

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

AN ADVOCATE OF COMMUNAL LIFE AND INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY.

NEW SERIES NO. 13.

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WHOLE NO. 149.

TRUE FREEDOM.

Men of England, Heirs of Glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurslings of one mighty mother,
Hopes of her, and one another!

Rise, like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number,
Thake your chains to earth like dew,
Which in sleep had fall'n on you.
Ye are many, they are few.

What is Freedom? Ye can tell
That which Slavery is too well,
For its very name has grown
To an echo of your own.

'Tis to work and have such pay
As just keeps life from day to day
In your limbs as in a cell
For the tyrants' use to dwell:

So that ye for them are made,
Loom, and plough, and sword, and spade;
With or without your own will,
To their defense and nourishment.

'Tis to see your children weak
With their mothers pine and peak,
When the winter winds are bleak—
They are dying whilst I speak.

'Tis to hunger for such diet,
As the rich man in his riot
Casts to the fat dogs that lie
Surfeiting beneath his eye.

'Tis to let the Ghost of Gold
Take from Toil a thousand-fold
More than e'er his substance could
In the tyrannies of old.

This is Slavery—savage men,
Or wild beasts within a den,
Would endure not as ye do:
But such ills they never knew.

What art thou, Freedom? Oh! could slaves
Answer from their living graves
This demand, tyrants would flee
Like a dream's dim imagery.

Thou art not, as impostors say,
A shadow soon to pass away,
A superstition, and a name
Echoing from the cave of Fame.

For the laborer thou art bread
And a comely table spread,
From his daily labor come,
In a neat and happy home.

Thou art clothes, and fire, and food
For the trampled multitude;
No—in countries that are free
Such starvation cannot be,
As in England now we see.

—Percy Bysshe Shelley.

ANGIOLILLO AND HIS DEED.

Jas. Armstrong stated in last week's issue that none were so poor as to do honor to Angiolillo. Nothing could well be farther from correct. As to the sanity of Angiolillo, who shall say whether or no he was mentally sound? Who is sane and who insane? I am inclined to doubt Armstrong's sanity, but that don't prove his insanity.

"Men who are worth saving will save themselves," says friend Armstrong, and to a large extent, he is correct. But Angiolillo did not give his life wholly in vain. Could the victims in Montjuich fortress save themselves, or avenge their own tortures? They could not!

A comrade must volunteer, at the price of his life, to do this for them. The world must be awakened to the horrors of the Spanish inquisition. Who shall do it? Angiolillo appears for a moment. Conovas disappears. Then Angiolillo, proudly de-

fiant, surrenders a few years of life.

Of what avail is all this? Thrones have shaken and kings trembled. When instant and terrible death or slow and revolting torture cannot terrorize a people governments are no longer secure from attack. Kings do not usually seek death; the pleasures, revelries and debaucheries of royalty are preferred to "six feet of earth." Fading imperialism clings tenaciously to its last straw of hope. A pistol-shot or knife-thrust causes the hand to loosen its grasp; it trembles; the straw is in danger of disappearing; royalty feels support failing, itself sinking.

Angiolillo did all this and the whole world did him honor. Even crowned heads despise the trembling slave who submits and respect a defiant rebel who only yields to compulsion. And of the proletarians it cannot be said none do Angiolillo honor. Millions hold that name in reverence. It is immortal. Canovas, premier, statesman, will some day be remembered as the man whom Angiolillo honored by killing.

When Spain is no more,

"When the war drums throb no longer,
And the battle flags are furled,
In the parliament of man,
The federation of the world,"

Angiolillo will be remembered though Spain be lost in antiquity and Texas be but a township in the same county as London. When the sand of the desert drifts over the ruins of Waco and the jackals prowl through the deserted palaces of Windsor, Angiolillo's name will blaze the brighter as historians tell the generations to come the tale of one brave man who, in a cowardly age, struck a blow, gave his life that "millions might look heaven in the face."

Ground beneath the wheels of a juggernaut, conceived unwillingly, born in poverty, nursed grudgingly, could these millions be aught else but "mendicants of liberty?" Was it all their fault? Is not society largely to blame? Did Angiolillo do wrong in awakening the conscience of society? For shame, friend Armstrong! why not be just? In your "heart of hearts" you admire the act of Angiolillo and could not despise the man if you would, as you say you admire the Indian.

And right here I want to say your admirable Indian must be one of Cooper's old collection. I've seen thousands of them, in all parts of the country. Greasy, lousy, ragged, lazy, beggars, all of them. I know this is largely a consequence of our sham civilization, which is also largely based upon the forcible spoliation of the Indian, but all the same the Indian of today is no higher than the negro—save in one thing, he will not slave. I'd honor a dog for that.

F. A. COWELL.

HALF TRUTHS.

Enclosed find clipping from the Chicago Daily Chronicle of Jan. 17. The article subdues the most salient parts it affects to quote. For instance, revolutionary features are introduced unaccompanied with the satire which followed in the address, while the satire really formed the effective part of the whole.

The article seemingly wears the expression of truth on its surface, but is only an attempt to retain a sense of the address after eliminating the philosophy of it all. It lacks weight and clearness to give it a truthful appearance. My criticism is not so much what it quotes as what it fails to quote.

The progressive labor organizations of West Chicago had been struggling for some time to start a series of mass meetings for the purpose of agitation. The members felt the necessity of some new stimulus to keep the movement up. So some of the earnest workers of each organization met in joint session, and agreed on a plan of action which culminated in mass meeting referred to in clipping.

This meeting will be followed by others, so long as the necessary funds can be raised to cover the expenses.

The committee seemed to feel greatly encouraged at the interest taken to attend, and help out this first meeting of the series, and expect to have another in about two weeks in some larger hall.

One word to correct statement in Chronicle and I am done.—Where it says that I "declared the people were getting ready for a great revolution." I wish I had such good tidings to impart, that is, in the sense the Chronicle implies it. The people are not preparing themselves, and yet I foresee the revolution approaching at an alarming speed.

This is what disturbs me, I fear the storm will burst upon us in all its mad fury, and find us wholly unprepared to meet the results. Night and day the thought haunts me, and I am turning over in my mind the best thing to be done to rouse the slumbering masses to think, to resolve and to act. Something, anything, is better than this apathy and despair.

There is a restless spirit within, that urges one to sound the alarm and awaken the sleeping herd from this nightmare of despondency and inactivity. Ye gods, when will the slaves of mammon dare to rise in their might and break the spider-web fetters that bind them to the juggernaut of superstition and greed?

And so I preached revolution! Why, there is hardly a town or village in this state that has not heard my voice sound the alarm against the debauching systems of the 19th century. I denounced the government, did I? Strange, isn't it? One must be devoid of common sense not to see the trick of conspiracy behind the curtain of government.

I can hardly understand how the franchise has played such a long and successful game on its willing dupes. A man that has no higher ideal than voting on a change of masters, hasn't got the spirit of a dead skunk, and so long as men insist on using the paper doll, called the ballot, as the only weapon of defense against the winchester and gatling guns, they must excuse me from participating in the frolic.

I believe in freedom, yes; not for any particular kind with a string tied to it, but absolute freedom without any attachments. When people are ready for that, I shall not be found in the rear.

Maywood, Ill.

L. S. OLIVER.

OBSERVATIONS.

I make no claim to anything near to scholarship, and no claim to even being a wise or safe teacher—even in degree—much less in kind. Still I really think my course of reading is more, has been more wide and more all-sided than that of the average fool. However that may be, I have that which I wish to offer to readers of FREE SOCIETY. To repeat—in part—I leave all the claims to scholarship to the theological frauds and lovers of old, misunderstood traditions, only claiming what I think to be true, and that is, that a man may

understand seven languages and write and think as a fool in everyone of them.

Now, to "make a break." Certainly, sin is unforgivable: how can I forgive another's wrong doing? The sinner must forgive himself, that is to say, there is no redemption, saving always self-redemption. And how is self-redemption to be brought to act? I know of not anything today save an unending stream of liberty-loving propaganda. Of all, "saving grace," Liberty alone has never had even a fairly fair trial.

Scholarly priests and clergymen, that is to say the conscious frauds, have no more faith in the absurd, the preposterous and most perverse doctrines of the orthodox church than I have. This is true, be said priests and clergymen either Romish or Protestant frauds.

I am sorry to know that the "first awakening" in the mind of many a man and woman does not cause them to face toward the truth, does not influence them so far as to force them to begin to climb out of the caves up toward the light. True, they become more or less free from theological fables and perverse, man-created religious fictions, but they hold fast with both hands to other terrible superstitions, filtered down through past ages, of old traditions that have long ago lost all meaning, lost the poor meaning they once have held, and binding fools to the letter—not the spirit of that which, ages ago, may have been an honest longing for the truth.

The Dead Past rules the world today and holds the greater number of the peoples of the world in bondage!—nay, in abject slavery to useless and preposterous creeds and customs.

No violent revolution can win today—the thought of such realization can only be the dream of a dreaming dreamer. A sufficiently large minority won over to a sense of the expediency and efficiency of passive resistance, will in my opinion be the next first and firm step toward the New Day.

I care nothing for Anarchist Communism, nothing for Individualist Communism, not anything at all for Philosophical Anarchism: ANARCHISM is good enough for me. Absolutely free competition would make us all wealthy and more healthy and wise. Absolutely free competition would abolish poverty, for it goes without saying that such competition would ring out all monopoly.

Under the crimson banner of Liberty we would all be free, and all of us could lead the most desirable of lives, for Liberty rightly defined means a realized "Heaven on Earth."

Not liberty as the Church preaches; not liberty as our rulers shout about; not the liberty advocated by fools, frauds, cowards and even worse.

We have absolutely no ground looking for aid to priest, politician, demagogue or labor leader. If either one or other could possibly tell the truth, the masses would turn and rend them, and they know this quite as fully as I do.

CLINTON LOVERIDGE.

COMMENT.

Clinton Loveridge will probably admit that mere assertions will not convince the average mortal, and therefore not find fault with me when I ask him to prove his assertions.

Even the conservative historians concede that there has never a great change in society been brought about without a violent revolution, and that such is but a natural phenomenon in the course of evolution.

Anarchism is also good enough for me, but it is safe to ask for a proper definition, as I cannot conceive of a free condition with industrial competition, and it has been proven by the most ablest Anarchist writers that competition ends when Anarchism begins, or as Comrade Borland says: "Of course it is possible to kill monopoly by competition, just as it is possible to kill competition by monopoly; but both terms imply a right of property which is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of Anarchy. Under true Anarchy there could arise

neither possibility, and the admission of such possibility is a virtual surrender of the whole anarchistic contention."

Now, if Loveridge can show that industrial competition is possible without violating the principles of Anarchism, I am willing to learn.

It is a condition that confronts us and not merely theories. How will the helpless women and cripples, for instance, share the benefits of a competitive system? Will they again depend upon the mercy of their kind husbands and charitable institutions?

We will be no more free "under the crimson banner of Liberty" than we are today under the Declaration of Independence, or the statue of Liberty in the New York harbor, if mankind fails to establish the relations essential to a free condition. "Think it over."

A. ISAAC.

SPIRITUALISM—MATERIALISM.

Although I have only a poor knowledge of the English language I made up my mind to expose in it my own opinion on some thing, and be it as strange and ridiculous as it can, I believe FREE SOCIETY will have patience enough to hear it, as it is nothing else but its own direct product.

Among many sincere ideas I have met with I find the anarchistic idea is the most sincere and the most true. Its proposition—from everybody according to his ability, to everybody according to his needs—is the most prudent and advanced principle; its claim of unlimited liberty for everybody is the most natural law, sufficient for every requirement—heaven or hell, which ever one chooses, can reach it in the highest degree by his own ability. What can be more satisfying than self-satisfaction? Thence, where can be more happiness?

F. A. Cowell, in his "Spiritualism-Materialism," admits that Spiritualists are not quacks any more because they claim what they believe in, but they are mistaking matter for spirits.*

Here I would remark that on their part it is good even to mistake when Materialists don't think of it at all. Their spirits, he says, are thoughts; and thoughts are vibrations of matter, not so rough though as to be cut with an ax or measured with a gallon or tape measure, as the matter was considered by Materialists heretofore

Same things, or rather more, I have heard two years ago of the Theosophist, who said to me somewhat like this: "Anything we see made by man was first formed in his imagination, so it is with everything we see in the universe; stones, metals and every other composition of elements are nothing else but petrified thoughts of angels; all of facts, which I can't explain in any physical way; lastly, if I ever do believe in evolution I cannot but believe that some time I will reach the highest point of my elevation;" on the other hand, if there is no evolution, but ups and downs of nature, as some are saying, then supposing that thought is a brain wave, where can we find its origin?

These are my sincere thoughts, on which I expect an honest explanation from our truth-loving brothers.

JOS. LAUKIS.

*But I don't admit it as a general rule. There are exceptions—people who are trying to solve what has so far proved unsolvable; and as to "mistaking matter for spirits," that was only a suggestion. Same with the Spiritualists' spirits and my matter. I can't prove my theory; they can't prove theirs; theories do no hurt; especially when not put forth as facts.

F. A. C.

OWLS AND CANDLES.

Now it is Mr. Emil F. Ruedebusch of Mayville, in Wisconsin, author of "The Old and the New Ideal," who is arrested and held under a two thousand dollar bond to present himself and be tried for mailing his book. The difference between Germany and America with respect to the freedom of the press is the unim-

portant one that over there the press is muzzled by an individual despot, while in this country the same thing is done by a multitude of them. Results are identical—the injustice even and exact. Perchance there is more satisfaction in making a target of the Kaiser than in taking a shot at the mob, but both require the same medicine. He hits back because the attack is made on his sacred majesty; the multitude, because its sacred prejudices are aroused. If owls could have their way, anybody who carried a candle to them would be brought before a grand jury of their species; and it is through similar inability to bear the light that the queer birds without feathers have presented Ruedebusch.

I had a copy of "The Old and the New Ideal," and read it. The author's diagnosis of the social distemper is correct, I suppose. Anyway, his arguments and statements are decently and soberly put, and I would rather see my boy reading it than smoking cigarettes or drinking beer. I should say the same if the hopeful were a girl, adding that it were better for both to be convinced by it than to join the Christian Endeavorers. If this son of mine would agree to forego fire-crackers on the Fourth of July on condition that he might peruse the pages of "The Old and the New Ideal," I should close the bargain with him at once.

It is a moral and physical impossibility for force employed against opinion to have any good results, or any other results than bad ones. That principle is one of the fixed stars, and when it is lost sight of there is no way of steering the right course. How many have ever paused to reflect on the great advance that would have been made in enlightenment and civilization, from the time of Socrates to the present, if in these cases the complainants instead of the defendants had been clapped in jail? The man who lays a hand on Ruedebusch's book to retard its circulation through the mails should be put in the penitentiary until he brings forth fruit meet for repentance.—G. E. M., in The Truth Seeker.

PROOF CALLED FOR.

I see by FREE SOCIETY, Jan. 30, that A. Isaac says "Mrs. Gillie don't always practice what she preaches." Now, if Mr. Isaac knew me well enough to know whether I did or not he would have thought before he made such assertion. I have never talked with the gentleman, except on two occasions at a public meeting, and when he makes a statement which he cannot prove, I am just as ready to attend to an Anarchist as to a Socialist. I always advocate the freedom of all to do as they please, providing they do not infringe upon the rights of others. I even grant the freedom to others of using tobacco and liquor, providing they do not annoy their associates. If I desire a glass of beer or wine I am going to take it, and I grant the same right to others. But I am not justified in swilling beer and making myself a nuisance to everybody I come in contact with in places where drinking is out of order. And I take the same position in everything else. Whatever I choose to do individually without infringing on others, or whatever I choose not to do, is no one's business but my own, and I grant the same to others. Now, will Mr. Isaac back his accusation and explain wherein I fail to practice what I preach as far as our condition will permit?

San Francisco, Jan. 27, '98.

Mrs. J. A. GILLIE.

COMMENT.

From what I had read I was under the impression that Mrs. Gillie was opposed to drinking, and as she had been drinking beer in a public hall I felt justified to make the remark. I cannot see yet how she consistently could reproach the Socialist for indulging in drinking when she drinks herself, and I have not noticed so far that the Socialists were swilling beer in places where drinking is out of order.

A. I.

NEW ENGLAND CORRESPONDENCE.

The problem of how to make \$500 of wages pay for \$2,500 of product is being worked out in New England today. This is the bottom fact of the great strike in the textile industries of ye land of ye imperialist descendants of ye godly Puritans where 80,000 textile wage slaves have been made to feel the lash; and here in the figures which follow are the middle and top facts of the industrial chaos.

The population of the United States, in round numbers, is 70,000,000. Of these, 65,000,000 are supported

by those who work daily for wages. The amount of wealth per capita per annum produced by these wage-earning wealth producers is \$2,500. The amount of that wealth received back in the form of wages is \$500 per capita per annum. Can \$500 of wages be made to pay for \$2,500 of product? That is the problem to be solved. "Yes," said the late lamented Pullman (now a star of the first magnitude, shining forever and forever in the depths of celestial space). "How?" "Give me more bounties and privileges and keep a federal judge and a standing army ready for emergencies at Chicago." "Yes," say Cleveland and McKinley. "How?" "By increasing the army, building a big navy and adding to the large existing list of non-producing, tax-consuming official loafers." And so on.

This thing goes deep. This 65,000,000 constitute the vast majority of the American people, in fact the consumers. Much has been said about the American home market. There you have it in that 65,000,000. It is self-evident that the consuming capacity of this 65,000,000 is limited by their purchasing capacity and this purchasing capacity again by wages. To cut wages, therefore, is to cut the throat of the home market. The problem of how to starve labor and yet maintain national prosperity, and how to corrupt the public school and yet maintain liberty, is being worked out in the United States to a final revolutionary "catastrophe." The "catastrophe," when it comes, will be put down by the "sword of authority" in the name of "social order," "business stability" and the "glory of God." The sword will be wielded by the very social and public "respectable" criminals who have themselves produced the "catastrophe."

Things are working. At a meeting of strikers here I gave the following toast: "Here is to the universal solidarity of labor over the heads of all politicians, all political parties, all government, all preachers and all priests." The toast was drunk with enthusiasm, and one-half of the toilers who drank it were Catholics. So much for courage and facing the music. Moral cowardice (or what is called opportunism) and double-dealing (which is called "tactics") may do in ordinary times, but they cut no ice in the midst of Revolution, and the American people are already in the midst of Revolution. "Onward flaming comes the chariot of fire."

C. G. BAYLOR.

Providence, R. I., Jan. 17.

HOW WE ARE COVERED.

When, on a certain occasion, West Point got out of stamps, one of the officers produced a dollar and bought fifty. To reimburse him—as it was official business—a requisition was made on the war department, with the proper vouchers, etc., but the paper came from Washington indorsed in this wise: "Denied; not properly made out and not presented through the regular channels." The officer never did recover the dollar, but the loss of it did cause him to study the army regulation, and he is today an expert. In his communications with the department he learned that supplies had to be advertised for, the contract to furnish them going to the lowest bidder, whereupon he wrote to the war office: "I do not see how we could have gotten the stamps any cheaper by advertising, unless some contractor gets them crooked."

West Point, remembering this experience, advertised in an appointed army organ for bids to furnish six lamp wicks, the quartermaster's department having exhausted its stock. The advertisement called for sealed proposals and invited bidders to send for specifications, etc. I do not remember how many bidders there were, but at four cents, that being the lowest proposal, the award was made.

The advertisement appeared six times and cost about as many dollars. The contract being awarded, was executed in quintuplicate—one copy for the contractor, one for the contracting officer, one for the auditor for the war department, one for the head of the bureau to which the contract pertained and one for the returns office of the interior department. The copy intended for the auditor for the war department was accompanied by a copy of the advertisement, a certificate of the contracting officer as to the time and manner of its publication, and his certificate that the award was made to the lowest responsible bidder for the best and most suitable article.

It required nearly two months to get the wicks. The contract in quintuplicate was received at the proper

bureau, examined, found correct and approved. The copy intended for the returns office was sent thereto by the officer making and signing the same, about thirty days later, together with all the bids, offers and proposals made by persons to obtain the contract, and with a copy of the advertisement. All the documents were fastened together with a red-white-and-blue ribbon and seal, and numbered in regular order, with the affidavit of the contracting officer appended, as follows:

"I do solemnly swear that the copy of contract hereto annexed is an exact copy of a contract made by me personally with _____: that I made the same fairly, without any benefit or advantage corruptly to the said _____, or any other person; and that the papers accompanying include all those relating to the said contract, as required by the statute in such case made and provided."

When the contract and award had been properly approved the disbursing officer drew a check for 4 cents and sent it to the successful bidder.—New York Press.

BIBLE TEACHING UP TO DATE.

"Your sins have witholden good things."

Robert G. Ingersoll, under "What I want for Christmas," expresses two of his eleven wishes thus: "I would have all the professors in colleges, all the teachers in schools of every kind, including those in Sunday schools, agree that they would teach only what they know, that they would not palm off guesses as demonstrated truths."

"I would like to see a fair division of profits between capital and Labor, so that the toiler could save enough to mingle a little June with the December of his life."

Ingersoll is still suffering from the sin of ignorance, which obscures his vision of truth, or he would know that capital is nothing but wealth stolen from Labor by means of unjust currency laws; he should also know, or be taught if he does not, that professors of colleges and teachers in schools are, as a rule, ignorant of the fundamental truth of social economy, viz, profits do not add to social wealth, but divert wealth from the producers to the non-producers (parasites) by means of the medium of exchange, which has been devised for this express purpose.

Ingersoll wishes "kings and emperors to resign and allow the people to govern themselves, the nobility drop their titles and give THEIR (?) lands back to the people;" "clergymen admit they know nothing about hell or heaven;" "politicians changed to statesmen—to men who long to make their country great and free;" "editors to print the truth and nothing but the truth;" "millionaires form a trust for the public good;" "armies disbanded and the great navies allowed to rust and rot in perfect peace."

Is Ingersoll to be complimented on his ability to earn a living by playing buffoon, or pitied for the sin of ignorance of the fact that kings, emperors, nobility, clergymen, politicians, editors and millionaires are all enabled to live in luxury on the Labor of others, simply by means of dishonest currency laws, armies and navies being their last line of resistance, against true social conditions?

Ingersoll might, if he would, learn much good from reading Sir Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia;" the following 12 lines from this book will surely be indorsed by all unbiased seekers after truth as a just condemnation of man-made law, the cause of all the evils from which society is now suffering:

"And third came she who gives dark creeds their power
Sillabab-Paramassa, sorceress,
Draped fair in many lands as lowly Faith,
But ever juggling souls with rites and prayers;
The keeper of those keys which lock up Hells
And open Heavens. "Wilt thou dare," she said,
"Put by our sacred books, dethrone our gods,
Unpeople all the temples, shaking down
That law which feeds the priests and props the realms?"
But Buddha answered "What thou biddest me keep
Is form which passes, but the free truth stands:
Get thee unto thy darkness!"

Law feeds the parsons by "holding up" Labor, and it is high time for Labor to say to all man-made laws, "get," we intend to be satisfied with none but natural laws; man is not competent to make laws; "the free truth stands;" sins are mistakes which withhold good things.

The blasting gold power gives it out that "gold is to the body politic as blood is to the human body;" seekers after truth, who as such, are proud to be called Anarchists, argue that as the political body is in an awful state of putrefaction it must be a case of blood

poisoning, and demands immediate attention; the remedy rests with those who produce all wealth; as such they can, if they will, agree to stop feeding the priests and propping the realm; priests and realms oppose natural laws, hence our misery; natural laws promote happiness; Labor has to agree on a natural (scientific) medium of exchange, stop the sin of allowing themselves to be robbed, and, as a consequence, enjoy all the good things they create."

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.

FRAGMENTS OF THOUGHTS.

Monopoly throws "gold dust" in the eyes of the politician and the politician throws "dust" in the eyes of the people.

The late medical operation performed in Switzerland led me to the following reasoning: If Socialism is "only a question of bread and butter," then it is a very easy problem to be solved—every proletarian has to cut out his stomach and—basta! But when I read that the woman who was operated on eats, drinks and has a mighty appetite I made two such (x) marks on my above-mentioned "patent."

There are many Socialists who claim to be materialists and disbelievers in miracles and still believe that some day they will be able to destroy the present system of exploitation by throwing fragments of white paper in a little tin box.

A silk hat is, as a rule, a continuation of "emptiness" and the beginning in the "exception."

There are many prohibitionists who drink whisky in order to demonstrate the evil of drinking.

The pope of Rome (Mr. Leo) seems to be very happy although he is the 13th.

"A kingdom for a horse," said Richard III when he was in danger, and since then the safety of the kings is based on horses.

If Emile Zola will be the victor in his fight against injustice, the saying that "the pen is mightier than the sword" will become a fact.

"B. Tucker" is the best author for busy people—he has no time to write, nor they to read. L. RABOTNIK.

WE'RE NOT MILD ENOUGH.

I have repeatedly noticed in FREE SOCIETY a tendency to cast ridicule upon the S. L. P. at each and every opportunity, which tendency has met with the greatest disapproval on my part. FREE SOCIETY being a propounder of the most advanced ideas should also, in my judgment, manifest a most exemplary tolerance toward all other different factions of a more or less radical hue, in as much as they pertain to the welfare of our fellow beings. To cultivate the minds of the masses, and prepare them for the inevitable change which is bound to come at some future time, we must be rather lenient, instead of harsh, in our criticisms of the various elements that comprise the different ranks in the battle for freedom; we must also avail ourselves of the discontent of those whose sense of justice revolts against some of the crying evils of our present system and propagate our principles by diffusing more knowledge among those who are yet imbued with some of the old superstitions and prejudices, the S. L. P. included. By acting thus our numbers will increase, and thereby our task of putting an end to this era of prostitution and legalized robbery will be very much facilitated.

Proselytes are gained in the long run through the truthfulness of ideas propagated and the good will of their promoters, and by exercising extreme tolerance toward certain individuals we have a fairer chance to come in frequent contact with them and others and gain ground by debating and discussing with them.

Two wrongs do not make a right, and if some of the S. L. P. are intolerant that does not justify your being so. Besides we should not forget that difference of ideas and principles did and will exist so long as human intellect exists, and tolerance toward others, especially toward social reformers, should increase in proportion to the vastness of knowledge. Yours for freedom.

BERTHA LAMB.

New York, Jan. 20.

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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.

THINGS AND THOUGHTS.

France is one of the republics where, we are told, the people rule. If the people rule either in France or America it is time they abdicated in favor of common sense. Zola, in standing out with a demand that justice be done in the infamous Dreyfus affair, has aroused the enmity of the Jew-baiting "people who rule," so Zola, like the Jews, is to have his death urged by maudlin voters. The Socialists (governmental and anarchistic) seem to be the only ones who recognize the necessity of solidarity among the proletariat, in France as well as elsewhere.

There was trouble at Stanford university the other day. A professor was arrested by a constable on suspicion of guilt of something or other. The only reason for his arrest appeared to be that he was a tall man and a tall man was wanted. He was also middle-aged and wore gray trousers. This settled his guilt beyond doubt. But to make assurance doubly sure a constable took the victim's money away from him and then offered to bet it against more money from the same source that the prisoner didn't know himself. The professor would not consent to such a bet and was promptly put down as a man who would not bet on his own name, and of course a criminal.

Another curious feature of the affair is that at a protest meeting against the action of the officers a college professor apologized for not being a "Native Son of the Golden West." "Rah, for patriotism."

At Arlington, N. J., a poor man, Wilfred Richardson, bought a sewing machine for \$50, to be paid in monthly installments of \$3 each. He paid \$40 on it and then fell sick and failed to meet the payments, whereupon, under the New Jersey laws he was sent to prison for debt. He can be forced to stay there till the other \$10 is paid. This particular form of refined torture was abolished in England after it was held up to public scorn by Chas. Dickens, but it is all right in New Jersey. It is nothing to the company that so long as the man remains in jail he cannot feed his family, that they had to apply to the poormaster for a beggars' dole.

A comrade sends us a lot of bible verses for publication. Well, we will have to decline them. We can't afford just now to have FREE SOCIETY kicked out of the mails, and above all kicked out of the homes of all decent people.

Some of the verses contain language that merely mentions ordinary acts of nature, but it is done in a disgustingly murderous manner. Only the bible is permitted to incite to murder and pass through the United States mails. Only the bible can incite to incest, rape, assassination and all that is mean, vicious and vile.

God, Government and Grundy monopolize the filth of the world. Let others attempt it and down comes the "heavy hand of the law," with Church and State to back it up.

More than this, this triumvirate of hellishness insists upon the right to decide what is "filthy," with the natural consequence that all that is elevating, educational and beneficial to the race becomes "obscene" when it threatens the reign of the three G's.

The article offered quotes among other passages: Genesis, chap. 17, verses 11, 14, 23, 24, 25; 1 Saml., c. 18, v. 25, 27; 2 Saml., c. 3, v. 14; 2 Kings, c. 18, v. 27; 1 Saml., c. 25, v. 22, 24; Genesis, c. 10, v. 2; Genesis, c. 19, v. 33, 34, 35, 36 (incest by the "chosen of the Lord.")

Our comrade concludes: "These few extracts are recommended to Comstock for his sanctimonious attention, with a view to his taking steps to prosecute the authors and publishers, being far worse than anything he will find in all the files of The Firebrand."

Berlin, January 25.—Emperor William has conceived another novel idea. He has decided that the German army shall be equipped with a new rifle, on the breach of which is to be inscribed in Latin: "The King's Last Argument."

Say, Billy Silly, just change the word "Last" to "Only" and you'll hit one mark at least.

"Fourteen murdered babies have been found in the past three weeks near West Hoboken, N. J.," says a press dispatch. "Don't discuss the sex question" say some of our comrades. Suppose it were not counted a shame for people to act freely and naturally in their sex relations, how many of these babes would have been born? Suppose decent economic conditions prevailed would the balance of them have been killed? And if the proper use of their bodies were taught all children how many of these babes would have been born only to be killed? Answer these questions to yourself.

Professional Murderer Miles, of the United States army, not only insists upon having the army increased greatly, but he also wants all officers of the army to be compelled to wear a badge with a coat of arms. This because the European soldiers wear such badges of servitude to a government. Why not give Miles a crown, set with precious stones, and carry out the European idea in form as well as in fact?

The famous "Red Record" of the cases of seamen who have been starved, kidnaped, beaten and killed by ship captains and mates and yet never secured redress from governments fills several pages of the Coast Seamen's Journal of Jan. 26, '98.

The United States supreme court has dismissed the Arago case, holding that seamen may be imprisoned for desertion. Slavery still exists legally in America. A seaman can't quit his job without the consent of his master. This is legal, and if it does not constitute actual slavery, what does?

One comrade writes:

"It warms my heart to see the boys on every hand recalling the conduct of Henry George toward the Chicago comrades. It is worth while to have a good long memory of such things. The other fellows show their good memory toward Altgeld."

Comrade Lucy Parsons writes that if FREE SOCIETY wants to use its columns to slander those who disagree with us we can do so, but that "I observe, that since I disagree with you upon this cardinal point (variety) I am no longer Comrade Parsons, but just plain Lucy Parsons." She is about right, except this: Most of the group did not endorse the attack mentioned. It was made by A. Isaak, who will have to accept responsibility for his own statements, as will anyone else who wants to make charges in FREE SOCIETY. Lucy says: "Now let me say to you what I did say in that meeting, and I still stand by it; it was this: 'There has been some dirty reading in the Firebrand; I can't see what sex variety has to do with Anarchism; if it is necessary to advocate variety to be an Anarchist, then I am not an Anarchist.' These statements I still stand by. I stated further, that it made no difference to me what people did in their private lives, that was their own private business; but when they set up their ideas as a reconstructive theory of society, it became public property, and I had a right to disagree with them and to criticize them. That I didn't believe because a person claimed to be an Anarchist that their judgment was infallible."

F. A. COWELL.

MORRIS EXPLAINS.

In regard to Comrade Isaak's reference to me in his "Letter Box" item in No. 11, I wish to say that there is no mystery and no secret connected with my absence from Free Society group. The plain facts are these: About the time of the removal to San Francisco from Portland I was offered a week's work; I so informed the comrades, and there was no objection to my remaining, being in need of money. The job lasted longer than was expected, and I was not through when Comrade Isaak left Portland. Some days after the rest had gone, and, in answer to his question as to when I would join the group, I said: "I don't know;

it depends on my job." Before that job ended my present situation was offered, and I left the one for the other, choosing the one that gave the most promise of permanence.

I think Comrade Isaak has made the mistake of concluding, from a conversation we had in Portland on Christmas day, that certain objections I expressed as to the policy of the group, or possibly some criticisms of some of its members, is keeping me away. Such is not the case. The original reason for my not proceeding to San Francisco with the group still operates, that is, I have a chance to earn some money, which I very much need.

J. H. MORRIS.

Silverton, Or., Jan. 24.

NEWS FROM EVERYWHERE.

A VOICE FROM THE DUNGEONS.

SPAIN.

The following letter, received from the darkness of a Spanish prison, will be the best argument to show how liberally and how impartially the new leader of the Spanish government intends to rule his subjects: "Men of justice, read and judge!

"The judgment concerning the trial for the explosion of a . . . fire cracker on Sept. 1, 1886, at the 'Fomento de Crabajo National' has been pronounced at last. Francisco Callis is condemned to life imprisonment and Manuel Enrique is acquitted. These two individuals were accused by Thomas Ascheri, the pretended author of the attempt of 'Cambios,' according to the famous trial of Montjuich.

"Thomas Ascheri had spoken under the pressure of monstrous tortures, and when, after a short pause, he would declare the falseness of his assertions he was tortured again, as proved by a witness before the civil tribunal.

"Callis was subjected to the same inquisitorial tortures in order to have him sign the same declarations written and prepared before, and in which he acknowledged himself as the author of the attempt of the 'Fomento.'

"Callis made known before the civil tribunal the means by which they had obtained his false acknowledgement, and he affirmed his innocence and that of Enrique, who the authorities claimed was his accomplice.

"The civil judge declared himself that the avowal of Callis was not 'spontaneous,' and he was sent to the penitentiary of Penon de la Gomeria, where he remained until the time he was brought before the judges at Barcelona. Time was not allowed to him for gathering the necessary testimonials. He simply obtained, by his insistence, the presence of the witnesses who confirmed the tortures inflicted on his body in the castle of Montjuich, but he could not gather the proof of his innocence for the lack of time to do so, though he repeatedly asked for the necessary time in due and legal form.

"Then, in order to achieve the horrid task, the civil tribunal acquitted Enrique and condemned Callis, just as if they were not both the victims of the same iniquitous accusation.

"Never, never was given so much credit to calumnies wrested out by inquisitorial means, and never has inquisition affirmed itself under such manifested impurity.

"Before the civil and military tribunals the application of tortures was denounced as being in itself a sufficient cause to nullify a process based upon the codes of justice and humanity which govern the tribunals. However, the victims are condemned and the torturers go unmolested!

"It is true that the latter denied, with the embarrassment of the guilty, the application of tortures and the existence of the dungeon No. 0, where they exercised their cruelty. But it is true also that the tribunal refused the confrontations which the accused in his defense demanded in order to prove the veracity of their assertions.

"Before this tribunal the military judge, M. Marko, declared that Callis 'did not bear any marks of torture' when under his jurisdiction, yet at the time of the trial at Montjuich this same military judge had it established that Callis 'bore a scar on the forehead.' This contradiction was very much remarked and Callis and his defender asked a medical examination in order to show the marks printed abundantly on his face and body, but the tribunal still refused.

"Hope was given to Callis, in order to appease his excitement at the hour of his own defense and to keep him silent on account of the tortures of Montjuich,

that true justice would be rendered to him, and at a later hour they pronounced the most infamous judgment and sentence.

"Now shall be given the words of Lieutenant Portas: 'If you die here, with a single piece of paper I shall be cleared.' That is what he said to his victims when he was building up the famous trial of Montjuich with its 25 falsely accused prisoners. And so shall it be for Mr. Portas' prophecy: 'In a year or less we shall see the "auto da fe" erected on the public places, and the tribunals of the holy inquisition shall be resumed in Spain.'

"This has been sadly demonstrated by the civil tribunals!

"Today there is only the last hope to appeal to the supreme courts, but that is a mere chance and it will vanish before the sad reality, as happened in the trial of Montjuich!

"We would pray civilized humanity to discharge the guilty of their terrible judgment, for having wronged human nature, denied their own deeds and the utility of their power, making themselves worthy of pity more than hatred, if it were not that we would render ourselves responsible for the feats of those new inquisitors feats that will doubtless repeat themselves, thus striking with ignominy the name of a whole country, and the name of those who, by their criminal silence, tacitly approved.

"Yet, as the facts have demonstrated to us, that the greatest cowards are the most ferocious when in presence of defenseless victims and when they can rely on the impunity of laws, we will never cease to denounce them to the civilized world, and to all noble and generous men.

"Judge you, men who are following an ideal of perfection, and who believe that we have been punished for our liberal ideas, not for the crimes with which they try to cowardly incriminate us, but judge with the sentiment of the worthy being, not with the criterion which rules the administrative justice!

"The day shall come when humanity shall give justice to the innocent, and shed its terrible execration on the villifiers of human rights.

"Our best greetings to you, friends in the cause of liberty! May not our unjust fate stop your march toward the progress of humanity.

"That is our best wish!

"Juan Corrento, Francisco Callis, Francisco Lis, Yaima Vitella, Juan Casanovas, Antonio Cenevelo, Lorenzo Seida, Juan Batista Olle, Sebastian Sunye."

GERMANY.

There is a Socialist "bill" in the Reichsrath for extension of the limited rights of coalition of workmen. The Socialist leaders declare this bill the most important at issue, but the ministers do not think so; there was not a single one present at the debates Wednesday last.

As long as the government can get "patriotic Socialists" to vote like "good boys" for the military bills there never will be much difference or trouble between the two parties, and everything will be all right, provided the workmen are willing to starve and continue to vote.

ENGLAND.

According to the cablegram reports the striking machinists gave up their struggle, and submitted to the condition of the bosses. Can you expect anything else of a "strong" organized strike?

The principles on which the trades unions are based are wrong, because they admit the condition of master and servant; all they try to do is to get better wages and shorter hours to work, instead of striving for equal rights and the abolishment of wage slavery altogether.

ALGERIA.

There was quite a riot last week in this French colony. The origin of the trouble is about this: In 1833 the French government robbed the natives of their land and sold it to anyone who was willing to give some money for it. Of course there was a chance for the hunted Jews to acquire land. The Arabs are in a very miserable condition at present. Whose fault is it? It is the fault of the French government, because it robbed them of the land by force, and this same robber is now inciting hatred against the Jew.

A. KLEMENCIC.

PROVIDENCE.

The recent lectures here by Comrade E. Goldman have been very successful. Though not having been met with an outburst of police wrath they were never-

theless accompanied with an underground rumble of an authoritative character.

Our hand bill or dodger was the precipitator. We assailed the creedist and state craft. This brought the police, who questioned everyone whom they thought looked as though they were in any way connected with the meeting.

The meeting was held in the Building Trades' Council's hall (trades unionists), and, my dear sir, to wit-ness such total subservency and slavishness as was manifest was painful; after finding that they could not keep us out (they tried to), as we had the hall over their heads, through the lessee, they took down from the walls the charter of every affiliated union, A. F. of L. and all, thus acknowledging their vassalage to governmentalists, so desirous are they of standing in with the captains of industry and the official despotism.

At the meeting, as you will see, we carried out a nice little program. The only incident of displeasure was that one iconoclast—George Vaughan—persisted in endeavoring to monopolize the time of Comrade Goldman, and to raise a disturbance, which gave the police an excuse to arrest some. But this was not done.

The Sunday meeting, at Headly hall, was another scene of attempted defeat. We presume that the janitor had been handled, as he refused half an hour before the time to open the meeting to open the hall; we determined to have no meeting and so announced to the few who had gathered (the day being very stormy), but the people continued to come, so we made a further attempt and by paying more money secured the hall, E. Goldmann speaking on "Aim of Anarchism" for an hour in English, followed by Comrade Baylor. She then spoke 45 minutes in German and left Providence Monday to speak in Boston Monday and Tuesday evenings. J. H. Cook.

ISAAC EXPLAINS.

When I referred to comrade Lucy Parsons' attitude at the protest meeting in Chicago I failed to state the facts, assuming that the readers of Free Society were familiar with them. I apologize, and also for using the term "blackguarding." When I wrote the note comrade Parsons refers to I did not know the real meaning of the word, but had heard it used by an American comrade when referring to comrade Lucy Parsons' attitude at the meeting held in behalf of The Firebrand. The proper word which I ought to have used is Comstockism.

Comrade Parsons now states herself that she said at the meeting, "there has been some mighty dirty reading in The Firebrand," and I consider such expression uncalled for and unwarranted. If she is right, then the authorities were right in prosecuting the publishers of The Firebrand.

The comrade had certainly a right to find the articles "dirty" and so had the authorities, and it is just this sentiment of christian puritanism that makes it possible for Comstock to persecute the press and book dealers of this country.

Many magazines and papers have commented on The Firebrand case and they agreed never having found anything obscene in the paper, although they did not agree with the theories expounded in different articles.

Variety in sex relations has never been "set up as a reconstructive theory of society." It has only been shown that it is a natural phenomenon in society, and therefore essential to the happiness of mankind, and The Firebrand writers stand not isolated; the best magazines (University Magazine and others) contain articles from learned men, showing that the tendency in sexual relations in the present society is toward variety.

A. ISAAC.

ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

At the Ballston, Ore., literary society, in a debate on the question of abolishing capital punishment, Wallace Yates, for the affirmative, said: "We are here to protest against judicial murder, whether perpetrated through legal process or by the summary methods of Judge Lynch. We shall endeavor to discuss this question from two standpoints: First, Is it right? Second, Is it expedient to hang and electrocute? You may search the most profound philosophies of ancient and modern times, and you will find that in truth and justice, and applicability to the highest and best needs of man, none have surpassed the teachings attributed to Jesus of Nazareth. It is on these grounds, and not to present them as authority strictly, which secularists and others might dispute, that I shall base my

argument on the right of our position on the teachings of the New Testament.

"The essence of the teachings of the Nazarene is to be found in what he calls the two great commandments. The first, he says, is, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,' etc.; and the second, he tells us, is 'like unto'—that is, in the Greek, equal to or the same as—the first: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' The practice of so-called christian nations since the time of the immediate followers of Jesus has been largely to suppress the second 'commandment' while loudly proclaiming the first! Scott, in a poem referring to the battle of Marston Moor, says:

"On either side loud clamors ring;
'God and the cause,' 'God and the king!'"

"So that Charles' Episcopalians cavaliers and Cromwell's Puritans both invoked the aid of God to help them destroy their neighbor! Now this nation boasts loudly of being a christian nation, as instance the hubbub we raised over infidel Turks destroying Armenian christians, and how we did criticize those christian (?) nations of Europe for not putting a stop to the slaughter. But what do we see within our own borders which is a very large exemplification of the lesson of the mote and the beam? Why, we see so-called christian organizations of one kind and another getting up monster petitions to congress, with duplicated and triplicated lists of names, calling on congress to 'put God in the constitution,' while at the same time they uphold laws and customs that provide for the taking away of the lives of their fellows, and even pray for the success of armies and furnish chaplains to accompany regiments bent on slaughter. Now, I only advert to these things to show how incompatible such methods are with true christianity, for the Nazarene emphasized his two commandments by declaring that 'whosoever sayeth he loves God and hateth his brother is a liar.' More definite in the line of what we are here to argue was his saying: 'Ye have heard how it hath been said by them of old time, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also.' And, again: 'Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you,' etc. 'that he may be the children of your father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust.' Here the Nazarene shows that it is through love to the neighbor that we may attain to the love of God, and thus that it is through the second commandment that we learn to obey the first. But the lesson taught here, not to judge and condemn others, is totally ignored by our courts, which even make a man swear on the very bible they repudiate!

"I repeat that I do not wish to cram these precepts as authority down the throats of secularists, but I want to say that experience shows that the nearer nations conform to them the higher is the grade of civilization, of which the Quaker policy of William Penn furnishes a striking example. And, further, I wish to say that the same stern experience of nations shows that capital punishment has had no effect in repressing crime, but rather the reverse. When, a century or so ago in England, they would hang a man for a theft of the value of eighteen pence, man concluded that they might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb; and, on the theory that dead men tell no tales, the robberies of the footpad and burglar were usually accompanied by murder. And today in the South the torture and burning of negroes for certain crimes has no effect in suppressing those crimes, but by exciting ferocious passions tends rather to increase crime. And our legislators are beginning to realize this, and to see that the theory that public executions tend to prevent crime is a false one; so that in most states such executions are shut off from the public and only a few officials and newspaper men allowed to be present. It will be said that the decrease of hangings of late in this country is the cause of the great increase of private murders, but I deny that any such connection can be proven.

"Murder is in the air because the children born during the late war are uppermost in society now, and are working out the evil propensities implanted in them by 'patriotic' and vengeful mothers. This is shown by the great increase of the war spirit—most of our institutions of learning training their students for war, and an ex-president publicly advocating military training in our common schools. All public encouragement of murder will only add to the mischief, and we must bide our time and let the evil tendency die out; or rather we should do all in our power to repress the prevailing murderous spirit by constantly keeping in mind the teachings of the Nazarene, and inculcating the spirit of brotherly love.

"No man can adduce the smallest proof that we can put down murder by murder, or that it ever could be done in the past; and whereas most private murders are the result of passion and hot blood, the state is infinitely more criminal that puts a man to death deliberately and in cold blood, without the possibility of his defending himself against the immense power of the great public murderer." WALLACE YATES.

A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST COMMUNISM,

BETWEEN TWO WORKERS.

BY ENRICO MALATESTA.

(Concluded from last week.)

W.: Yes, but before a child can be set down to walk he must have some strength in his legs; if he has none he must stay in his mother's arms.

J.: That's true. But governments are not in the least like mothers. It is not they who improve and build up a nation. As a matter of fact, social progress is almost always made in opposition to the government or in spite of it. The most government does is to put what the masses have begun to need and desire into the form of law, and this it spoils with its spirit of domination and monopoly. The peoples are in different stages of advancement, but no matter in what state of civilization, or even of barbarism, a people may be, they could manage their affairs better without the government which has sprung up among them. As far as I can see you fancy that the government is composed of the most intelligent and capable men. Nothing of the sort. Generally speaking governments are directly, or by delegation, composed of those who have the most money. And, besides, the exercise of power spoils the finest spirits. Put those who have hitherto been the best of men into the government and see what happens. They no longer understand the needs of the people, they are obliged to busy themselves with the interests created by politics, they are corrupted by the absence of the emulation and criticism of their social equals, and they are diverted from the sphere of action in which they were really competent, to make laws about things they have not even heard of before. Finally, they end by believing themselves a superior order of beings, and form a caste which takes no heed of the people except to check and baffle them. Better, far better, for us to manage our own affairs by putting ourselves in agreement with the workers of other trades and other parts of the country; and not only with those of England and Europe, but of the whole world, for all men are brethren and have an interest in aiding one another. Don't you think so?

W.: Yes, you are right. But what about the wicked? What is to be done with thieves and robbers?

J.: To begin with, when there is no more poverty and ignorance we shan't be troubled with many of that sort. But even supposing there were some left, is that a reason to have a government and police? Can't we ourselves bring them to reason? Not by ill treating them, as both innocent and guilty are ill used to-day, but by putting them in conditions where they can't do any harm and doing everything in our power to set them on the right road again.

W.: So when we have Socialism everybody will be happy and contented, and there will be no more wretchedness, hatred, jealousy, prostitution, war or injustice.

J.: I can't tell how far human felicity may go, but I'm sure things will be very much better than now. You see, men will go on trying to do better things, and all the progress made then will benefit everyone, not only a few.

W.: But when is all this going to happen? I'm an old fellow, and now that I know that the world isn't always going on as it does at present I shouldn't like to die without having seen one day of justice.

J.: When will it happen? I don't know. It depends upon us. The more we do to open folks' eyes the sooner the change will come about. However, there is one thing to be said. A good advance has already been made. A few years ago there were very few who preached Socialism, and they were treated as fools, madmen or incendiaries. Today the idea is understood by many. Then the poor suffered in silence, or revolted when maddened by hunger, without knowing the causes or the remedies of their wrongs, and were massacred or made to massacre one another. Today all over the world they come to a common understanding, agitate and revolt with the idea of liberating themselves from their employers and from government. They do not count on anything but their own powers, having at last begun to understand that all the parties, into which their employers are divided, are equally their enemies. Let us, then, be active in spreading our ideas now, when the moment is favorable. Let all of us who understand the question unite more closely. Let us fan the fire which smolders among the masses. Let us profit by all discontent, every agitation, every revolt. Let us strike while the iron is hot, without fear or hesitation. Then it will soon be all up with the middle class, and the reign of well being will begin.

W.: Good! But we must take care to count the cost. To take the property of the employers is easily said, but there are the police, the soldiers. Now that I come to think of it, I'm afraid handcuffs, swords and guns are made more to defend the middle class than anything else.

J.: That's as plain as a pike staff. But if the middle-class government use arms against us, and try to keep us in slavery with their powder and melinite, we must teach them that we, too, can play at such a game as that with the appliances of modern scientific warfare. The poor are the immense majority, and if they begin to understand and taste the advantages of Socialism there is no power on earth which can force them to remain as they are. Consider, the poor are those who work and make everything. If only one large section of them were to stop working there would be such a to-do, such a panic, that the revolution would quickly prove to be the only possible way out. Consider, too, that soldiers, for the most part, are themselves poor men, driven by hunger to sell themselves to hunt and butcher their own brothers. As soon as they have seen and understood the facts they will sympathize, at first secretly and then openly, with the people. You may be sure the revolution will not be half so difficult as it appears at first. The essential thing is to keep the idea that the revolution is necessary constantly to the fore; to be always prepared for it. If we do this, there's no doubt that somehow or another the chance to act will crop up.

W.: So you say, and I believe you are right. But there are those who say that the revolution would do no good, and that things will slowly ripen of themselves. What do you say to that?

J.: You must know that since Socialism has become a serious matter, and

the middle class have begun to be really afraid of it, they have been trying in every possible way to turn aside the tempest and deceive the people. All sorts, even emperors, are beginning to say they are Socialists, and I leave you to guess what such "Socialism" is worth. Even among our own comrades there have been traitors, tempted by attention from the gentlefolks and the advantages they might gain, to desert the revolutionary cause and set themselves to preach legal means and alliance with political parties, which they say are all more or less socialistic. "We are all Socialists now!" as Harcourt said in the house of commons. Such men treat revolutionists as fools and worse. Some of them profess still to wish for a revolution, but, meantime, they wish a great deal more to be M. P's. When anyone tells you that the revolution is not necessary and begins talking about nominating M. P's and county councillors, or making common cause with any middle-class party, if he is one of your mates, try to show him that he is wrong, but, if he is a middle-class man, or seems as if he would like to be one, send him about his business. Among those mistaken Socialists there are some who in all good faith wish to do good, and believe they are doing it; but if some one, sincerely believing he is doing you good, thrashes you till you're half dead you will think first of all how to get the stick out of his hands. The most his good intentions will do will be to stop you, when you have got the stick, from breaking his head with it.

W.: Right, you are! But now there's something else I want to ask you. When you say Socialists, what do you mean exactly? I often hear tell of Socialists, and Communists, and Collectivists, and Anarchists, and I know no more than Adam what all those words mean.

J.: Ah, I'm glad you've got on that. There's nothing like clearing up the meaning of words. Well, now, Socialists are folks who believe that poverty is the first cause of all social ills, and that as long as poverty is not destroyed, neither ignorance, nor slavery, nor political inequality, nor prostitution, nor any of the evils which keep the people in such a horrible condition, can be rooted out; to say nothing of the frightful suffering which arises from actual want. Socialists believe that poverty results from the fact that the soil and all raw materials, machinery and all instruments of labor, belong to a few individuals, who thus are able to dispose of the lives of all the working class, and find themselves involved in perpetual struggle and competition, not only with the proletariat (those who have nothing), but also among themselves, for the possession of property. The Socialists believe that by abolishing private property, i. e., the cause, they will at the same time abolish poverty, the effect. A this property can and ought to be abolished, for the organization and distribution of wealth ought to be regulated by the real interests of men, without regard for the so-called "acquired rights" which the middle class claim for themselves because their ancestors were stronger, more lucky, or more knavish than other men. So you see the name Socialist betokens all those who wish that social wealth should be at the service of all men, and that there should no longer be property owners and proletarians, rich and poor, employers and employed.

W.: Then you are a Socialist, that's sure. But what do the words COMMUNIST and COLLECTIVIST mean?

J.: Both Communists and Collectivists are Socialists, but they have different ideas as to what ought to be done when property shall be put in common. The Collectivists say: Each worker, or rather each association of workers, has a right to raw material and the instruments of labor and each man is master of the produce of his own toil. While he lives he does what he likes with it; when he dies anything he has put to one side returns to the association. His children, in their turn, have the means of working and of enjoying the fruit of their labor; to let them inherit anything would be a first step toward inequality and privilege. As regards instruction, the education of children, the maintenance of the aged and infirm, and public works in general, each association of workers must give what is needed to supply the unsupplied wants of the members of the community. The Communists say: Men must love each other and look on each other as members of one family, if things are to go well with them. Property ought to be in common. Work, if it is to be as productive as possible and the aid of machinery employed to the uttermost, must be done by large parties of workers. If we are to make the most of all varieties of soil and atmospheric condition and produce in each locality what that locality can produce best, and if, on the other hand, we are to avoid competition and hatred between divers countries, it is needful to establish perfect solidarity between men of the whole world. Therefore, instead of running the risk of making a confusion in trying to distinguish what you and I each do, let us all work and put everything in common. In this way each will give to society all that his strength permits until enough is produced for every one; and each will take all that he needs, limiting his needs only in those things of which there is not yet plenty for everyone.

W.: Not so fast! First of all, what do you mean by SOLIDARITY? You say there ought to be solidarity between men and I don't know what you mean.

J.: Look here: in your family, for instance, all that you and your brothers, your wife and your son earn you put in common. You get some food and you eat all together, and if there is not enough you all pinch yourselves a bit. If one of us is lucky and gains rather more than usual, it is a good thing for everyone. If, on the contrary, one is out of work or ill, it is a misfortune for you all; for certainly among yourselves the one who is not working eats all the same at the common board, and the one who falls ill costs more than anybody else. So in your family, instead of trying to take work and bread away from each other, you try to aid each other, because the good of one is the good of all, and the ill of one is the ill of all. Thus envy and hatred are kept afar off and a mutual affection is developed, which never exists in a family where there are divided interests. That is what is called solidarity. We must establish among mankind the same relations as exist in a truly united family.

W.: I understand that. But let us return to what we were speaking of. Tell me, are you a Collectivist or a Communist?

J.: As for me, I am a Communist, because if people are going to be friends, I believe they ought not to be friends by halves. Collectivism leaves the germs of rivalry and hatred still in existence. But I go further. Even if each could live on what he produces himself, Collectivism would be inferior to Communism, because it would keep men isolated, and so lessen their strength and their sym-

pathy. Besides, as the shoemaker can't eat his shoes, nor the blacksmith live on iron, and as the agriculturalist cannot till the soil without the workers who prepare iron, manufacture implements, etc., it will be necessary to organize exchange between the various producers, keeping a reckoning of what each does. Then it will necessarily happen that the shoemaker, for instance, will try to puff the value of his shoes and get as much money as he can in exchange, whilst the agriculturalist, on his side, will give him as little as possible. How the devil can we manage with all this? Collectivism seems to me to give rise to many difficult problems and be a system likely to lead to confusion. Communism, on the contrary, will not give rise to any difficulties. If all work, and all enjoy of the work of all, it only remains to see what are the things needed to satisfy everybody and to arrange that these things shall be produced in plenty.

W.: So that under Communism no money would be wanted?

J.: Neither money, nor anything in its place. Nothing but a register of what is needed and of what is produced, so that production may be kept up to the level of need. The only serious difficulty would be if many men refused to work. But I have already told you the reasons why work, which today is a hardship, would then become a pleasure, and, at the same time, a moral obligation from which very few would wish to relieve themselves. Besides, if, in consequence of the bad education we have had, some individuals should refuse to work when the new society begins, they can be left outside the community and given raw material and tools. Then, if they want to eat, they will set to work. But at this moment what we have to realize is that the soil, raw material and instruments of labor, houses and all existing wealth must be put in common. As for the method of organization, the people will do as they please. Practice only will show them the best system. It is easy to foresee that in many places they will establish Collectivism and in many others Communism. When both have been put to the proof, the better will be widely adopted. But mind, the chief thing is that nobody should begin to order the others about or to appropriate the soil or instruments of labor. It will be necessary to be on the watch, and, if this is attempted, to prevent it, even by force of arms. The rest will follow naturally of itself.

W.: That, too, I understand. But, tell me, what does the word ANARCHISM mean?

J.: ANARCHY means WITHOUT GOVERNMENT. I've told you already that government is good for nothing but to defend the middle class, and that, where our interests are in question, the best thing we can do is to look after them ourselves. Instead of electing M. P's and county councillors to make and unmake laws for us to obey we will discuss our affairs ourselves, and when it is needful to commission some one else to carry out our decisions we will ask him to do so and so, and not otherwise. If there is something which can't be done right off we will commission capable persons to look into it, study it, and let us know what they think had better be done. But, at all events, nothing will be done on our behalf without our will. And thus our delegates will not be individuals to whom we have given the right to command us and impose laws upon us. They will be persons chosen for their capacity, who will have no authority, but simply be charged with the duty of executing what the people have decided upon. For example, some will be charged to organize schools, others to make streets, or look after the exchange of produce, just as today a shoemaker is asked to make a pair of shoes.

W.: Pray explain a little more. How could I, a poor, ignorant old fellow, undertake all the business which is done by M. P's and ministers?

J.: And what good do these M. P's and ministers do that you should bemoan yourself for not being able to do the like? They make laws and organize the public might to keep the people down in the interest of the property owners. That's all. It is a skill we do not need. True, the ministers and M. P's do busy themselves about good and useful things, but only to turn them to the profit of a class and hinder progress by means of useless and vexatious enactments. For instance, these gentry busy themselves about railways, but why should they? Would not the engineers, mechanics and workmen of all sorts be enough? And would not the locomotives run just the same if ministers, M. P's, shareholders, and other parasites disappeared? It is just the same with the post and telegraph office, navigation, education, hospitals, all things carried on by workers of one sort or another, with whom the government only interferes to do harm. Politics, as they are understood by politicians, are a difficult art for us, because in good earnest they have nothing to do with the people's real interests. But if their end was to satisfy the actual needs of the population, then they would be more difficult for an M. P. than for us. What can M. P's residing in London know of the needs of the country districts? How can these folks, who have mostly wasted their time in trying to learn Greek and Latin, which they don't know after all, understand the interests of the various crafts and industries? Things would go very differently if each busied himself with what he knows about and the needs he has ascertained on his own account. When once the revolution has taken place we shall have to begin at the bottom, so to speak. Under the influence of the propaganda, and the enthusiasm of the time, the various trades in each district, parish or town will form associations. And who can understand better than you the interests of your own trade and your own locality? Afterward, when it is desirable to bring several trades or several districts to a common agreement, delegates from each will carry the wishes of those who have sent them to a special congress, and do their best to reconcile the divers needs and wishes. But their deliberations will always be submitted to the control and approbation of their principals, so that the interests of the people will not be neglected. Thus gradually the human race will be brought into harmony.

W.: But how shall we manage if in a country or an association there are some who are of a different opinion from the rest? The larger number will be sure to have the upper hand won't they?

J.: Not by right. For as regards truth and justice numbers ought to go for nothing. One may be in the right against a hundred, against a hundred thousand, against everybody. Practically, we must do as best we can. If we cannot obtain unanimity, those who agree and are the majority will carry out their idea, within the limits of their own group, and if experience shows they were right, there is no doubt but that they will be imitated. If not, it is a proof that the minority were in the right, and action will be taken accordingly. Thus the principles of equality and justice, upon which society ought to be founded, will not be violated. But remark that the questions upon which people cannot come to an

agreement will be small in number and importance, because there will no longer be the division of interests which exists today. For each will then be free to choose his country and the association, i. e., the companions with whom he likes to live. Also the matters to be decided will be things everyone can understand, belonging rather to practical life and positive science than to the domain of theory with its endless differences of opinion. When the best solution of such and such a problem has been arrived at by experience, the question will be how to persuade folks by practically showing them the thing, not how to crush them under a majority of votes. Would you not laugh if today citizens were called upon to vote the season for sowing seed, when it is a matter already settled by experience? And if it were not entirely fixed, would you have recourse to a vote to decide it, rather than to experience? All public and private affairs will be treated like this.

W.: But what if some out of mere pigheadedness and self-will should oppose a decision made in the interests of all?

J.: Then, of course, it would be needful to take forcible action. For if it is unjust that the majority should oppress the minority, the contrary would be quite as unjust; and if the minority has a right to rebel, the majority has a right to defend itself. But do not forget that always and everywhere all men have an undeniable right to the materials and instruments of labor. Though it is true that this solution is not completely satisfactory. The individuals put out of the association would be deprived of many social advantages, which an isolated person or group must do without, because they can only be procured by the co-operation of a great number of human beings. But what would you have? These malcontents cannot fairly demand that the wishes of many others should be sacrificed for their sakes. Given solidarity, fraternity, mutual aid, and, where needful, mutual consideration and support, and you may be convinced that civil tyranny or war will not arise. Rest assured rather, that men will hardly have become masters of their own destinies before solidarity will grow up among them. For tyranny and civil war work evil to all, and solidarity is the only condition in which our ideals can be realized, and which will bring with it peace, prosperity, and universal freedom. Note, too, that progress, while it tends always to unite men, tends also to render them more independent and self-sufficing. For example, today, to travel rapidly over land, it is necessary to make use of the railway, the construction and working of which require the collective labor of many persons. Therefore the traveller will still, under Anarchy, be obliged to adapt his arrangements to the hours and regulations which the majority have thought best. If, however, someone invents a locomotive which one man can guide, without danger to himself or others, on any street, then he will not need to adapt himself in this matter to the arrangements of other folks, and everyone will be able to travel where and when he pleases. So it is with thousands of other things that are, or that will be in the future. Thus it is clear that the tendency of progress is toward a certain relation between men, which may be defined by the formula MORAL SOLIDARITY AND MATERIAL INDEPENDENCE.

W.: That is just it. So you are a Socialist, and among Socialists you are specially a Communist and an Anarchist. But I have heard say, too, that you are an Internationalist. What does that mean?

J.: Did you ever hear of the International Working Men's Association? About thirty years ago, a great association was formed among the workmen of all civilized countries, to take counsel together about the wrongs which the workers of every land alike suffer from the exploitation of property owners, and to act together so as to bring about a universal social revolution. For, in every country which has reached our stage of civilization, the workers are exploited in much the same way, and the ruling classes are banded together to keep the masses down. Therefore, the common interests of the workers of all lands are far stronger than their national differences, and it is only by acting in common, as their exploiters act in common, that they can throw off the yoke of capitalism. The International Working Men's Association no longer exists. Nevertheless, the great labor movements which agitate the world have arisen from it. Also the various Socialist parties in different countries, specially the International Socialist Anarchist Revolutionary Party, which is now organizing to give the death blow to the middle-class society of today. The aim of this party is to do everything to spread the principles of Anarchist Socialism; to show how hopeless it is to look to voluntary concessions from property owners or governments, or to gradual constitutional reforms; to awaken the people to a consciousness of their rights, and rouse in them the spirit of revolt; to urge them on to make the social revolution, i. e., to destroy all government and to put all existing wealth in common. Anyone who accepts this programme and wishes to join others in striving for it, belongs to this party. The party has no head, no authority; it is entirely founded on spontaneous and voluntary agreement among those who are fighting for the same cause. Therefore, each individual that belongs to it is completely free to join in intimate companionship with those he prefers, to use such means as he thinks best, and to spread his own particular ideas in his own particular way, so long, of course, as he does not thereby oppose the general program and tactics of the party.

W.: Then are all who accept socialistic, anarchic, revolutionary principles members of this party?

J.: No. A man may perfectly agree with our program, but, for one reason or another, may prefer to act alone, or with a few others, without forming connections of effective solidarity and co-operation with the mass of those who accept the program. This may be suitable for certain individuals, or for certain special purposes, but it cannot be the general method, because isolation is a cause of weakness, and creates antipathy and rivalry where there ought to be fraternity and concord. Still in every way we always consider as friends and comrades the men and women who are striving in any fashion for the ideas for which we strive. But again there may be folks convinced of the truth of the ideas, but keeping their convictions to themselves, not taking the trouble to spread what they believe is right. One can't say that such folks are not Socialists and Anarchists theoretically, because they think as we do; but their convictions certainly must be very weak, or they themselves very poor spirited. When a man sees the terrible evils that afflict himself and his fellows, and believes he knows a remedy which would cure them, how can he stand inactive if he has any heart at all? If a man does not know the truth, he cannot be blamed; but the man who knows it and sets it on one side is a heartless coward.

W.: You are right. I'm going to think very seriously indeed over what you've said. And when I'm thoroughly convinced in my own mind that it's true, I shall join the party, and do all I can to spread the sacred truth. And if the gentlefolks should call me a scoundrel or a fool, I will tell them to work and suffer as I do, and then they will have a right to speak.

[THE END.]

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The Peoples Union, a free discussion club, meets every Sunday evening at 935 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.

Group Proletariat at New York City gives Anarchist lectures Fridays at 48-52 Orchard st., and Saturdays at 21 Suffolk st.

Sturm-vogel, 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 1624 Avenue A, near 80th. Free discussion.

Radical Literature of all kinds, including English periodicals, can be found at the news stand of comrade I. Eudash, 363 Grant St., New York City.

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

Wendell Phillips Educational Club will meet every Sunday, 3 p. m. at 45 Winter St., Providence, R. I. Pamphlets in English, German, French, Jewish and Russian languages on hand.

Delnické Listy is an eight page Anarchist weekly paper, published in the Bohemian language at New York City, 402 E 71st 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 L. E. 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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The Altruist is a monthly paper issued by the Altruist Community, of St. Louis, whose members hold all their property in common, and both men and women have equal rights and decide all their business affairs by majority vote. Twenty-five cents a year: sample copy free. Address, A. Longley, 2519 Olive St. St. Louis, Mo.

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