, the government of the United States, on its executive side, was entirely in the keeping of the governors of the several colonies for some four months.

Of this interregnum Jefferson, in his autobiography, says: "Congress, although it had adjourned to meet on Oct. 30, 1784, did not have a quorum until Nov. 29, so that from Aug. 11 to Nov. 29 the United States had no government at all."

F. A. Cowell, in No. 143, under Spiritualism-Materialism, tries to account for the difference of opinion held by these two sets of philosophers. Materialism is a reproachful and contemptuous term applied to a minority class of students who are conscientiously endeavoring to express correctly their theory of the source and nature of mind. At some future time I will contribute a short statement of mine from the standpoint of a physiologist, which will point to a reasonable solution of the question.

I will here only notice the reference to Prof. Crookes. This great chemist is quite clear so long as he sticks to vacuum tubes, and very misty when he speaks of radiant matter. His putting the probable existence of thought, or brain wave, at 62d step, whatever that may mean, points conclusively that he has not considered the fact that thoughts are just as likely to have raw material, out of which they were synthesized by some mechanism, as wheat flour is known to have its antecedents in wheat. In this regard mind has no more capacity for doing work than flour has. Mind is simply a product of brain mechanism, just as a house is the product of the builder's energies. And to say that mind has power over matter is equal to saying that the house has power over the builder.

McKINLEY'S PARDON RECORD.—Wm. McKinley has pardoned during the nine months he has been the chief executive of the United States 13 bank wreckers and embezzlers. In order to be consistent the rank and file of the "better classes" ought to tear their throats in publicly proclaiming this monstrosity of an executive for this clemency, just as they did when Gov. Altgeld pardoned Sam Fielden, Schwab and Neebe. I am not averse to normal people who are restrained of their liberty being set free. Not at all. But simply wish to suggest that while pardoning is now getting to be fashionable, why not gently hint that it would be an excellent good thing if the people, in their collective capacity, would, either with or without discussing the matter, pardon themselves for ever having imposed such a burden on their chief executive, and, for that matter, the authorities in general, which compelled them at oft times to lie awake nights in riotous living while they were ruling the dear people.

Chicago, Ill.

DR. CHARLES J. LEWIS.

PRIVILEGES FOR THE PIOUS.

The readers of FREE SOCIETY, if they have not kept in touch with the enactments known as Comstock laws, and the proposed amendments thereto, can hardly have an idea of how wide reaching they are, and how impossible it is to escape their meshes when once you are ensnared. The rule of Torquemada

would be tame; Russia and the Roman inquisition would pale under the various laws these disgusting censors have furthered and are even yet pressing on congress to pass. In 1895 Congressman Weadock offered the following: "Any newspaper which advises, abets, or suggests, the commission of any offense against any law of the United States, or any State or Territory, or any country with which we are at peace, shall be excluded from the mails."

The same year Mr. Ainsworth introduced in the New York legislature a sweeping bill. One of its provisions was that "Anyone who offers to sell, lend, give away, exhibit or show, or place in reach of any minor child, or has in possession any book, pamphlet, circular, or writing, containing any advertisement concerning private or venereal diseases or any disgusting, filthy or indecent exhibition or representation of diseased or deformed parts of the human body, or any medicine or nostrum of any kind whatsoever known as periodical pills, drops or mixtures of any name or nature intended for regulating of the menstrual function, etc., shall be on conviction sentenced to imprisonment of not exceeding one year or fined in the sum of from \$50 to \$1,000, one or both."

In the national congress a similar law has been brought forward at every session. The time was when a pure judiciary stood between the citizen and the abuse natural to such sweeping enactments, but today, with a corrupt and bestial judge, as is too often the case, on the bench, no man's liberty is safe when once accused. The writer was himself convicted before a judge who was a contributing member of the vice society, and shook hands from the bench with Anthony Comstock, my prosecutor. My jury was drawn in my absence, hours ahead of time appointed for trial, and I need not add I went to prison also for two years for mailing a book then, as now, sold by Wanamaker, Lee & Sheppard, Dillingham, and other pious booksellers. I am not pious. JOHN A. WILSON.
Philadelphia, Pa.

A LOCAL OPINION.

The trial of Henry Addis, A. J. Pope and A. Isaak in the United States district court last Monday morning was a farce. It was a fight against free press on the part of the district attorney, made on general principles, and the most foreign evidence was introduced to prejudice the jury.

Anyone coming into the courtroom while McGinn's speech was in process of delivery would have thought him an attorney for the prosecution. He did everything in his power to convict the defendants while pretending to defend them.

Judge Bellinger saw the weakness of McGinn's defense and when charging the jury instructed them to return a verdict of not guilty on the second count, and practically said that a verdict of not guilty should be brought in in favor of Addis and Isaak. The charge of the court to the jury was a firm denial of the contention of the district attorney, and with such instructions any jury of intelligence would have acquitted all three of the defendants on both counts, but the jury had been so handled by McGinn, and the vicious denunciations and misrepresentations of Attorney Hall, that they were incapable of judging fairly.

When the jury brought in a verdict of guilty on the first count, and not guilty on the second count, McGinn, trying to "do up" his clients, moved the court that the defendants be sentenced immediately, but Judge Bellinger, desirous of doing justice, refused to act so hastily and allowed two days in which to file a motion for a new trial.

We may conclude that the case is, in reality, only fairly opened, and it behooves everyone who favors free press to protest against further prosecution. The defendants have had their business ruined, their means of subsistence taken away, and been hectoring and badgered enough to punish them sufficiently even if they were guilty, as charged in the indictment, but if the instructions of the court to the jury had been followed a verdict of not guilty would have been returned.

Such unwarranted and outrageous proceedings cannot be too strongly condemned, and they show all too plainly that freedom of the press is fast waning and that strong popular protest alone can stay that tendency.—The Commoner, Portland, Or.

The Germinal club is an Italian group of Anarchists at Spring Valley, Ill. They send notice that they are making good progress in their propaganda work.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

SPECIAL NOTICE!

EXCHANGES, correspondents and subscribers will please address all mail for this paper to address given below. With the new year we discontinue the use of a postoffice box and will receive mail addressed to

FREE SOCIETY, 13 Oak Grove Ave.,
San Francisco, Calif.

MONTHLY LIBRARY.

At last Free Society Library is a fact, not a theory. No. 1 is now ready for delivery. It consists of Kropotkin's excellent "Law and Authority." The price is, per year 50 cents; single copies, 5 cents; \$2 per 100; \$18 per 1,000.

No. 2 of the Library will be Malatesta's great propaganda pamphlet "A Talk About Anarchist Communism."

We want to call the attention of our friends to the fact that the cost of these pamphlets when ordered in quantities depends largely upon the number of them that we print, so that if we have a large supply ordered in advance of publication we may be able to make a much lower rate. We printed 3,000 of No. 1. Could we have been assured of a sale for twice that number we could send them out for \$12 to \$15 per 1,000—at the former price if we get second-class mail rates, but not unless we do. Now send in your orders for Nos. 1 and 2. Don't forget that the yearly subscription is only 50 cents, and we need a bona fide subscription list in order to secure pound rates on mailing.

THE FIREBRAND CASE, ETC.

In the Firebrand of March 28, 1897, I made this statement: "The prisons and graveyards of America today yearn for the men and women who dare to think and act, and government is paving the way to satisfy and even surfeit that yearning."

Jan. 3, 1898, the press dispatches are headed "Prison Opens for Anarchists." These Anarchists were Comrades Pope, Addis, and Isaak.

They were charged with violating the postal laws in printing and mailing in the issue of April 25, 1897, two articles captioned "A Woman's View of It," and "It Depends on Woman;" Walt Whitman's poem "A Woman Waits for Me," in issue of March 14, 1897; and "Marriage vs. Liberty," by Anton Neidermeyer, in the issue of Sept. 19, 1897.

The conviction was on only one count and from information at hand this appears to have been the mailing of the papers containing Walt Whitman's poem.

On trial the original charge of mailing "obscene" pamphlets (Barcelona Supplement to the Firebrand) seems to have been dropped.

A. J. Pope, on trial, refused to be sworn or affirmed, but, as the dailies inform us, he said he would tell the truth and "began a rhodomontade about the officers of the law having him in their power, which was cut short by the judge, who sternly ordered him to his seat."

Of course! The truth is not wanted in the court; that is not the province of law-dispensing machines. Kiss a bound mass of filth and then say what you please, if you only flatter the judge with an intimation that he possesses honor, the jury with the idea that they are omniscient and the prosecutor with the statement that he is justice-loving and wise.

All three of the victims were tried in a bunch, and so convicted, though A. Isaak stated to the judge after conviction that as he was only convicted on one count he could show that when that alleged offense was committed he was in the mountains, but he had not been given a chance to testify in his own behalf.

The judge then ordered a new trial in the cases of Henry Addis and A. Isaak. Pending this trial they have been released upon their own recognizance.

From data at hand the court appears to have made

rulings favorable to the accused, but the jury were too "moral" and too wise to be bothered by a little thing like that. To have secured a favorable ruling from the judge the defense must have put up a stronger case than the prosecution; courts do not love Anarchists and are not ruling favorably to them if they can avoid it.

Whether Comrade Pope has yet been sentenced or not we have not heard.

Comrade Viroqua Daniels sends the clipping below from an Iowa "plute" paper, with the comment that "It seems arrests for mailing 'obscene' literature are not to be confined to revolutionists alone, nor to a limited number of persons. But the authorities make a mistake in allowing any mention of the cases with arrest and conviction of accused to be printed and distributed. People are bound to sympathize more or less with Dr. Kime, for the 'herd' do differ in their opinions about what is obscene. In the case of Teloken (another arrested party) where no explanation is given, every individual would fit his own definition to the word obscene, and to all it would mean something deserving of punishment, so that 'public sentiment' would be unanimously against the convicted."

Here is the clipping referred to:

"THE CONVICTION OF DR. KIME.

"The conviction of Dr. Kime in the federal court at Des Moines for the reproduction of an obscene black-board inscription in the Iowa State Medical Journal seems unjust when viewed in the light of surrounding circumstances. The doctor was a member of Drake University Medical faculty and also editor of the Iowa State Medical Journal. The male students were ungentlemanly in their behavior in the presence of the ladies during class work, and when the ladies appealed to the management for a cessation of such actions, and asked to have a certain one who had been exceptionally vulgar expelled, they were met by a decree which excluded female students from the privileges of the institution. In defense of the ladies and the condemnation of the brute that called himself a man, the article appeared containing the inscription above referred to, and for the circulation of which through the mails he is convicted and must serve a heavy sentence in the penitentiary. Here are several wrongs which seem to be without a remedy."

Comrade Daniels seems to have made a pretty broad suggestion, but it is only a question of suppressing a free press and the thing will be done, as in Turkey and Russia. The United States is fast approaching that phase of "free institutions."

F. A. C.

THINGS AND THOUGHTS.

To those well-meaning Socialists who are not affiliated with the S. L. P. but request us to be easier with the members of that party who are slowly advancing toward our standard of liberty I have only this to say: While the tactics of the S. L. P. continue to be what they are today, oppressive and intolerant, subversive of all individual liberty, we must oppose them or weakly abandon our greatest principle, and that we will not do. It won't do to argue that the trouble is purely local, for it is not. It is the same in San Francisco as in Montreal, in Chicago as in New York, in Boston as in St. Louis. It is international. It is a part of the general policy of the S. L. P. I do not claim to know all things, but I have had exceptional opportunities of studying the tactics of the S. L. P., and that I have used them to such advantage as I was capable of does not argue that I am exceptionally brilliant as a critic. At the same time the facts have been such that I cannot ignore them. The S. L. P. attacks the fundamental principles of liberty; as an advocate of liberty I would be recreant to my belief did I refrain from opposing their position.

Of 12,000 cloakmakers in New York 10,000 are idle. An Eastern labor paper says many of them are living on one meal a day and smoking cigarettes to destroy their appetites as they say "Cigarettes are cheaper than bread and two cigarettes enable us to do without a meal."

That is a fine comment on our alleged civilization.

And another emphatic comment is registered by nearly every man and woman who take their own lives, and these suicides are daily occurrences in all of our large cities. San Francisco frequently contributes two or three cases a day.

A correspondent aptly remarks that "all human beings in a manner crave and seek freedom for themselves but are too selfish to concede to others the same freedom."

"Can't get along without government." Can't you? Oh, yes, you can. You walked down the street yesterday; had your sweetheart with you. You met a lot of other people walking singly, in pairs and in trios; why did you not run over each other; was it because the law said you should not? No, it was because in this matter you exercised common sense. There is an unwritten law, the "rule of the road," by which man regulates such things and "steers a straight course." He could add a lot of statutory provisions, but they would not add order. All other affairs of life could be as easily conducted. Where any uniform conduct will be advantageous to society free men and women will need no statutory enactment to guide them, and where no uniformity is advisable they won't attempt to adopt it.

"The Durrant Tragedy" will be the title of a series of papers from the pen of an able writer, "Nihil," to appear shortly in FREE SOCIETY. "Nihil," will of course treat the subject from an Anarchist standpoint. The cutthroats and hangman have had their say; now the humanitarians will present, through "Nihil," another side of the picture, one not so bloody and gruesome as that painted by Government.

Printing an Anarchist Communist paper in the English language in the United States is rather lonesome business. Not long since I predicted that Anarchy would be more popular in a short time. Today I got a letter from one of the brightest editors in America saying that he will soon join hands with us and fling the red flag to the breeze, but until the step is taken I am not at liberty to divulge the name. Will the authorities kindly crush out Anarchy some more?

"You may believe in and advocate Anarchy if you want to, but you can't send it through the mails."

The State exists for the education of the wise man; with the appearance of the wise man the State expires.—Emerson.

No simpler, plainer truth was ever uttered, yet the minds of men have been so perverted by government, for its own ends, so prejudiced against true progress, that the majority of men today do not or will not see that government is not civilization; that in fact the two are, from their very nature, antithetical. Government rules by force, or threat of force, while civilization will reign only when brute force and its consequent injustice end and reason replaces violence.

Reason will suggest that an unwilling fellow worker's enslavement is not conducive to our own happiness and best welfare. Logically, then, to enjoy life to the fullest advantage we must do away with overlords, economic and political, and give all men that right which belongs to them but which has been wrested from them—the right of self-government.

We are frequently asked, in substance, by the Statists: "Why do you attack us if you are not in the pay of the capitalists? Why don't you turn your guns toward the plutes?"

The plutocrats are no worse than you are, no more inimical to liberty, and liberty is what we are contending for. You uphold the State and your every action so far as our experience in various cities and our observation of Socialist Labor party tactics have extended have proved emphatically that whatever your party may aspire to, one thing it has attained—despotism in an extreme form. That is our worst enemy; drop it from your book of tactics and we will be pleased to reason with you; till then, don't overlook the fact that you have no more steadfast enemies than the Anarchists, and you will sue in vain for peace.

Why should we fight the capitalist simply because he is a capitalist? If he is a human then he is entitled to human treatment. If he is not human, then he is entitled to a fair trial before conviction. In summing up the points for and against him we find one point which overshadows all others: He is the effect, not the cause, of government, and the State Socialists, clinging to and upholding the cause, cannot honestly repudiate the effect.

The Anarchist fight is against the cause—government—not against the effect—the capitalist.

F. A. COWELL.

ANARCHY VS. STATISM.

In this lecture of mine tonight I want to introduce arguments, which I am willing to discuss in a joint debate if the S. L. P. leaders suspect any misrepresentation on my part.

I am not a member of any party; all I want you to do is to reason with me, as my object is to have a fair and intelligent debate on State Socialism, Social Democracy or Socialist Labor Party versus Anarchist Communism. I, as an Anarchist Communist, want to build up the Socialist conscience which is latent in the human family.

All these different names make but very little difference in the merits of the question, as I always look at the logic and the motives of action of the individuals who group themselves for certain aims and objects.

I am wholly dissatisfied with the present system of affairs, and I am very much disappointed by men who call themselves Socialists who denounce and spite individuals who may not have the same method of observation, comparison and conclusion.

I just want to state my opinion on practices and methods of men who reject imposed authority and men who want to foist their imagined authority on others.

According to what the Social Democrats designate as scientific Socialism, is the claim "that the present society proceeds in its whole from the capitalistic principle, and that it could not be corrected any otherwise than by transforming the principle itself." If I would look only at the general principle and vague affirmations, certainly the difference between the Anarchist and Socialist is but a small one. Both say at last "we want liberty for all, happiness for all, free development for all, free opportunities for all," and a whole lot more of other things for the benefit of mankind in general.

Why is it, anyway, that the Anarchists and Socialists are spitting each other instead of being two good friends, as both claim the desirability of a free society without rent, profit, interest or special privileges.

There are two capital differences—small for some people and large for others—in the program of the two brothers—Anarchist and Socialist. The differences are these: 1. In the final aim. 2. In employing means to struggle against the present capitalistic system.

The Socialists want to organize the workmen as a class to take possession of public authority and reorganize the present government into a giant monopoly of production and distribution, as well as everything else concerning our phase of life; time checks would replace our present money, which would be issued by the elected government, or administration, as they prefer calling it.

The Anarchists analyze authority, and have shown up the disastrous nuisance, its effect on those who are governed and those who are governing; consequently the Anarchist wants to do away with that very same public authority and introduce voluntary co-operation in communal life and individual sovereignty.

There lies the difference between the Socialists and Anarchists. From these two points of view results the different tactics between Socialists and Anarchists, because the one is defending and enforcing the government, and the other is trying to do away with that very same government. The Socialists claim that in order to transform individuals you have to change their surroundings first, and in order to transform the economic system the workmen, as a class, have to be always ready to take possession of public authority. They say that it is necessary for the proletariat to take an active part in politics to get possession of public authority, and after that they will change the economic conditions which are reacting on the brains of the individuals.

Now, then, I would like to ask you through what miracle the workmen will be able to have in advance the Socialistic conscience when most of them are depending in the worst way on the capitalistic system, and are only too zealous to become capitalists themselves.

I claim that the individuals have to change or to create a new surrounding, no matter whether they are capitalists or workmen, and this will be done when the individuals accomplish their own evolution; that is, give up their greed and boggishness to live on some one else's productive labor.

Parliamentary Socialism is a class struggle. Anarchist Socialism is the reaffirmation of conscience for

equal opportunities for all and to do away with ALL the classes, as we make no distinction between rich and poor; the moral character is our standard of judgment and appreciation. If you investigate the facts and the frauds of government you logically come to the conclusion that the government is the creator and defender of special privileges, because every law is a special privilege; equal rights don't admit of law, as with law commences usurpation.

In my study of history I always found the government impeding understanding among the people to cripple local and individual initiative and to frustrate ancient liberties of the tribes; government as a social institution was developed just like any other organ for certain purposes and functions, viz.—to grant special privileges. I know, through experience, that an institution which has a history of several thousand years can not be utilized for a function directly opposed to the one for the benefit of which it was created, developed and maintained in the last few thousand years. All of us can point out the utter failure of all governments. To this unanswerable argument of every observer and thinker on sociology what answers can I get from a Social Democrat?

The answers are almost childish: "You see the government is there. It exists, it represents a very powerful organization which is already in operation. Why should we destroy it, and not utilize it? The government is performing bad functions, it is true, but this is because it is in the hands of the capitalist class. If the people would conquer this very same government, why shouldn't it be utilized for a better aim, for the good of the people in common?"

You have no idea how sorrowful it is for me to answer such questions by people who call themselves Socialists! Because all those who have such arguments either have no suspicion of the historical role of the government or they conceive the pending social revolution under such a small form, and such insignificant features, that their conception has nothing in common with Socialistic aspirations. Take, for instance, a concrete example here in the United States. We have been living in a republic for the last 127 years, and, in spite of the republican form of government, we are living in an essential monarchy—by injunction, of course.

The question comes now, why is it that in the time of 127 years of republicanism the republicans were unable to introduce the boasted republican claims and customs among citizens—free press, free speech and free association. I will not say that nothing has been done for a workman in the United States, but are the Canadians any worse off than we are?

No one can deny the fact that we are living under a monarchical republic. The reason is because government remained government, the name and men changed, but the root, the essence of despotism, remained. Our sincere republicans in this country, and also in France, cherished the very same illusion as the Social Democrats of today. They also intended to utilize the existing government, to introduce, step by step, a change toward republicanism. You see the results, and the Social Democrat of today wants to change the very same institutions into Socialism. Can't you see the fizzle ahead? The men at that time and the Social Democrat of today did not, or cannot, understand that a historical institution could not work otherwise than for what it was made, viz., to exercise despotism and not liberty, because the men are swallowed up by the institution, and we can see every day the consequences of putting new men into government institutions.

I put, now, some questions this way: If an individual is unable to be self-governing how will he be able to pick out the right kind of rulers?

If the masses are unable to get along without dictators how can the masses be able to dictate authority to their elected representatives?

If you say that men are no angels, why are you hunting for angels at election times?

The Socialists admit, themselves, that the whole capitalistic system has to be changed before Socialism can be introduced. They say that "their proposed reforms could have but one object and one effect; it is to broaden the liberty of action for the fighting forces of the working people, in view of a systematic social change." But this is only bamboozling if you know how to analyze their words. Let us see where the truth is. You say it is to broaden the liberty of action. Is it not ridiculous to see you parade on election day with your paper gun to the mystification box, and that is what you call "broaden the lib-

erty of action." If your proposed reforms would diminish the might of the capitalists, and give more power to the proletariat, then I would be inclined myself to believe in a systematic betterment. Look now at Germany, where the Socialist party is the strongest, but I know that the social conditions in Germany are worse than in the United States.

It would be logical if you could establish, through legislative bodies, one reform after another, and in this way change the capitalistic hell into a socialistic heaven; but, my dear friends, you see yourselves that the events don't go this way, and many of you proclaim the necessity of a revolution in order to do away with private ownership of natural opportunities and special privileges. Every new law creates new privileges, and new privileges create new dissatisfaction. Logic must bring us to a conclusion where we have to do away with all laws, lawyers and judges, which are the chief pillars of government, supported by the ignorance of all believers in the almightiness of a government of any party, which, in reality, is nothing but an abstraction, and has root only in the mind of an ignoramus, just like God in the mind of a bigot. You can believe in God only if you create the God idea in your mind, and the shape of God is just according to the imagination of the individual; it exactly the same thing with the government. A man who is free of cobwebs of superstition and ignorance cannot believe in God nor State.

What I call educating the individuals and masses is to imbue them with ideas of self-government and self-reliability. I want to develop the latent forces of thought and rebellion within the individuals; I want to see the masses self-conscious and self-responsible for their actions and not to see them give away their rights with the ballot, vote for masters or servants, and then, after that, go and beg, demand, petition, protest, implore, menace with the paper gun; but your government don't fear that, and, therefore, you are in the soup anyhow. A free man will not accept masters, nor will he look for servants.

I know many Socialists, who don't treat me as a fool, a government spy or a traitor to Socialism, but they say: "Why, we have the same ideal as you. We also want the complete autonomy of the individual; the complete destruction of authority; the only trouble is that we cannot realize all our wishes at once, at one jump, we have to go step by step; we are demanding successively for reforms which can be realized immediately." Now, then, what is it to realize immediately? The election of a congressman, senator, judge, public officers, of course. This is the way you are forging the shackles of despotic authority, and don't you see that you realize through your dialectic-scientific Socialist logic just the contrary of what you desire?

With the revolutionary Socialists it is also the same; they say we can obtain our final aims by revolution, but they are waiting for some kind of a Messiah to do the final job, and are willing to fool their time away with politics and programs, and instead of advising the workmen for the general strike, where there are popular movements, as lately in the coal regions in the East or years ago with the A. R. U. strike, and adopt war-like measures the first day, and not starving for months, you advise the men to vote for another kind of public officers the next time instead of inciting to individual initiative action, which is essentially necessary for an intelligent revolution. You are just abating the desire of vengeance in telling to the workmen to patiently wait and vote for Socialism; your logic brings you to just the contrary of what you desire.

And such men have the gall to tell us that either in 50 or 100 years the social revolution will break loose, after which we will establish Socialism, or again, you will wait until "one capitalist will kill out the many," when we see the number of capitalists steadily increasing; even if your argument were true, do you suppose that by that time you would only have to deal with law-abiding citizens who would tremble at the commands of the elected ones? How anxious the leaders are to be "somebody," they show practically every time where there is a chance to exercise authority; this is what you call S. L. P. discipline. You have the same decomposing germ among your party as any other political party, and you may be sure that I am no more dissatisfied under the present disorder of things than I would be under social democratic rule. You may say now to me that my conclusions are logical and my deductions of true freedom and happiness, but that I will never live long enough to see my harmonious or-

der of production and distribution according to the forces and needs of the individuals.

In the first place I tell you that I wait for nothing in this world; life is too short for that, but I always create a surrounding which I make as pleasant as possible under the given conditions and circumstances, and in the second place, I am not discouraged whether I do live or not long enough to see the ideal of a free society or Anarchy established.

Jesus, Thomas Moore, Bruno, Huss, Shelley, Tom Paine, Proudhon, Wendell Phillips, John Brown, Bakounin, William Morris and many other clear thinkers and reformers did not see realized such a state of society as they dreamt of, and though they did not see it realized they advocated radical changes in spite of everything, and I would not change my opinions for a pie which I may obtain in telling to the people what I consider a reckless humbug.

The Anarchists are showing and proving to you that the reforms advocated by Populists and Social Democrats and the legal reformers can remedy none of the bad effects of the present disorder of things. Just look at the different laws in different countries and you will find it everywhere the same, master and slaves, rich and poor.

Do you see how illogical you are? If you call yourselves revolutionists you are obliged to use paper guns called ballots, and then you say that any radical change, has to strike the essence of the capitalist organization, and you go ahead and make up a program changing only the room of exploitation and leave the basic essence of exploitation untouched.

Certainly you can attribute some value to some of your reforms in your own imagination, but for a man who wants to see liberty and is willing to die for it at any time it has no value whatever.

But meanwhile you are exhausting the force and patience of the masses, always advising to beg, demand and wait; some one of the prominent leaders gets the official pie and he runs the chances of forgetting his program in the official lobbies, and the generations are passing away and the workmen are still there to wait for the realization of their promises.

The Anarchist will promise nothing to the individuals. We state the troubles of which the human family is suffering through the present capitalist organization. We point out the causes, and declare the necessity of removing them. We say, "don't listen to the humbugs who are promising to work for you, to do away with the causes of all our discontent. All these causes depend on your own ways of thinking and acting; it is yourself first that has to arrange the desired transformation; try to transform your own individuality; in doing so you would change your own surrounding."

"If you do act that way you may not realize the new state of society immediately and completely, the evolution of ideas is rather too slow to suit us, but at any rate you are helping along the evolution of it, and if there are chances to gain something by progress, you will have the advantage of it, as the realization is depending directly upon you."

The Socialist leaders would like to emancipate the individuals, but they think they are too great ignoramusés to do it alone, by themselves; they want to make up a majority out of these very same ignorants who were declared all along to be unable to take care of themselves, and then they shall be the ones who will dictate production and distribution in the social democratic State ownership of everything. If there is such a thing as Utopia, well, there it is in my opinion. What kind of a future society can you imagine to yourself with such a monotonous, obedient education?

I am sure that if a man is unable to conceive liberty in its broadest sense he is not ready for a better society, therefore I try to awaken the sense of dignity and the desire of emancipation, which will produce love and good will within the individual and consecrate his forces to the struggle.

I am convinced of the inefficacy of reforms which are proved by the observation of facts of daily occurrence among us. I, as an Anarchist, do not want to waste any force and energy in sterile electoral struggles. I positively refuse to squeeze my ideal for a hypocritical and lying compensation.

If the demands of the Socialist, the so-called "practical reforms," should be accepted by the present rulers of society, it would only prove the inefficacy of their reforms, but at least I could pay some respect to the vigor of their tactics. But, alas! the supporters of the present capitalistic system are fighting the advocates of a "practical minimum program" as well as the

revolutionary Anarchist.

The idea imposes itself only by virtue of affirmation. If you declare that Socialism cannot be introduced just now—you monkey with politics—viz: to keep up with programs the present government you have no moral right to call yourselves Socialists. How can you gather individuals to struggle for something that you declare impossible to obtain?

I, as an Anarchist, reaffirm that the Anarchist Communist or Voluntary Socialist ideal is realizable, but it will not be realized before individuals take the trouble to work for its realization, without waiting for help from the parliamentary heaven.

If some among you are discouraged or disgusted with the struggle for a clean-cut free society I leave you to your own experience to be deluded and deceived through politics, but as far as I am concerned I go straight toward the aim, with the firm conviction that if I won't see Anarchy, at least I am preparing the road, for others to continue the work of the pioneers of freedom in the human family.

If there are any advantages to be got from the present state of affairs the Anarchist is sure not to be left, because he hopes for nothing from anyone and is always working according to his own initiative and responsibility, therefore the Anarchist propaganda has more virility than any other, because we are doing a radical work to hasten the evolution.

And remember well, this kind of propaganda is by far stronger than the ballot box and the political muddle, because we are in daily struggle with the supporters of present disorder and we incite the workers to act all by themselves, without waiting for the establishment of a law which shall allow them to act according to their aspirations.

If I advocate desertion of the ballot box it is because I don't want to give away my right to act by myself, it is because I want to reserve to the suffering masses our liberty of action, as I repulse any compromise with the present state of affairs.

Abstention from the ballot box is not misconception nor laziness, but we are engaged in all the struggles, in all places and at all times for a radical change.

And what do you say to the individuals whom you want to enrage? "Send us to the legislative bodies, we propose to make laws in your favor and enforce your will."

To all those individuals on whom I like to impress my thoughts, after exposing the facts I say this: As there is no hope from anyone and if you discover you are face to face with a bad institution, try if you can do away with it, don't patronize it anymore, commence to resist it with all your power, make war until it has to pass away or break down, as man is never served better but by his own services.

And again if there is an idea that seems to you good and logical, try to shape your behavior according to that; resist those who try to impeach you to act; never wait for your masters to get permission to conform your acts according to your thoughts.

Engage no one to legislate on what you have to apply your own individual action to.

If the power of the present government is oppressing you, if in spite of everything, the authority is impeding your evolution, there is always a chance left to resist. The progression of your actions in your surrounding will infiltrate the new ideas until the too-narrow circle will burst.

Now then, if you do compare the Socialist and the Anarchist propaganda you will logically formulate the following conclusion:

The way the Socialists are proceeding, they find the individuals too ignorant to know how to emancipate themselves; they contribute to keep the individuals in ignorance by making them hope and believe in a social change as a result of a parliamentary majority. The Socialists don't try to gather the individuals around an ideal, but they try to anchor them around individualities in which they advise them to put their confidence in voting.

In trying to broaden the conceptions of individuals in working to excite the energies and the initiative, the Anarchists contribute to that essence of a free society, namely: self-reliability and self-responsibility.

I will admit that with your Socialist tactics in propaganda you may succeed in gaining a power which, "well directed," can help in fact to get possession of public authority; but this unconscious mass would nevertheless remain in slavery, and be always ready to tender the neck to take the harness of a new party slavery.

We, the Anarchists, want free men and women, we have the consciousness to excite them to create that state of society for which we are struggling, and which shall be based on a general co-ordination of individual initiative, agglomerating in groups, large or small, according to the circumstances and necessities of the localities, nationally or internationally.

This individual initiative will aim to supply the social necessities, which will unite, split or disappear according to the circumstances and necessities of the time.

No monopoly, nor grabbing; a productive emulation between the groups, which will logically result from the autonomy or self-disposal of the individual.

A. KLEMENCIC.

As the State Socialists present at Comrade Klemencic's lecture were unwilling to discuss any of the points raised, even though pointedly but kindly requested by an Individualist present to do so in their own interest, we offer them reasonable space in FREE SOCIETY to do so if they choose.

NEWS FROM EVERYWHERE.

SWITZERLAND.

In August, last year, the 10th battalion of Geneva was in service at Lausanne. In the morning when the soldiers awoke they found printed hand-bills exposing the Swiss militarism.

The superiors of the battalion were looking high and low to discover the distributor, but all without result. After awhile everything quieted down until some few weeks ago, when five men were arrested on their way to work.

Two of them were members of the 10th battalion, and the other three their friends.

The first result of the arrest was that the landlord refused the rooms to the men, and the second result was the men lost their jobs.

During the time the five workmen were in jail a gang of detectives and uniformed policemen went to their homes and threw everything upside down, stole some private letters and other personal effects. Not satisfied with that, the watchmen of law and order abused the children and the wife of one of the arrested men.

The arrested individuals were declared innocent, as nothing could be found against them—and what about all that trouble? The chief of police just told them that they should be glad that they were not kept behind the bars. This is another sample of individual liberty in the "freest republic on earth." They seem to be jealous of American governmental customs.

RUSSIA.

At Krynki, Vilno, Warsaw and Brakow (Austrian Poland), some violent strikes broke out which resulted in favor of the strikers in spite of the military pressure for the advantage of the bosses.

FRANCE.

There is a movement on foot to start an Anarchist colony in the vicinity of Paris.

ENGLAND.

The strike of the mechanicians is still keeping up with \$130,000 expenses a week.

Is it not ridiculous to try to fight bosses with money? If the Britons would only try again the revolutionary method in striking as they did in the docks of London a few years ago!

Bosses and governments fear only violence, this is the only means to make them respect our rights.*

I for my part, always will have more respect for the idiot who is trying to break loose from the chains that keep him in slavery, than for the learned philosopher who will try to convince himself that submission is a necessity in a civilized society.

ABYSSINIA.

A sample of how the French Republicans are civilizing Africa, by a member of the Marchand expedition: "The native carriers give much trouble. We seized them forcibly, and they attempted to escape at every opportunity. We vainly shot or hanged those who were recaptured, but others continued to escape. Many were recaptured, but several succeeded in getting away. We were obliged to enter villages with a few riflemen and seize all the men and women found herein. Sometimes the whole population fled. Then we burned a few huts, which generally induced the natives to return. We then seized the chief and compelled him to give us the slaves to carry our loads. This is the only way to deal with these brutes, whom we have seen quarrel over the bodies of their shot comrades for food."

That is what! This is the only way to deal with peaceful citizens, as you know. Destroy, steal, rob, outrage women and murder; of course this is your trade, oh, defenders of the national honor.

Hi! old chappie of a justice, with your mask of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, is that the ideal our fathers fought for?

No friends, all governments are the same; do away with them all, then you can have liberty for all.

CHINA.

We know now why there was such a hurry lately to dispatch warships to China.

The Chinese statesmen (read loafers) needed money, £16,000,000 at one lick, offering the land tax for security.

French, Russian and German bankers were anxious to get some of that loan, as the investment is a good one, but the English bankers were again ahead.

That is why their tools went to parade in the Chinese waters. Do you see, workmen, what we pay millions for? To keep our navy in service.

Remember that all the murder machines are made, paid and kept by us for the protection of the rich and for our mutual destruction. It is about time to open our eyes as to which way we are going. A. K.

*FREE SOCIETY does not necessarily indorse this view.

PROVIDENCE.

The Providence meeting, which was to have been held Dec. 31, was postponed until Jan. 21. It will be addressed by James T. Morton, of Boston, and Emma Goldman. There will also be a concert and recitations.

On the Sunday following Emma Goldman will speak in the same hall, and a free platform will be offered to all.

CHICAGO.

New York dispatches announce that Howard Gould gave a dinner at the Holland house to 12 intimate friends on Christmas day which was the most sumptuous in the annals of private or public festivals. Every month was represented by its special fruit and its special flower and its special gem in lace pins, scarf pins and in other jewels chosen by artists. There were patties as tall as citadels and meats as delicate as crystalized candy violets.

What a sweet morsel of news this is for the inhabitants of the city of reeking tenements and starving millions, and how the spirit of degeneracy must take off its hat to the 150,000 idle workmen who fasted and shivered in the cold December winds on the outside while the Bacchanal feast went on and the hours "winged their way like minutes" on the inside, in obedience to christian civilization's l-a-w-s. The father, Jay, robbed one generation and the son, Howard, insults the next by his bold display of the plunder; yet the eldest was and the youngest is upheld by law while fool victims grin and bear it all as their semi-savage ancestors bore the burdens of baron and popes—how long, O Lord, how long!

A dispatch from Thayer, Iowa, tells us of a "dastardly" attempt to wreck a train near Mauray, Dec. 23, for the purpose of robbery. Of course, this means that a few persons who have been forced to the very door of starvation by statute laws have, in obedience to nature's demands, attempted to live at the expense of a railroad company, and are consequently denounced as the vilest of criminals by subsidized news dispatches, who, only a few years ago, exhausted their English vocabulary with eulogies of the stock pirates and general managers who, at the command of Pullman, wrecked a wage workers' organization and reduced to penury and despair tens of thousands of honest, industrious, law-abiding workmen—alas for themselves, too l-a-w abiding! Chickens return to roost, and so, after all, it may be a good thing for a revolutionary movement to have some tramps at large who are familiar with spikes, pinchbars, switches, etc. Let the philistines rage! Progress should shed no tears at these things.

The police of greater New York are to have a new uniform, modeled after the English. Protectors of property must look both fierce and handsome, you know. Meantime what about the creators of property? What have the governing powers in store for them? New laws to hang the rogues who roar for bread!

The American Federation of Labor convention indorsed the "Chicago Record's" postal savings bank scheme, but denounced the financial plan of Lyman J. Gage, whereupon the secretary of the treasury wrote a very long letter to Mr. Gompers, and now Bro. Gompers replies to Bro. Gage defending the position of the A. F. L. While the controversy lasts the innocents who contribute \$1,500 per year to Mr. Gompers can entertain little hope of that gentleman having any time for the consideration of the abolition of the wages system. The notoriety obtained while chasing shadows is so much more agreeable and profitable that the fun must be indulged in while fools pay all the bills.

The new general master workman of the K. of L. will not be able to restore the organization to its former and fundamental position of a revolutionary body—too much of its heart has been torn out by adventurers—but he will be honest and determined in all of his undertakings.

Many honest men are still weeping over the passing away of Henry George and the miscreant of 10 years ago is made to appear a saint by an enthusiastic set of idolators in this and other cities. I said miscreant and I mean it. I know that it is customary to say nothing but good of the dead, but I believe with Wendell Phillips that there are times when the charity of silence is not permissible. Eleven years ago capitalism attempted to stay the march of economic revolution by arresting several of the boldest agitators of Illinois. It manufactured evidence, secured a packed jury, a hireling judge and conviction; but there was at that time a splendid workers' organization of more than 1,000,000 members and their every honest impulse was expressed by the convicted and the bloodhounds of privilege did not dare to proceed with the execution of the sentence lest retaliation should follow. But government bided its time. It knew that the organization had two sides, the economic and political. Powderly as general master workman of the Knights of Labor spoke for the first and Henry George who had just polled 79,000 votes as candidate for Mayor of New York was regarded as the mouthpiece of the second. Government knew its men and the services of both were secured. Powderly played his part at the Minneapolis convention, while Henry George the politician did his infamous act through the editorial columns of his paper—the Standard. As a result the workers were divided. Capitalism proceeded, and the state of Illinois wrote across her brow in indelible letters—MURDERER! Since then we are accustomed to denounce police, judge and jury, but it should be remembered that laws are made for no other purpose than the slaughter of innocents and virtue, and that judges and police are the mere Hessians of such an institution. But what condemnation is too severe for the wretches who under the guise of friendship entered our organizations, as character assassins enter our homes, and after drinking the milk of life from our impoverished lives, turn us over to a blood-thirsty enemy when the slightest breeze of danger shifts their way?

The 79,000 votes we gave Henry George when he was candidate for mayor of New York in 1886 made of him a national character and sold more than 100,000 copies of his books, while at the Richmond general assembly of the K. of L. in October of the same year we increased the salary of T. V. Powderly from \$1,500 to \$5,000 per year. No, the charity of silence is not permissible!

T. P. QUINN.

"THE SUMMARY."

That is the title of a mimeograph newsletter which reaches us from Manchester, Eng. It is an 8-page fortnightly. We give below the issue of Nov. 27, '97, which is No. 3 of the same:

A discussion took place at Barton's house on Voluntary Co-operation. MacQueen opened with a few words. It was pointed out in the course of the discussion that several comrades had talked over the advisability of some form of co-operation on agricultural lines; first, as a practical illustration of our principles; second, as a possible asylum for unfortunate comrades; and, finally, as the nucleus of a free society which would necessarily entail the destruction of our present state and world-wide commercial system. It was necessary not to think of starting on too big a scale or to attempt for a while to make a living out of

it—comrades to go on with their ordinary work for the time being. A big house might be gotten with sufficient land attached for the purpose. A "hen run" was suggested as a first and immediately payable way, and one requiring little capital.

The importance of making arrangements to avoid the trivial, but disagreeable, incidents that are always liable to happen where people live together was recognized. Comrades seemed to be agreed that such a home should provide private apartments for each, though board, etc., might be arranged on some common plan. The common work should be divided into departments and arranged at weekly meetings, where each could answer for their special work. This, it was thought, would be preferable to leaving it to private and haphazard arrangement. It was recognized, moreover, that such a home would of necessity have to be carefully organized and only include such people who felt among themselves sufficient affinity of tastes and ideas as would enable them to live harmoniously together; it being pointed out that small communities had often failed from this cause, the offending persons being, perhaps, good enough people in their way, but somehow unable from some reason to rub along with their neighbors.

It was suggested as a finish that those interested form a group for the special purpose of looking further into the matter and finding ways and means of putting the idea into practice, and MacQueen was appointed secretary pro tem.

The subject was again discussed at the propaganda group's meeting on the following Tuesday. Comrade Houghton thought that for a number of families to live isolated (financially) in a big house would be a potent cause of ill feeling and be bad economy, and suggested that communism might be practiced as to the buying and using of food stuffs. Further there might be at least one common meal a day, say at night when all the comrades had returned from work. This would keep comrades in closer touch with each other, besides enabling us to help a less fortunate companion in an unostentatious manner. Also as regards washing which could be done much more effectually and cheaply and enable some machinery to be used. (Several comrades are practical engineers.) It was also suggested that we could build a house of our own as easily and as cheaply as we could rent one.

This is as far as the matter has gone at present. Any inquiries should be made to MacQueen, 20 St. Johns avenue, Longsight, Manchester. We hope to receive suggestions and adhesions from comrades and will shortly call a meeting to discuss the project further.

We are but few and weak! Nay, say not so,
For life is with us and the powers of air,
The mighty powers that made us, whisper
'Tis they that win, who dare and dare and dare.

ON GROUP ORGANIZATION.

A few words on group organization with reference to the article published in the last number of the "Summary" may not be amiss. In the first place a lot of rules and regulations only stand in the way. Still I don't like the way some Anarchists are frightened at a little method and simple rules of procedure; they remind me of the teetotaler who is frightened to take a glass of beer for fear of becoming a drunkard.

The question of accepting or rejecting applicants for admission depends on the nature of a group. If it were of a personal and intimate character, and wished to remain so, it would keep select, but groups of a more general or public nature (such as in a future Anarchist society an economic group would be) would not be acting in a free spirit to place restrictions on applicants, and as our group appeals to outsiders to come and help us it would be best, perhaps, to have no formality about it.

On the other hand a group will always have the power to refuse or exclude undesirable people, and so I think it is as well to admit it and not try and blind ourselves to the fact that it is sometimes necessary. It may not be Anarchy, but it is not government or aggression, it is simply the natural instinct of self-preservation. It stands in the same category as chucking an ill-behaved man out of a public meeting, and is one of the evils which, like death and measles, are always with us, though it may be minimized to a great extent. To make a rule of it would, perhaps, be to lead to its abuse, but it should, I think, be frankly admitted.

A. BARTON.

The number printed or written on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

FREE SOCIETY'S AGENTS.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for donations for Free Society:

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Report for week ending Jan. 7, 1898:

Levin	Unknown, Queckboerner, \$1 each	\$1.20
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Barnes, Schwartz, 200 each	40.00	
Roterberg, Austin, 100 each	20.00	
Comlon, Sales, 50 each	10.00	

SAN FRANCISCO LECTURES.

Comrade A. Klemencic, a member of the local Journeymen Tailors' Union, will lecture on the following subjects on the dates given, at Templar Hall, Pythian Castle, 900 Market street:

1. Labor Unions as They Are and as They Ought to Be." Feb. 4.
2. Labor Unions and the General Strike. Feb. 11.
3. The Place of the Labor Unions in Future Society. Feb. 18.
4. Labor Union Men and Scabs. Feb. 25.

San Franciscans should not overlook Prof. Bell's lecture, and entertainment will follow it—including dancing—on Feb. 15, at Vorwarts Turn Hall.

TRY IT ON THE DOG.

The National Prison association deserves credit for the most far-reaching remedy for conditions yet discovered. As it says, "some of its suggestions are practically impossible at present," but one of them will meet with a sigh of longing from the country. That is the one providing for the "sterilization of defectives, both moral and physical." We can say right now that we won't be happy until this suggestion is tried upon the members of the National Prison association.—Coast Seamen's Journal.

"THE BORED."

Heer is a story that we won't swear to; we just found it:

A drummer got laid over in a small country town one Sunday and went to the only show in town that was allowed to run on Sunday—a church.

Just before the services were over, the reverend gentleman announced that the board would meet after services, meaning his executive council of the church. The congregation passed out, with the exception of half a dozen men, among them the drummer. The reverend gentleman seeing a strange face with the remaining board, walked down to my friend and said, "Stranger, is there anything I can do for you?" He replied, "Well, I don't know; you invited the 'bored' to stay after service, and I was certainly bored by your sermon. I didn't know but you were going to apologize."

STATEMENT.

"FIREBRAND" RELIEF AND PUBLICATION FUND.

N. B. Includes only amounts received by the undersigned.

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E. Goldman, collected in Chicago	11.00
N. Notkin	22.25
F. A. Cowell, Ruskin List	12.14
Total	\$389.78

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Postage	14.02
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Household	38.01
Rent	50.00
Freight	23.58
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Addie	15.40
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Sundries	2.40
Total	\$316.75
In Hands of Treasurer	53.63
Total	\$369.78

ADDENDA.

The \$7 credited to B. S. Cohen should read as below. Itemized list just received:

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Fraternally, G. E. MILLER, Treasurer, Firebrand Group, San Francisco, Jan. 7, 1898.

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SAN FRANCISCO—Paper Covered Book Store, 1203 Market st. Anarchist and Freethought literature also on sale.

NEW YORK—A. Tannen, care of Uffner, 309 E. 9th st. Also has for sale Freedom, the English Anarchist paper, at 3c a copy, and Anarchist pamphlets.

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The New Generation, 605 South Third St. Philadelphia Pa., open every evening.

The German Group, Chicago, Ill. meets every Friday, 8 o'clock p. m., at 635 Bine Island av.

Anarchist Headquarters in San Francisco 1224 1/2 Folsom St. Open every evening from 7 till 10 p. m.

The Independent Educational Club meets every Sunday evening, at 7: 30 p. m. at 1227 E. St. Tacoma, Wash.

Independent Debating Club, St. Louis, 410 1/2 Market st. Room 7, meets every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock.

The Peoples Union, a free discussion club, meets every Sunday evening at 985 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.

Group Secretariat of New York City gives Anarchist lectures Fridays at 49-52 Orchard st., and Saturdays at 21 Suffolk st.

Sturm und Drang, 50 First st., New York City, is an Anarchist Communist paper printed in German, semi-monthly; 50 cents per year.

New York Debating Club meets and delivers lectures every Sunday 7:45 o'clock P. M. at 1524 Avenue A, near 90th. Free discussion.

Radical Literature of all kinds, including English periodicals, can be found at the news stand of comrade I. Rudash, 383 Grant St., New York City.

Pamphlets in English, Hebrew and German languages can be had by out of town stand-keepers and comrades, by addressing A. Levin, 340 Cherry St., New York City.

Wendell Phillips Educational Club will meet every Sunday, 2 p. m. at 45 Winter St., Providence, R. I. Pamphlets in English, German, French, Jewish and Russian languages on hand.

Belnicke Listy is an eight page Anarchist weekly paper, published in the Bohemian language at New York City, 622 E. 7th St. by the International Workingmen's Association of America. Send for sample copy.

Progressive Thought and Dawn of Equity, of Olathe, Kan., is the oldest organ of the Labor Exchange movement. It is full of news and original articles, gives progressive ideas, co-operative facts and advocates the correct way out of hard times. Send for sample copy.

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