

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

AN ADVOCATE OF COMMUNAL LIFE AND INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY.

NEW SERIES NO. 14.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1898.

WHOLE NO. 150.

THE BANKER'S DREAM.

While walking down a lonely lane
Where vice and wickedness prevailed
I met a man with burly frame
Who halted me with beggar's tale.

He started in, this giant form,
Telling of wife and starving child
How he had walked since early morn
In search for work: at this I smiled.

Then he pursued a lengthy tale
Of valor won on battlefield,
Till on me he did nigh prevail
A fraction from my purse to yield.

I here informed him how with care
Places there were for such as he;
Shelter and food were given there
And State was taxed to pay the fee.

He sudden changed to silent mood
And warning note it gave to me;
That sullen look was somewhat rude
For one that came with beggar's plea.

One moment thus, then he burst out,
Now I can't give in words exact
Just how he turned things wrong side out,
Enough to state the simple fact.

He said that wealth but purchased power
To corner labor in its youth
That title deeds were stolen down,
With legal fraud they plundered truth.

He spoke of mighty fortunes built
On the hopes and fears of nations
And mentioned here young Vanderbilt,
Waxing fat on people's rations.

He spoke of Armories, Fields and Gouds
Their selfishness and greedy claims,
The tolling poor, their willing fools,
That uncomplaining wear the chains.

Said this hoarded, glittering ore,
This yellow coin, your mammon gold,
Into the lap of luxury pour
As price of monster crimes untold;

Called the bankers a robber band,
The board of trade a gambling hell,
The cards were stacked by legal hand;
That justice shops were made to sell;

That right was but incrustured might;
That wealth was king from North to South,
By laws of State it forged the right
And welded it at cannon's mouth.

Your wealth has bought the pirate's right
With stars and clubs and gauding guns,
None dare oppose your might, called right,
To build your mansions from the slums.

The toiler fights with empty shells,
He dreams of right against might,
But if by law of right repels
Then you with purchased bullets strike.

We may as well declare no right—
Just give you all, and then go to,
If we rebel and starve and strike
What matters that to such as you?

Enough, I cried, with lengthened curse,
You ask for alms and then, behold,
You make demands upon my purse
As if I stole my well-earned gold.

My turn to speak, and listen well,
You say we buy the pirate's crew.
Are they not here to buy and sell?
Do you the same and then go to.

If I buy law, then so can you;
If might makes law and law makes right
Why blame me more than I blame you
Since in the start 'twas equal quite.

Go home to wife and starving child
And while you nurse such bitter thought
Remember this, to draw it mild,
Such talk of yours will come to naught.

So wealth makes might and might makes right?
Just so it should, and why not, pray?
'Tis handed down through nature's law
As truth repeats from day to day.

Just here I felt upon my throat
A grip that baffled art to free,

And then the one to whom I spoke
Answered me back in fiendish glee:
So might makes right, my friend, you say,
How well we harmonize in thought!
With might made right your purse shall pay
For this good lesson you have taught.

You blame dame Nature for my plight,
To corner me yourself was caught,
With this good arm I'll take my right
A verdict you as jury brought.

I might a lesson here give you
But sad to say time will not wait
And now before I bid adieu
Your well-filled purse I think I'll take.

Your thoughts indeed are quite sublime,
What you've well said I'll not repeat,
But simply add your thoughts are mine;
My exit now I'll quickly beat.

Along with him my watch and chain,
My pocket knife and well-filled purses,
Alas! my pride, my diamond ring,
Kept company with my lasting curse.

Maywood, Ill.

L. S. OLIVER.

THE FIREBRAND CASE.

It is a thousand pities that the Firebrand case has been so abominably mismanaged. For years the opponents of Comstockism have been waiting and hoping that some such case would come before a clean, honest judge who would render a decision conformable to common sense, such a decision as might be relied upon to protect those attacked by the postoffice spies as viciously as Pope and his comrades have been attacked. Instead of displaying common sense or common honesty our Federal judges have tumbled over each other and twisted the law out of all semblance to reasonableness in their efforts to justify these unconstitutional postal statutes, one infamous judge even going so far as to hold that the deposit of obscene matter in the postoffice was a continuing offense enduring from the mailing office to the office to which the matter was addressed, so that a resident of Boston charged with mailing obscene matter to San Francisco could be taken away from home and friends across the continent for trial, and we all know what such trials have been. What a graft that would be for the blackmailers!

Now we have the Firebrand case before Judge Bellinger, a judge who has shown more of a disposition to be honest than we have yet seen, with the possible exceptions of Judges Dillon and Treat, Nelson and Paul. When a damphool commissioner held Pope to bail in \$2,000 Judge Bellinger, realizing that there was nothing in the case, directed that Pope be released upon his own recognizance. Had Pope been properly advised, he would have understood that this was practically the end of his persecution, and he would have taken this to mean just what it really did mean, that the judge understood that the cry of obscenity was a rascally fake and took this means of intimating that Pope should not suffer. Judges don't carry their hearts on their sleeves, nor do they always blurt out bluntly just what they think, and such an intimation from Judge Bellinger should have been hailed joyously as a great triumph of honesty. Had Pope executed the recognizance it is likely that the case would have ended right there and never have been heard of more. However right Pope may have been in his notions he certainly did not choose an opportune time and place for the promulgation of his opinions.

At present the case is in a muddle and the end no one can predict. It is outrageous that under our laws a man can be annoyed as Pope has been.

Were I in Judge Bellinger's place I would, upon the case of the prosecution, discharge the defendants, for there is really no question to go to the jury, but what the judge will now do "the Lord only knows and he won't tell."

I send you a copy of a letter I have just sent Judge Bellinger. It may do some good and it may not, I sent it for the good it might do.

Ed. W. CHAMBERLAIN.

New York, Jan. 29, 1898.

NATIONAL DEFENSE ASSOCIATION.

111 West 42nd Street.

New York, Jan. 27, 1898.

Hon. Charles B. Bellinger.—

U. S. District Judge, Portland, Oregon:

Dear Sir.—

With great respect and with great reluctance I venture to address you concerning the editors of The Firebrand, whose case was tried before you recently.

I say with reluctance because I realize the unconventionality of addressing a judge thus and because the ordinary run of judges are prone to consider such an approach as somehow derogatory to the supposititious dignity of their office.

But respect overcomes reluctance since your decision in case of Adams, 59 Fed. Rep., 674, was shown me, for many judges trying such a case would have managed the conviction of the defendant in order to gain the chance of playing to the galleries and holding up their hands in hypocritical horror at the wickedness of such a woman. That instead of taking such a weak course you announced a very wholesome principle of law, inspires my real respect and emboldens me to hope that you may be equally just to Mr. Pope and his co-defendants.

Besides, as the details of the case are a matter of public discussion, is it not more honest and generous to try to give you a frank suggestion now, than to criticize your conduct hereafter, should you fall into the mistake of inflicting punishment upon these men.

That Mr. Pope is an irreclaimable crank I well understand, and I see how his conduct may be very aggravating, but you must realize that he is laboring under extraordinary provocation and having been outraged and his constitutional rights grossly violated under official sanction he fails to discriminate between an official who might preserve and protect his rights and an official who has deprived him of his rights without due process of law and without a shadow of justification. Is there not then, some reason in his railing against government?

Every lawyer must recognize that there is something anomalous in the law of obscene libels. That subject is different from any other title of the law and the fundamental legal principles applicable in other branches do not apply here. This is because our judges have ignorantly or wilfully followed the English law as laid down two hundred years ago by a judiciary whose only object was to demonstrate its servility to the authority of the crown regardless of the rights of the subject; as a result there has grown up under § 3893 U. S. Rev. Stat., commonly known as the Comstock law, a map of confused, contradictory, absurd and utterly preposterous decisions which have contributed more to bring law and the administration of justice into contempt than any other thing that has transpired since the establishment of our government.

In U. S. v. Slenker, 32 Fed. Rep., 693, which case I tried before Judge Paul, that well-intentioned judge blindly followed the absurd precedents and in charging the jury stated some very bad law as follows, "No matter what the motive or purpose for which they (the publications) were sent, whether in the real or supposed interest of science, philosophy or morality, if they are of an obscene character you should find the defendant guilty. The defendant is presumed to know the character of the matter mailed by her." But after more deliberate consideration Judge Paul was noble and fair enough to reverse himself and to state the correct principle of law in granting a motion for arrest of judgment. "The indictment is defective because it does not allege that the defendant knew that the writings, papers, etc., which she is charged with having deposited in the mail for mailing and delivery were of an obscene, lewd and lascivious character." (p. 695.) I think Judge Paul appreciated how ridiculous his contradictory statement of the law could be made when collated, but he was willing to be fair for all that.

So in case of Bennett, convicted of mailing obscene matter. Bennett was editor of a Freethought paper which certain unprincipled theologians wanted to suppress. Suppression through the agency of the postmaster general had not at that time, 1879, become as finely developed as it was subsequently under Postmaster General Wanamaker, and the intent was to stop the publication by imprisoning its editor.

A convenient judge was to manage the conviction. The conviction rested solely on the charge of having mailed one book, "Cupid's Yokes," but in April, 1883, another person, Ezra H. Heywood, the author of the book, in another court, before a more honest judge, charged with mailing the same book, was acquitted. This goes to show in this class of cases it is the judge who is on trial rather than the defendant.

Other instances might be cited to show the absurdity and wickedness of submitting questions of literary taste to the untrained mind of the average juror under conditions calculated to excite the most virulent prejudice.

I do not wish to be obtrusive in this matter but I am deeply convinced that these defendants have acted strictly within their rights, that they have committed no offense, even under the preposterous statute which they are alleged to have violated, that their publication is in no sense obscene and that any punishment inflicted upon any of them will bring reproach upon the administration of justice, which an upright judge should be careful to avoid.

There is abundant literature upon this subject, and much information which I would gladly send you should you so request, but which I do not wish to obtrude upon you unless you would be interested to have it.

I trust you will pardon whatever may seem presumptuous on my part and believe that I write you thus because I think I can discern in your treatment of Mr. Pope and his associates a very unusual disposition to be fair.

Yours with sincere respect,
ED. W. CHAMBERLAIN.
Tr. N. D. A.

THE NEW WOMAN.

AN ADDRESS BY EMMA GOLDMANN BEFORE THE LIBERAL PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY, OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.

The bible story of woman's inequality and inferiority is based on the declaration of her being created from the rib of man. Woman cannot without equal opportunity ever rise to equality with him, and hence women are slaves to society as a consequence, and intensified under the marriage code. Despotism causes people to revolt, and they will do so as a necessity. Woman is bred to be seen and for outside show, and hence the sham in society. Her only mission is to marry and to be a wife and mother, and to cater to a husband who for this

will support her. She thus degrades herself. The present mothers are not so much to be blamed for this condition, this comes about by copying their mothers. The mother who is thus raised cannot have any conception of the true knowledge of the rearing of the children, i. e., of raising children as a profession, and she never can bring up the child as she ought to under this system. Mothers are conquered by the child, the exception being a good mother.

The duty of a wife is considered as an impure subject for consideration to the young, unmarried woman, and thus the ignorant girl is forced in the battle unprepared for life consequences. Another great error in the ideal new woman, and one that is to be condemned, is that of aping the male, seeking to become masculine, considering that man is superior to woman. No decent woman can emulate them. We must first have the NEW MAN. In all things women are the equal of men, even in the productive field. Even radicals do not differ from the Christians; they do not wish their wives to become radical; even they deem themselves necessary to her protection. So long as she needs protection she is not on equal footing, we need only to protect weaklings. One of the invasive points in the character of man is, that he is too authoritative for the forced progress in woman, and while he has evolved slowly he is making the fatal mistake of securing more liberty for woman through the very thing that was his own enslavement, i. e., authority. Opposition to this will correct this evil.

Contemptible marriage laws and the adherence to them tend to still farther increase the degradation. To assert that freedom of the sex relations is the natural law is interpreted to mean free lust. The law of love governs this as in all matters, love being the fulfillment of the law. Motherhood and its beauty, of which poets have sung and written, is a farce, and cannot be otherwise until we have freedom—economically.

Men are all heroes at home, but cowards abroad. Women, too, would be as unjust at the ballot box as are the men. They are tyrants as well as are the men. Woman, to be free, must be the mutual friend and mate of man. The individual is the ideal liberty. We owe no duty to anyone, save ourselves. When universal woman once comprehends this ideal, then all protective laws, intended for protection, which is indeed her weakness, will disappear, and this adulterous system goes, and with it charity and all its attendant ills. In short, the new woman movement demands an equal advancement by the modern man.

SEX AND LIFE.

Seeing so many comrades having their say on the sex question is my excuse for this article. Let me ask the comrades how high is a standard of liberty that includes one sex only? The Catholic priest says, give us the children until 10 or 12 years old, then you may have them. Why is he so sure of this? Because he knows that childhood and youth is the time to make lasting impressions on the mind; as the twig is bent the tree is inclined. Now the children are under the control of the mother during the first few years of life, she is the educator, in spite of school life; is it not necessary then that she should be free? At least as free as the society she mingles in can make her. What I mean is her own home life, she should literally feel that she is not under restraint, or obligation, but is absolutely free to do as she chooses. Under these conditions she will breathe the spirit of freedom, she will inoculate the children with the virus of freedom; she will sing it to them in quiet lullabys while she nurses them with the milk of it.

If you wish to make a stream navigable don't you, first of all, look to the source of it? It is reasonable to suppose you will free it from all obstructions to learn the depth of water available. How many seemingly shallow streams have proven to be benefactors to the human race when once cleared of obstructions. Comrades, sex is the source of life. If you cannot at once free all women, free those you are closely connected with; not one in a thousand will wish to change condition, but oh, the joy and exhilaration

they will feel. What have men not dared and done for freedom? And yet they are so short sighted they cannot see that one part does not make a whole, or the male gender alone make the sex.

About 40 years ago the shoemakers in a little village in England struck against sewing machines being introduced; they stayed out until the funds of the union were exhausted, and they and their wives and children were gaunt, hollow-eyed, famished-looking creatures; then they went back to work, feeble in body, broken in spirits, pliant enough for masters to mold as they wished. Why did they strike? Because they were afraid their wives would have no work. The women sewed the tops of the shoes by hand, working from early morn until late at night for a few pence, while the children scrambled around as best they could. Outside the prettiest, sweetest spot in rural England, the sweet perfume of the hawthorn and lilac, the song of the nightingale, all the glories of nature in abundance, yet these women and children might as well have been in Siberia, because they had no time to enjoy it. Sunday for the men meant a jaunt through the woods, across the fields, into pleasant places, to perhaps commune with nature; to the women it simply meant a change of duties—she must bake, attend to her neglected children, patch their clothes behind closed doors and windows for fear of the godly catching the sinner; ah me, life was but a farce for those women. But you say those men were fools; right, but they did not know it. They were not naturally mean enough to desire their wives to work their lives away; they were simply afraid to advance; they opposed progress through ignorance. And this is the chronic state of men today; even liberals and Anarchists, who clamor so much for freedom, are afraid to trust women with it.

Well, I think Armstrong is right—everyone must be their own savior, and I, for one, ask no favor, only a fair field, but the woman who is by law the property of another has a harder task, and needs sympathy and help on the way, but she can earn her freedom if she tries. It is true, as Nellie M. Jerauld says, they support the church, and how to deity, and do many things we despise, but let us not forget the long centuries of wrong education women have had. Today the languishing, love-lorn, novel-reading type, who was always watching and waiting for Prince Charming to come, is hard to find, but in her place is an independent, self-reliant woman, not the less womanly and lovable that she knows her own value. Comrades, when you meet that type, honor her; she will help the cause of freedom better than you dream of.

Healdsburg, Cal.

SUSAN SWAYSGOOD.

TRIED AS BY FIRE.

In crossing the "Great American Desert" in 1860—coming to Pike's Peak, a trip of seven weeks in covered wagons, strangers camping and traveling together, seldom out of sight of teams from the Missouri river to Denver—experience discovered unknown peculiarities of human nature, and gave rise to certain comments which became proverbs. One of these proverbs was this: "If there is a streak of meanness in a man half an inch long he will show it crossing the plains." There are accidents and incidents that try men's souls. So of the arrest and trial of our friends The Firebrand editors. It stirs up gall in many ways, and only the truly loyal will be found side by side with them.

Lois Waisbrooker says in Lucifer: "As to Brother Pope, I know that many look upon his course as fanatical, but I understand and sustain him. The day will come when he will be looked upon as the bravest and truest of us all."

I, too, feel that this may be. The principles that give way at this onslaught of prejudice or legal tyranny are not worth much. Mr. Pope says he does not owe the United States \$200 and sees no reason for promising to forfeit that amount if he fails to appear to answer to a trumped-up charge not even "legally" preferred. Oh, to be true to ourselves, that our loved and beloved comrades may know where to find us in the dark night and storm! Who but the old should have learned to be happy in this constancy to truth as we see it. I myself have seen "length of days" and know that from long choosing of the right I could not choose what did not seem to me as right. Even while I say to myself, "I am going this way; it is more sensible—all my friends expect it—I must not be stubborn!" My feet have already borne me far along in the path where naught but self denial, obloquy and poverty await me, but a star shines away in the dis-

tance, the star of truth and hope which leads on to a truer happiness and a wider hope for mankind than any temporizing with the present can bring, however much we may wish we were capable of temporizing when clinging hands implore and the receding light of home contrasts despairingly with the cold, dark path of duty ahead. But the star! It is there, and its magnetic ray draws on the soul to dare, and do and to itself be true.

"To dare," says Hugo, "progress is at this price." "The onward march of the human race requires that the heights around it should be ablaze with noble and enduring lessons of courage." "To strive, to brave all risks, to persist, to persevere, to be faithful to yourself, to grapple hand to hand with destiny, to surprise defeat with the little terror it inspires; at one time to confront unrighteous power, at another to defy intoxicated triumph, to hold fast, to hold hard—such is the example which the nations need and the light that electrifies them."

I was surprised and grieved at the remarks of one comrade in No. 147 of FREE SOCIETY. There is much childishness in saying of our imprisoned comrade, "he planned to go to prison; he could have left it by simply signing his own name." This "simply signing his own name" is not so easy or so proper as it is imagined. There may be an insuperable obstacle to what he "pleases to call his principles." Did you ever reflect, brother, that we have no right to conclude that we know what we know and the "other fellow" only imagines what he knows? That would be not only egotistical but unjust.

Justice is what we strive for, and we Anarchists will but gain the contempt as well as the ill will of those who do not understand us by being unjust and resentful to one another. Suppose it possible that our much-tried Comrade Pope has become old and childish, and that he does delight to pose as a martyr—there is method in his madness; men who bear imprisonment for the truth's sake are none too thickly sprinkled along the dusty highways of this gold-worshipping age, especially those who refuse recompense, but give all money to the cause. The punishment of the body cannot take from the soul the sense of duty well performed, hence our friend is "happy." Let us rejoice it is so and that ideas cannot be imprisoned.

We are not in such haste of war that we must march on over our dead or wounded friends. The final charge is a long way off yet. We may gently dress the wounds; cremate the dead and then move on to abolish greed, superstition and government of man by man, with well-filled ranks—conquering by love.

Fort Collins, Colo.

ALBINA L. WASHBURN.

SINGLE TAX.

Now that the foremost advocate of the Single Tax—or tax on land values—theory is dead, a few of his most devoted and zealous followers are trying to revive interest in this delusive panacea for the sufferings of the poor and ill-paid workers.

It would seem as if this false and absurd proposition should have fallen into the limbo of exploded theories years ago. There, however, seems to be a few of the workers who still delight in hugging this abortive economic monstrosity to their breasts.

In what way it can be deduced that a single tax is better than any other number of taxes it is impossible for logical men to discern.

It is not proposed to limit the power of the state to levy taxes and collect them, but merely to place all the taxes upon land. In defense of this proposition it is affirmed that land now held for speculative purposes will be released to the state.

Can the land released to the state pay a tax? In fact can any land pay a tax? Does not the tax fall upon the active and productive men? If men do not work and produce, can any tax be collected? The answers to these questions are very plain and simple. No work no production, no production no wealth, and consequently the collection of taxes becomes an impossibility. That this deduction is true must be admitted.

Then why, or how, by taking taxes off of horses and cows and throwing it upon the land, can any sane person undertake to maintain that a land tax, or single tax, will relieve the workers? As a matter of fact, so long as the state is permitted to levy and collect taxes the burden will fall upon the shoulders of those who produce. No subterfuge or sophistry will deceive a clear-headed thinker upon economic questions.

Under all conditions a tax upon any form of prop-

erty falls upon the propertyless. The man who has will and can throw the burden of taxation upon the propertyless.

It would be the same under a tax upon land values. The man who has would continue his grip upon the man with an empty pocketbook. Bank accounts are as powerful under one form of taxation as another.

Comparatively speaking a few acres of land now held for speculative purpose would be released, but the state would collect tax from them. The taxes would fall upon that land in use, which means that the people using or working upon the land pay the taxes.

If the advocates of single tax are absolutely honest in their declarations that they desire to give more people an opportunity to work, also a greater percentage of their productions, why do they not insist upon free land? Why do they not allow man to produce free from any restrictions whatever, other than those imposed by the elements? Why insist upon a government tax with its attendant army of office holders, who perforce will be non-producers.

The trouble is that these gentlemen have not yet awakened to the fact that the State or government is the source from which emanates the oppression of the masses. They believe as firmly in the "divine right" of a government as does Emperor William of Germany or the czar of all the Russias. They would no more deprive government of its power to sustain itself through taxation than would the most conservative believer in the established order. While men offer palliatives and temporize the number of unemployed starving people increase; while the State is permitted to continue its power to tax and restrict the energies of the workers the people starve.

REB.

DEFENDS HOME AND PROPERTY!

The following clipping from the Chicago Tribune, Jan. 9, tells its own story.

"Tuscola, Ill.—Sheriff Bagley, after mature reflection, decided to not attempt the eviction of Joseph Godeschalk from his premises today, as it was considered a very hazardous undertaking, and would, no doubt, have cost the lives of several of his deputies.

"Farmer Godeschalk is thoroughly intrenched, and his house is a veritable arsenal, being equipped with rifles, shotguns, and revolvers. The farmer has declared that he will die before he will surrender, and when he finds he cannot escape being taken he will shoot his wife and then himself. His desperate fight for his home yesterday has convinced the officers that they have a dangerous man to deal with, and they now hope to accomplish by strategy what they failed to do by force.

"The whole country for several miles around flocked to the Godeschalk farm to see the expected battle which was promised for today. No move will be made before Monday next."

The sheriff represents the armed power of the armed socialistic federal government. He is now employed in an attempt to plunder Joseph Godeschalk of land and home while the neighbors look on.

First the government enacted the laws that made Farmer Godeschalk poor, and consequently drove him into the clutches of the banks. Now it assists the banks to shoot him down and rob him even of his last shelter. By the way, the First National Bank of Chicago, of which Secretary of the Treasury Gage is chairman of directors, has much money invested down Tuscola way, and it is therefore not improbable that the fight for hearth and home is really between Farmer Godeschalk and Banker Gage.

Farmer Godeschalk is the type of men that in past ages have made things very lively for kings and despots and money-lending robbers. Farmer Hampden in England, for example, refused to pay the taxes imposed upon him by King Charles I. When the sheriff came to collect the money Hampden refused to pay and drove the sheriff off. Other farmers joined him afterward, and when the sheriff came back next time, he brought an army. Hampden and his neighbors defeated the troops. This evolved Cromwell, who finally cut the king's head off, abolished the obnoxious tax, confiscated the estates of the nobles and divided them up pro rata among his soldiers.

The Cromwellian revolution, which every American should study, did not alter the system in any way. It merely provided, when all was over, for a wider distribution of property on the old basis. However since then, English farmers have had much to say in things. They are regarded still as a dangerous lot of men for

government to monkey with. The English farmers are never cartooned and insulted as American farmers are by the city financiers. Why? Because they showed their teeth with effect once upon a time.

W.

OTHERS' AND MINE.

Social Democrat—Don't you know that I am a distant relative of yours?

Anarchist—Yes, but so distant that I can't possibly recognize you.

Natural flowers are not afraid of rain, it washes them off and makes them bright, it is only caricatures that fade and die before it.

Sound ideas brought to life by natural causes, welcome sound criticism, it purifies and asserts them.

A religious believer that fears the devil, denies the powers and supreme rule of his god.

Not only do the poor support the rich, they also give them a pretence and aspect of being useful, and a clear conscience by accepting their charity.

S. C. B.

WANTS TO BE KING NO. 1.

Editor FREE SOCIETY:—

I received a copy of a paper called FREE SOCIETY from some anonymous person who styles himself an Anarchist Communist. I have read your paper through every word of it and pronounce it one of the dirtiest sheets I ever saw and I consider it an insult to a decent and self respecting person. In an article on the Firebrand case I see that the publishers of that paper have been convicted, yes they ought to have been hung till they were dead, dead, dead. If anyone deserves hanging it is anarchists. If we had a monarchy in this country it would be a crime for people to think, which by the way would be a god send, and then they would have to work. Monarchy would put a stop to such people publishing such indecent literature, and assailing a government that they no nothing about, I will not show anarchist literature that has been sent to me to other people, especially women and children but as soon as I see what it is I commit it to the flames where it rightfully belongs. Now you may think I am wrong but I am not wrong I have studied the political questions ever since I was old enough think, and I have come to the conclusion that talk and debate settle nothing any man with a tongue can sustain argument, and the more a person thinks and ponders (especially such unlearned and unstable people as the anarchists are) over a question the more difficult it becomes. Hoping you will have the fairness to publish this and let the anarchists know the sentiment of a monocrat. It is not government that is to blame for our hard times it is those who are in power. Government is simply an instrument in their hands. You surely would not make things better by doing away with the instrument, but remove those from power who make bad use of government. Let me give you an illustration. If I were to take an axe and go out and destroy property and kill men etc. which should be done away with the axe or me. Of course by doing away with axes would not remedy the matter, but doing away with me would.

So you see it is the operator and not the instrument that should be destroyed. Government is necessary and essential to the well being of mankind and the stronger the government the better I do not know whether this will take two columns or not but I will not write any more this time. I hope you will have the fairness to publish this as you said you would and let the anarchists know that there is one that is not afraid to reply to them and denounce their doctrines.

St. Valentine, Numany.

KING NUMO I.

(Summerland, Calif., is where it lives and rules.

F. A. C.)

A recent private letter from the Ruskin colony gives the information that an attempt is being made to at last give the women in the colony the right to vote on the affairs of the colony. But if the proposition carries the ruling clique will get out an injunction to prevent it. That is a fair sample of Ruskin Socialism as it has so far been exhibited to those who have seen Ruskin as it is, not as it claims to be—for these two Ruskins are not very closely related to each other.

F. A. C.

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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.

A comrade wants to know if the settlement of the social and industrial questions would not cure all our ills. That rather sticks me. Laying aside physical conditions, the actual settlement of social and industrial evils would be an actual settlement of all that pertains to human weal or woe.

Pleasure and sorrow, joy and pain will continue to go hand in hand. Life is not, never will be, a bed of roses. Even when people avoid all unhealthy practices (if such a time ever comes) and obey fairly well natural (hygienic) laws accidents will still happen; humanity will continue to err, and erring, be called before Nature's court for punishment.

"Social and industrial" seems to me to cover pretty nearly all phases of life. The wild man, living on roots and berries, sleeping in a cave, may thrive without industry and with little or no society, but as he nears the borderland of civilization (the present) he realizes the need of social and industrial co-operation; if, as at present, the relations attempted be founded upon a wrong basis, the result will be deleterious, in-harmony exist.

I have an idea that the sex question is referred to. The settlement of social and industrial evils will certainly solve the sex question, which is a question only because of wrong social and industrial relations. Any difference of opinion among Anarchists in the matter of sex freedom must be one of policy, not of ethics. Anarchy without liberty is unthinkable.

The Coast Seaman's Journal "assures" a new tailors' union (organized in opposition to one already existing in San Francisco) of the support of the unions in general. I have heretofore had a better opinion of the C. S. J. Is it, after all, like other professional labor papers and "labor leaders" that it can dispense or withhold support at will? If so, it has a lot of lickspittles strung on a chain. Intelligent Labor will be his own spokesman, endorse or condemn as he himself approves or disapproves. The day of the professional "leader" is on the wane—success to its speedy demise.

Elsewhere in this issue appears an article which seems to have emanated from a lunatic asylum. The writer says he got a sample copy of F. S. from an anonymous party and then says we promised him space to advocate monarchy. Not so anonymous as it might be. But we did not agree to print his article; only agreed to print an argument, if he had one, and answer it. But it needs no answer. It convinces us—that some men are natural jackasses.

A "new religion" journal, which bases its claim to be the religious leader of the universe to the claim that the earth has a concave surface, the sun, moon and stars being on the inside instead of the outside of the earth, is now out with an offer of \$1,000 to any editor who will disprove its theory. I want to call the attention of the publishers to the fact that the burden of proof rests upon them, not upon the rest of mankind. As Anarchists who hope to have their opinions concurred in must first show the inefficiency of governments and gods to properly regulate the affairs of men so must these claimants prove the errors of simple astronomy; to ridicule moot questions because of the variance of different minds in regard to them is easy. Proof is something different. Fabulous stories of sea-level measurements won't do, either.

But what has the whole thing to do with religion, anyhow? When the paper in question turns its batteries on other religious frauds it does good work, but when it only destroys one falsehood that another may be erected in its place, the effort is a loss of energy.

But just what won't be crammed down the throats

of mental weaklings, in the name of religion, so long as gullibles can be found, would be hard to name.

This brings us back to the present case, that of Koreahenry. Some three years ago one of its publications came out with wonderful proofs of the earth's being flat. (If I remember rightly that was the shape assigned it.) The idea was to prove the old astronomy false. The next issue of the publication was considerably delayed. Why? Nothing much—only—well—ahem—this old earth had been rolling up its edge like a scroll until it had swallowed itself whole and put us all in a hole. No wonder Germany is putting rice on its China and we poor devils jump from a Cleveland panic right into McKinley prosperity and wonder which is hottest. But all this gives Koreahenry a true scientific basis, so what's the odds.

Zola says of Lourdes and its miracles: "Lourdes grew up in spite of all opposition, just as the Christian religion did, because suffering humanity in its despair must cling to something, must have some hope; and, on the other hand, because humanity thirsts after illusions. In a word, it is the story of the foundation of all religions." And of Koreahenry?

The official assassins of Hasleton have been on trial for some time. But while evidence has been introduced to show that the strikers were shot in the back, no one supposes that the law-protected murderers will meet with the same punishment that would be dealt out to an individual assassin—especially if the latter were a poor man.

It is not often that the New Time so far forgets itself as to allow even a half-truth about Anarchists to appear in its columns, but in the February number E. V. Debs "winks the other eye" as he reflects upon the cowardly attitude of Debs the S. D. of A. president whenever a local union gets a little independence into its make-up; forgets his own actions in repudiating the manly declarations of local union No. 2 of Chicago; forgets the disgraceful conduct of the secretary of his colonization committee (Cyrus Field Willard) in Denver, Nov. 11th last. Then, in a prolonged panegyric, he declares that he would rescue the names of the Chicago martyrs from slander, etc. Better clean your own house first, Gene! Whenever you hear the names or beliefs of our lamented comrades mentioned don't fall over yourself in your efforts to prove through the plute press that you have no part nor parcel about you of the beliefs of A. R. Parsons and his companions.

America is to have another secession movement—another confederacy in the South. The Southern Confederacy of White Labor is to be formed, as Southern unions claim their only connection with Northern unions has been of a dues-paying character, and this has caused a revolt the size of which is as yet unknown. By the way, is colored labor in disgrace?

Here's a queer to-do at Skaguay: The "respectable" element had a lynching planned, whereupon the "tough" element organized to prevent any lynching, and they carried their point. They had the law on their side while the "law and order" crowd were trying to violate not only the law but all human decency as well.

Florida glorified herself recently by selling at auction in one day 410 human beings. Not as wage slaves, for we are all used to that, but as real old-fashioned chattel slaves. True they were convicts and their term of slavery was only temporary. But the principle of chattel slavery is there, even if the forced sale be for but an hour. And of the 410 how many were as guilty of the thing called Crime—offspring of Law—as are thousands of the unpunished "pillars of society"? Of the balance, how many would be criminals were it not for false and law-enforced social environments.

F. A. COWELL.

PUT THIS AND THAT TOGETHER.

THIS: Hanna paid \$10,000 for one vote, \$20,000 for another; intimidated and brutally ill-treated the wife of a third voter, to coerce her into promising her husband's vote, backed up with the offer of an appointment as payment for the vote; this and more have come to light, and probably tenfold as much more iniquity remains in darkness.

THAT: Extract from the new tariff: if cloth costs

less than 40 cents per lb. (always sold by the yard) the duty shall be 33 cents per lb. and 50 per cent ad valorem; if cloth costs over 70 cents per lb. the duty shall be 44 cents per lb. and 55 per cent ad valorem; to particularize—a yard of cloth weighing 22 ounces and costing \$1.05 per yard, would be taxed under the present tariff \$1.23½ per yard, or 120 per cent.

THIS: McKinley, on January 27, declared himself the mouthpiece and tool of the English gold bugs; in addressing 1,000 New York business men, members of the National Association of Manufacturers, the very man who framed the tariff, before the worst of America's many traitors was hoodled into the White House, made this statement: "Nothing should ever tempt us—nothing will ever tempt us—to scale down the sacred debt of the nation through a legal technicality. What-ever may be the language of the contract, the United States will discharge all its obligations in the currency recognized as the best throughout the civilized world at the time of payment." This means gold if it means anything, and justice demands a debt should be payable in the currency of the date of contract, not in a currency to be afterward established without the consent of the debtor.

THAT: McKinley traitorously failed to state that America's foreign public and private debts amount to \$45,000,000,000, also that the total amount of gold coin and bullion in the world is less than \$5,000,000,000—as McKinley says he will discharge the debt of 45 with 5, the devil must henceforth go down one and the president of the United States take the position of the world's boss liar! Before McKinley occupied the White House he always advocated free silver, both in and outside congress.

THIS: Secretary of the Treasury Gage is now devoting all his powers of head and pocket, to carry through a scheme by which to call in greenbacks and issue interest-drawing bonds in their place; greenbacks are the real, genuine American money, and just as soon as it is issued direct to the Sovereigns (Labor) by Uncle Sam it will be honest money, good sound sense money—Gage is a traitor to his country, attempting to destroy our money, already so far, very far, short of the barest requirements of this great country.

THAT: How much longer will Labor, the producer of all wealth, permit such worse-than-black-slavery to continue; we know that tariffs never benefit the producers as a class, but are framed by the rich to oppress the poor; we should formulate some immediate course of action to free ourselves—millions are earnestly desiring freedom, feeling that immediate death would be preferable to the present daily murder of freedom; there are millions of acres of unused land in this state of glorious sunshine and there are only 25,000 soldiers in the United States, worse than useless, a disgrace to humanity; readers of FREE SOCIETY will take this in whatever phase they think suitable, probably all will agree that soldiers are a burden on Labor and should be earning their own living by useful employment.

THIS: In all parts of the country cases arise, now quite frequently, where the order-loving inhabitants are aroused by the dastardly act of some brute, and fearing the ability or the desire of the law to protect them, protect themselves by lynching the reptiles who are a menace to the peace and freedom of the entire community.

THAT: The concentration of all the monsters who have outraged America for years could not perpetrate such cruel robbery, suffering and crucifixion of Labor, as the trio, Hanna, McKinley and Gage are now inflicting on the Sovereigns of this republic.

THIS: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—all men are equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, to ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

THAT: We, the people who labor, with brawn or brain, declare that we will not be governed by a constitution framed by dead men, and perverted from its original intention by live robbers. We will recognize our individual constitution as the only constitution that natural laws require to be considered; we therefore propose to form an association for communal life and individual sovereignty, to be called Labor Exchange Anarchists' Free Society.

J. A. KINGHORN-JONES.

OBSERVATIONS.

"Saladin" seems to have been quite right as to Man being the only "animal created normally insane": also to the word "angel" being a misprint for "ass," as Man being "created a little lower than the angel."

Here is a clipping:

"After a careful examination of the phenomena witnessed at spiritualists' seances, Mr. Podmore arrives at the conviction that they are all explainable by fraud. 'In the face,' he says, 'of exposure of fraud, repeated ad nauseam; in the face of the observed propensity in this field to even disinterested fraud; in the face of the demonstrated incompetence, even of trained observers, to cope with fraud; we should not be justified in assuming any other cause for the spiritual phenomena of spiritualism than fraud, eked out, possibly, on rare occasions by fraudulently suggested hallucinations. Unless, and until, some test is performed which fraud cannot explain, the presumption that fraud is the all-sufficient cause remains unshaken.' Quoted, also, with approval, are the words of Mr. Crookes, now president of the Society for Physical Research: 'The Spiritualist tells of flowers with the fresh dew on them; of fruit and living objects, being carried through closed windows, and even solid brick walls. The scientific investigator naturally asks that an additional weight (if it be only the 1-1000th part of a grain) be deposited on one pan of his balance when the case is looked; and the chemist asks that 1-1000th part of a grain of arsenic be carried through the sides of a glass tube in which pure water is hermetically sealed.' When this demand is complied with, or when any other result is produced which does not depend for proof of its genuineness on the exercise of continuous observation by fallible human senses, it will be time to revise Mr. Podmore's provisional conclusion and to search for some other explanation."

I will only comment on the above to say that I attended seances nearly all one winter some years ago: that I attended seances all one summer many years ago: that aside from this, that I have attended other seances, and, that I found only fraud. It is true, that, one or two so-called "manifestations" I could not localize, detect the fraud. However, my failure of detection of fraud as to one or two manifestations, does not invalidate my assertion that all the "manifestations" were fraudulent.

I think it is waste of breath to curse Anthony Comstock—one might as well curse the pope of Rome, or any other pope!

How would it answer to give us a little "variety" and curse the wealthy, cultured and educated frauds that uphold Comstock. Even curses might be distributed with some attempt at fairness and some exercise of common sense.

CLINTON LOVERIDGE.

KROPOTKIN AND THE SEX QUESTION.

In No. 10 of FREE SOCIETY Comrade Kropotkin advises said FREE SOCIETY to "leave alone the sex question." I hope you will not do so; not only for the sake of the propaganda in general, but also because I think that agitation of the question relating to the freedom in sexual matters is one of the most effective (possibly the most effective) methods of leading people to study the whole Anarchist-Communist ideal. It is a question that comes more nearly home to everybody than any other; a question that comes up in the minds of all ears for settlement earlier in life than any other one; and a question—Anarchists having rejected authority—on which that settlement of ideas more readily prepares the way for the rejection of authority in every other direction. A yielding to authority in sex matters once made—then the way is prepared for confusion of ideas in all other directions, with the additional disadvantage that if one of the parties to error afterward adopts really free ideas, the partner in error may not, more often does not, with the result that the misery is intensified.

Besides, to give up this advocacy now would not only mean that the whole question would have to be fought out later on, but it would also mean that the whole weight of that side of the propaganda would be thrown onto "Lucifer." Cease the general propaganda and Comstock (for all his six-cent character) would then be able to make short work of certain people who it is important should be sustained, not crushed.

Comrade Kropotkin says: "We Russian Nihilists have worked out forms of life entirely free. But we worked them out and despised talking about them." Why, if they had done that the Nihilists and other Russian radicals would not have been molested as they were, though if they had "worked" only they would still not have been left alone. The truth about the Russian Nihilists is that besides "working out" free forms of life they talked and used the press in all its forms as much as they dared; and if they had not, their influence would not have been so great.

As to the Russian Nihilists having "worked" out forms of free life, why, on the sex question they reached their greatest freedom by modeling (imitation) their lives on sex ideals written up for them in novels and literary works as Tchernichewsky's "What Is to Be Done?" And let me add that "What is to be done?" was first published in the columns of the "Sovremennik" (Contemporary).

Comrade Kropotkin adds: "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."

Well, with his comprehensive idea of freedom he knows that the ideal means freedom from authority in all directions. But it is a fact that people can be and are constantly converted to the general ideal of Anarchist Communism, in the lump, but when they come to realize what it includes in detail, slip out of the ranks again on some such point. Make the fact clear that the ideal includes freedom from authority in all things clear and the "converts" will be worth something.

As to "predilection toward this question—vague and obscure yet as it is"—first, is the sex question "vague and obscure"? I think not. Is it not clear that on a question that concerns two given individuals, and no one else, the way that suits them is the way of freedom, and that discussion is the best aid to a wise choice on this as on all subjects?

Second. "The predilection toward this subject," I think is quite easily understood. It is simply because it is one of the most vital subjects of discussion in all schools of thought, one that interests everybody. It is also one of the subjects that orthodoxy is struggling its hardest to prevent the discussion of, and despite some seeming gains, with the least success. It is authority's most vulnerable point, and the discussion of it helps to make FREE WOMEN, and without free women our cause is absolutely hopeless. Another reason for this "predilection" is that the propaganda of sex freedom has probably gained greater prominence in America than elsewhere, and on a more logical basis than in Europe. But what am I saying! Why in England, at any rate, after assimilating American thought, the sex radicals have "gone us one better" as to thoroughness in many directions. And the center of this English activity is not so very far from Bromley. May its benign influence reach Comrade Kropotkin and teach him that when we lay before the world a lofty ideal it is just as well to mention designedly and emphatically, as well as incidentally, that when we talk about freedom from authority we mean freedom in all things, and in all directions.

New York.

CHAS. COOPER.

HEAR ALL SIDES.

I am glad to see that Comrade Doering has reconsidered and retracted his severe criticism of A. J. Pope in FREE SOCIETY No. 147, and rejoice in hearing that Isaac and Addis are not as yet behind the bars. I have read the articles upon which the charge is based, and I fail to see how any one but a blear-eyed christian or Comstockian moralist, such as church morality has produced, could find obscenity in any of them. Neither can I believe for a moment that A. J. Pope has any incentive in view other than the greatest good to come from perfect freedom of thought and action, even though he did insist on having those articles published without the consent of others. I do not know as I should dare to do the same myself were others likely to become involved in trouble, but as we never know what is to follow our expressions of thought, and any of us are liable to give expression to something which may involve another unintentionally or unexpectedly.

All persons desiring to discuss the sex relations with a view to happiness and freedom are but acting in accordance with their highest motives as they see it, and whoever attempts to suppress their freedom of speech in this or any other direction is pursuing an

invasive policy which is not becoming an Anarchist. Those who are opposed to the free discussion of the sex relations are entitled to the same consideration that those are who take the opposite view, as far as verbal difference goes, but those who say that we shall not discuss those subjects at all are moral cowards and traitors to human progress. For when people who profess to admire anarchistic freedom, as conservatives do, and then dissuade the publishers of FREE SOCIETY to exclude the sex discussions, they had better burst the shell of orthodoxy and get out into the light. The greatest curse to human progress seems to be crippled minds in crippled bodies. O. S. Fowler says, "If you would make your children mental giants you must first make them powerful animals," and by this he means that a healthy physical structure is the first requisite to a healthy mind, and for this reason I advocate the free discussion of all subjects which affect the mental or physical welfare of the race. Children are conceived and gestated under such surroundings that intemperance and crime is their natural disposition, yet the christian moralist who spends a lifetime in reforming criminals and drunkards makes fanatical attempts to suppress sexual knowledge.

Medical science demonstrates that tobacco, liquor and narcotics are of no importance to the health of mind or body, yet the masses crave for them as if to live without them was impossible. Now what is the reason? I believe there is a cause for most of our intemperate habits, and perhaps the source thereof lies in our domestic slavery and a longing of unsatisfied love which causes other unnatural cravings. I believe that if we had domestic, social and sexual freedom there would be so little desire for stimulants that 50 per cent of our saloons would close up in a year. People who are happily mated seldom experience those desires, while those who are unhappy and disappointed in their love relations are prone to seek relief in stimulants and narcotics.

Comrade Isaac tells us that "the users of tobacco, beer and whisky are the real supporters of the liberal press," and I have just been wondering why they should be wasting so much valuable time and energy in procuring stimulants which are of no importance. The energy wasted in producing them could be employed to better advantages in other pursuits for supplying the necessities of life instead of poisons which are non-essential. Is it possible that even our intelligent supporters of the radical press must resort to stimulants and narcotics to calm their restless nerves? Or is it possible that those who might refrain from liquor and tobacco would forget the radical press, or withdraw their support? Let us investigate this matter also, and if liquor and tobacco is a detriment to health and happiness, let our youth be instructed so that they will not become its victims. We are striving for the greatest good for all, and if we have made mistakes we should point them out to those who are to follow us in life. Temporary stimulation whether of beer, tobacco, wine or whisky, will be ultimately followed by the reverse of the object sought, and the same can be said of tea and coffee.

I am grieved to think that my attack on tobacco, beer and whisky which appears in FREE SOCIETY No. 145, and addressed to the S. L. P., should have caused Comrade Isaac to imagine, much less feel, that he is "no good for anything" (to use his own expression), and perhaps I should feel as Comrade Doering does were I in his position. But in my case it was my honest and firm conviction that tobacco and liquor is worse than useless, and retraction is out of the question. I am still of the opinion that tobacco, beer and whisky robs men of their manhood, and dethrones the intellect and reason, not in every instance, but in thousands upon thousands of its victims who as mental and physical wrecks are living monuments in proof of my assertion. Our insane asylums, penitentiaries and reform schools echo back to us the cries which were uttered years ago in defense of tobacco and intemperance by the parents of the victims who are now languishing in stony prison cells.

Ninety-five per cent of all officers of laws, judges, lawyers and political office holders are devotees of liquor and tobacco, and from such an army of debauchery, mental, moral and physical degradation, people are expecting justice, virtue and progression of the human race. And yet when any of us direct attention to this matter in public meetings we are notified that our attendance is no longer wanted, and that any persistence on our part will subject us to a forcible expulsion.

It is a well-attested fact that cowards always fear the truth, because they feel that they are in a false position, and the S. L. P. devotees are especially sensitive in this respect. They realize that freedom of speech has a tendency to show that the church and state are gigantic institutions of intemperance, crime and robbery, and that those who are supporting either one or the other are the imps who shovel coal into the furnace to propel the engines of destruction, which are crushing Liberty and Virtue that the fiends of superstition, despotism and tyranny shall rule over us, and continue to exist as protectors of our "public morals" when we know that church and state are rotten to the core, and the advocates of slavery and the enemies of freedom.

They profess to ignore all religious institutions, but invite to their platform ministers of the gospel to present religious follies and begot the minds of the masses with the incomprehensible and superstitious mysteries which all the wisdom of the age never yet has fathomed. They profess to understand that the parasites who live in luxury and ease live by their wits in defending those who labor, of the products of their toil, but they fail to realize that the poor must rid themselves of the superstition which impresses them with the awe-inspiring admiration for superiors and rulers, and must free their minds from narcotics and intoxicants to be in fit condition to detect the cunning and deception practiced by oppressors. Men who lull themselves to sleep with poisons are at all times exposed to the cunning of their foes who are wide awake and sober.

They confine themselves to economics, political and industrial education, when the source of all our slavery can be traced to superstition. There used to be a time when I believed the S. L. P. would become the usher in the age of reason, liberty and justice, but my expectation has been vanquished, and to all appearance other hands than those which are now at the helm will be necessary to prevent the shattered bark from going down. They are driving from their ranks, by their bigotry, intolerance and despotism, most of their progressive minds, and retaining those of such conservative and orthodox fanaticism that strangers visiting their meetings are repulsed and ever afterward prevented from returning by the spirit of audacity and insolence to which outsiders are exposed.

They profess to advocate the freedom of thought and speech, but are just as bigoted, tyrannical and oppressive in exercising their authority as were the federal courts in arresting them for speaking on the streets. They profess to advocate woman's emancipation, but no less than half of their number are as much opposed to women's freedom as are all the other political parties which are making promises which they have not the faintest thought of ever making good. They tell us it is not "expedient" at present to extend the franchise to woman lest she might establish a religious despotism, "and then farewell to liberty forever!" How thankful woman ought to be that she never has suffered from religious despotism which might have been upheld by man through all the ages past!

J. A. GILLIE.

FROM BOSTON.

That Comrade Emma Goldman has a multitude of friends in Boston was very clear from the large attendance in Phoenix hall, Monday evening, Jan. 24. Her subject was "Liberty versus Authority," and well she handled it. She showed clearly the inevitable tendency of authority to stamp out the spark of freedom. No man can be free who bows to the will of Church or State. Political, economic, ecclesiastical, social and sexual tyranny were in turn described and denounced, all being shown to have their root in the principle of authority. Liberty was defined as "the right to do as I please, provided I do not infringe on the rights and freedom of others."

Comrade Goldman disclaimed all sentimentalism, and advocated the principle of absolute liberty as the only rational life for men and women. Government and every institution inconsistent with human liberty must perish.

As soon as an opportunity was given for questions a number of Socialists and others were on their feet, among them David Goldstein, late Socialist candidate for mayor. One man wanted to know the difference between Anarchists and capitalists. Another asked if private property and liberty could exist together, and if Miss Goldman believed in a co-operative com-

monwealth? Many other inquiries were made, all of which were ably and convincingly answered.

Mr. Simpson, a prominent and able individualist, was present, with a chip on his shoulder. After asking one or two questions he inquired if debate could be had. Being then invited to the platform he declared that his object was to give a true definition of liberty, the speaker not having done so. Evidently the job was too much for him, for he spoke half an hour without even attempting to give the definition he had promised. Some of his statements were most extraordinary, as that Kropotkin was a relic of the early and abandoned communistic school. In attempting to overthrow Comrade Goldman's position he admitted that he would call in a jury to settle the rights of individuals. He declared that the church should be praised for refusing to pay taxes.

Comrade Goldman, in reply, pointed out the inconsistencies in his argument. The church does not oppose the principle of taxation, but shifts the burden to our shoulders. The admission of a third party to interfere between two individuals is at once a denial of liberty, and would bring the individualist at once back to the old system of authority. She repeated her definition of liberty, and reminded Mr. Simpson that he had failed to keep his word and produce a better one.

The meeting was a great success. Boston is a conservative city, but the radical sentiment is steadily growing.

S. C. B.

NEEDS BRAINS NOT FAITH.

Mrs. Eugenia Alexander, the founder of "Sunnyside," a home for waifs, will surrender the three half-starved babies in her possession without a contest. The California Children's Home Society will find homes for them.

"It is a great sorrow to me," said Mrs. Alexander yesterday afternoon, "but if people think I am not able to care for the babies, I will surrender them to the society without a word. I feel completely broken in spirit by my failure and the report that the children are not well nourished, and I do not feel as if I can care for the children a single night longer."

"There has been much said and written about the great things in the way of spirituality that may be expected of the twentieth century. The babies of the present will be the men and women of that time, and it seemed to me that there could be no nobler work than to raise friendless little ones in the true faith that they may have a part in the glorious spirituality that is expected."

"My husband is an old man, a carpenter living in Kenwood, near Santa Rosa. He was not enthusiastic over my idea, and would have nothing to do with it, so I left him temporarily to found 'Sunnyside.' I called it 'Truth's Nursery,' but I intended to change it to 'Love's Nursery,' for there is always controversy as to what is the truth, but everyone knows what love is. I had many new plans in mind when I moved to this house Saturday. I thought of having a bulletin board made, so that I could put on it what was needed, and people could give if they felt moved to do so. For instance, I would write on the board: 'I want a sack of coal,' or 'Please give a dollar.'"

"If we are in touch with the Divine law, we draw things through the Divine. We would not think of asking persons for what we need, but only suggest it, and if our faith is perfect our real needs are supplied."

"I have been very successful as a divine healer, but since I started the home I have had no opportunity to practice it. One needs perfect quiet and composure for that. Crying babies in a house destroys it for faith-healing. When I give the babies up I expect to give more attention to my own spiritual condition. My faith has not been perfect or the home would have been a success. Fear of the future, though I did not know I felt it, must have been what kept me from drawing through the Divine law."—San Francisco Examiner.

BERNHARDT'S NEW SOCIALISTIC DRAMA.

Much curiosity and expectancy had been excited in Paris and elsewhere by the announcement of the production of a revolutionary play turning upon the conflict between capital and labor, at the Renaissance, Sarah Bernhardt's theater. The dramatist was a new man to the stage, Octave Mirbeau, one of the younger journalists, radicals and novelists. The title of the play, "Les Mauvais Bergers" (Bad Shepherds) was

rather indefinite, but Mirbeau was suspected of Socialist sympathies. The first production was tended by stormy scenes. The galleries noisily plauded certain portions of the drama, while the box and stalls cheered very different portions. There were threats of collision between these representatives of the several social classes. As a whole, however, the play is not entirely satisfactory, either to the conservatives or the radicals. The plot is as follows, the account being taken from the Paris L'Aurore, edited by Clemenceau:

"Hargand is an ironmaster and large employer of labor. When the play opens his 5,000 men are on the eve of a great strike. The first act introduces the audience to the family of an old, wretched workman, Thient, whose wife is dying in the next room, and whose daughter, Madeline (Bernhardt's role), a pale, intense, courageous working girl, tends two infants in dirty cradles. The surroundings are squalid and mean beyond description. The old man bows to the inevitable, but he feels that it is not just, and he continually repeats the phrase, without, however, encouraging any active resistance. Jean Raule, a young and intelligent Anarchist, who has worked and agitated against 'capital' in many countries, is also an employee of Hargand. He almost despairs of success in arousing his fellow workers, but he falls in love with Madeline, and his faith in the future is strengthened by his love. He asks Madeleine to aid him in bringing about a strike, but she hesitates. The act closes with the death of Thient's wife, Madeleine weeping bitterly and the throbbing of the machines in the adjoining works distinctly heard."

"Hargand has a son, Robert, who is a Christian Socialist and who has espoused the cause of his father's employees. This son is at first regarded with suspicion by Raule as a demagogue seeking political elevation, but he soon becomes convinced of his sincerity and humanity. Hargand himself is no overbearing tyrant, no cruel slave driver, but a rather benevolent capitalist who has tried to improve the condition of his men."

"The situation develops; a strike is brought about; the luxurious mansion of the employer is threatened by a mob of enraged and disorderly strikers. Hargand, against his own inclinations, appeals for military aid. He reproaches his son for having encouraged the strikers, but he is persuaded by the latter to receive a deputation and discuss the strikers' grievances. Jean Raule is naturally the spokesman, and his insolent tones and extravagant demands are resented by Hargand. The demands are an eight-hour work day, 'security of work,' a popular library for the employees, and some minor things. The discussion becomes violent and personal, and Hargand drives the deputation, together with his son, from his presence. The arrival of the troops is then announced."

"At the end of a five months' struggle, involving terrible sufferings, the men begin to entertain the idea of surrender. Confidence in Raule is shaken, and, at a mass meeting in an adjoining forest, the discord becomes so acute that Raule is in danger of being torn to pieces. Then Madeleine, in a passionate harangue, vindicates her lover and changes the attitude of the men by her fiery eloquence. Force is decided on, and an attack is made on the works. The final act shows the works destroyed, houses wrecked and burned, and scores of strikers dead—killed by the troops. Shrieking women search for their near and dear ones, and the principal actors are brought upon the stage dead or dying. Raule is dead, Hargand's son is dead, and Hargand, in despair, offers to give up all his wealth for the life of his son. He even confesses that he has been in the wrong. Madeleine falls dead on her lover's body."

In pointing the moral of the play, which is admitted to be thrilling and effective, critics differ widely. Clemenceau himself defends Mirbeau in a vigorous editorial, against the charge of advancing no solution of the problem presented by him. He also pays his respects to those who demand the suppression of the last act as prejudicial to the public peace. We translate freely a portion of his remarks:

"The social question on the stage! I watched the sad life of men, employers and laborers, arrayed against each other in a tragic struggle of infuriated egotism; and the words of Gambetta occurred to me: 'There is no social question.' What is it that overwhelms us in this simple and strong play of Mirbeau, if not the consciousness that the scenes witnessed are from the actual, living reality? What do these people want? To live! . . . In this drama the whole social question is embodied, presented by art so

to and poignant that the author effaces himself in seeing nothing but real figures from life. Here we have man in his benevolence, ferocity, verity; the man, implacable, tortured, and torturing, marching, a bandaged eye, toward better things.

I see that Mirbeau is criticized for having shown way out, for having reached no conclusion. Showing up life, he has concluded, as life itself does, in the terrible secularity of sorrow. I agree that the wholesale condemnation of politicians and parliamentarians by Jean Raulx as 'bad shepherds' cannot remain without appeal. It is somewhat too sweeping an anarchistic judgment. I know something of the crimes and faults of public men in authority, but there are none the less among the leaders of the multitude true, elevated men, who will make the progress of the future. And you, too, Jean Raulx, what do you do, in your turn, besides leading men to their death?

"The slaughter in which the strike ends has offended the sensitive Parisians. But they cannot deny the truth of the scenes. It seems to me they have better opportunities to protest against such things when the sanguinary reality is spread before them. 'Suppress the last act,' they say. Suppress, too, the same scenes in real life!

"Doubtless the time will come when our barbarous indifference will give place to grand, human compassion, of which we can only sing today, but which we dare not act upon. For having appealed to that time, which will make an epoch in history, Mirbeau and his interpreters should receive the applause of all men who hope for the happy justice of the human spirit delivered and rendered serene."

Charles Mastel, the critic of *L'Aurore*, says that for a long time the stage has not heard such a cry of alarm, such an appeal to justice. He differs from Clemenceau as regards the "moral" of the play. Instead of leaving the problem without a solution, Mirbeau, he thinks, has had the courage to vindicate the workman. "We see the striker," he says, "propose reasonable terms, the acceptance of which would obviate the catastrophe. We see these terms refused. If the striker kills, if he himself gets killed, it is because life is denied him." The employer is finally made to say: "It is my fault!"—Translations made for the Literary Digest.

NOT CERTAIN.

Someone, presumably yourself, has been sending me your lively little paper, which I have read with much interest, and have often been tempted to send a few words of acknowledgment and my thanks. Please continue to send it, and I will assist you all I can and when I can.

Philosophical Anarchism, as I understand it, is fully expressed in the "Sermon on the Mount," and as Paul expressed it, for man to be "a law unto himself."

For the special interests of priestcraft, the philosophy of the Judean prophet has been perverted into a system of theology, based upon a dogma that is utterly foreign to his teachings, namely the plan of salvation based on vicarious atonement, of which he was to be the victim. His central thought and purpose were the development of character, and he always addressed himself to individuals and never to organized associations. He never uttered the word "religion."

His system of ethics has been before the civilized (?) world for nearly two thousand years, and there is not a christian (so-called) that pretends to obey his teachings any more than he pretends to fly.

But the way to reach true Anarchism seems to me a long and difficult one. Man is a social as well as an individual being. In the present stage of society men have different thoughts and feelings. Man's social nature impels him to live in society. Association creates interests that do not belong to individual life. These interests are common interests in which all thus associated have equal concern. As soon as man is capable of self-government, my idea of such is, an organized association, voluntarily formed, in the nature of a contract in which the members thereof are the parties to it, and the benefits derived therefrom are the consideration. All have an equal voice in the election of officers and civil service employees, in regard to their competency, their compensation and terms of service.

The so-called civilized world is in the condition of the Irishman who was hanging to a limb by his hands. When feeling them slipping he exclaimed: "Be jabbers, if I could let go long enough to spit on my hands, I could hould on." If we "let go," I fear someone will

rush in and help himself, and seeing this, the others will rush out and stop him. I think there are men in our midst that would take such advantage, while I freely admit that if criminals were properly treated in time, they would be diminished to one-tenth of their present number, and other evils, as insanity and suicide, would diminish in proportion.

Roseville, Calif. E. J. SCHELLHOUT, M. D.
(Friend Schellhout's propositions are far off the road
which will lead mankind to freedom, but on account
of time I cannot comment upon his letter. A. I.)

A CALL FOR ACTION.

Comrades :—

For the last eight years have I striven to realize my ideal, i. e., a free society as we now call it. With that aim in view I embarked in the "general repair business" and spent about five hundred dollars in tools and machinery—part of the money that I inherited from my mother. I was "green" in the business but was anxious to learn, and did learn, for today I am a first-class mechanic in my line—electrician and locksmith. In the last three years I made the attempt twice to turn my shop into a co-operative institution, but failed in its realization. I failed in the start to prevent a failure in the end. I still have my tools but no shop, and I am forced to look for a boss.

I failed, to my knowledge, partly because those around me had no self-reliance and were without any initiative, and partly because I was misunderstood when I propounded my views on the sex question, for my hearers understood me every bit as well as any orthodox christian. I had, after mature deliberations upon the causes of the failures of previous co-operative enterprises, come to the conclusion that without an all-around satisfactory ethics in sex matters as well as in economics, my attempt would fail as well as the others.

I dread to work for a "boss." I'd sooner go to war if I could.

What I want to know is, whether or not there are in this town of nearly two million denizens six to twelve fairly good mechanics in as many different trades imbued with the New Ideal, in a position—mentally and physically—to join hands and make the attempt to establish a free society group.

None but such as are used to, and will continue, to perform manual labor can be accepted.

If I cannot find anyone here I will join others, if acceptable, and within a couple of hundred miles, more or less, of Chicago. C. L. BODENDEEK.

Chicago, 404 Washburne Ave.

NOTES.

Virtue cannot be forced.

Restriction is the mother of rebellion.

No man can think his own belief is wrong.

Opposition never yet changed a man's belief.

Whom Love hath joined together let no man put asunder.

Advocates of protection are generally invaders themselves.

The voting habit is the most prolific cause of lost manhood.

Honesty of intention does not prevent an act from being injurious.

No man who votes for law-makers should complain of unjust laws.—Rev. Sydney Holmes, in Lucifer.

The meeting held by Comrade Klemencic, February 4th, was well attended by intelligent labor union men and others. The speaker made himself not quite clear on all points and consequently had to bear some severe criticisms during the discussion which followed the speech. All that were present seemed to take great interest in the discussion, and it is hoped that the meetings, which Comrade Klemencic started on his own initiative and expense, will give an impulse to a more radical labor movement in this city than we

had so far. In his concluding speech the speaker answered all criticisms quite satisfactorily.

The meetings held by the Universal Equity Club on 897 Market street, every Monday night, seem to become a success, although the discussions have been confined more or less to sex relationship. Last Monday night the speaker of the evening, Mr. Thompson, had for his subject "The Ideal Woman," but his ideal woman was not far above the present standard and was criticized very lively. And when he made the remark that women had never made any great inventions, and had shown but very little ability in science and art, he exposed his ignorance and was called to a halt by a young girl who pointed out that the speaker was not well acquainted with modern literature, science and art. It is a very encouraging feature that the women and young girls are attending and taking so much interest in these meetings.

A. I.

STATEMENT.

BERKMAN® DEFENSE ASSOCIATION, PITTSBURGH, PA.

RECEIPTS

Old List No.	1	per H Gordon, Pittsburgh	\$	2 50
2				4 75
16		N Notkin, Philadelphia		1 80
17		Molick, New York		6 19
30		Wagner		18 10
51		H Komnell, Monaca		1 00
56		H Hochstet, Rochester		4 25
59		M. Most New York		1 65
2a	per J	H. Stienberg, Detroit		5 85
7a		G Lutz, Milwaukee		28 75
7a		H Roekenkamp, Jamaica Plain		86 80
12a		H Kelly, New York		2 25
14a		Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung		1 00
15a		B Haginsky, Buffalo		2 25
16a		L Gascon, Charleroi		1 00
17a		La Question Sociale, Paterson		10 00
18a		Delaune List, New York		2 00
19a		C VanCourt, Roxbury		1 80
20a		J Schwelm, Roxbury		12 00
21a		J Merrel, Boston, and W Kahre, Hoboken		6 60
22a		Mattie Collins, Philadelphia		19 81
24a		" " "		2 75
24a		" " "		2 50
30a		Muller, Monaca		20 25
31a		J Key, Creighton		6 80
35a		sparkenbach, Rodie		1 00
35a		Justus Schwab, New York		37 00
32a		H Gordon, Pittsburgh		2 00
55a		Kalinsk, Atlantic City		1 50
60a		Emma Goldman		15 25
60a		C Reddersen, Paterson		43 75
64a		C Compas, St. Louis		2 00
65a		O Rinka, St. Louis		1 55
66a		M Collins, Philadelphia		1 00
71a		C Schmidt, Detroit		90 50
71a		Schulzinger, Detroit		30 00
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100a		B Richter, St. Louis		18 00
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134a		Arbeiter Lieder-Tafel, Paterson		1 75
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Morwitz, Baltimore				1 00
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EXPENDITURES.

Printing resolution, petitions and subscription lists....	\$ 24.50
Food.....	29.87
Hall rent.....	16.00
Obtaining the signatures of the jury and other signat's	50.00
Lawyer Maroon, R.R. ticket to Harrisburg and expenses	115.00
Lawyer Carney, 2 trips to Harrisburg, 1 to Washington	175.00
M.M. "and, R.R. ticket to Harrisburg and expenses	100.00
Other expenses in Harrisburg.....	90.00
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Agitation among the Pittsburgh unions.....	25.00
Court Curry for examination of Berkman's eyes.....	15.00
Registration at New York branch "Berkman Del." ..	20.00
Expense of Philadelphia " " " " " "	1.61
To Alexander Berkman.....	2.00
Total.....	\$ 621.48
In hands of Treasurer.....	394.35

Besides the sums of \$394.35 in the hands of our treasurer, Harry Gordon, there is \$48 in New York, collected on lists still outstanding there.

THE BERKMAN DEFENSE ASS'N, Pittsburg, Pa.
HARRY GORDON,
HENRY BAUER,
PETER HUBBERT,
CARL NOLD, Secretary.
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(Labor papers interested in the case of A. Berkman please copy.)

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PROPAGANDA FUND.

Please do not use private checks nor bank checks if you can avoid it.
The safest and most acceptable manner of remitting is by postoffice or express money order.
Week ending Feb. 4.

F. Hlad, \$1.25.
Coudridge, Lee, Corna, A. Task, Blumer, Oliver, \$1 each.
R. Leonhardt, 50c.
Money order from Germany, 70c. (Who sent it?)
Gallagher, Minnie, Hassan, Epstein, Corra, Evans, Roberts, 50c each.
Kalmath, 50c; Chamberlain, 18c; Sales, 6c.
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All interested in the sex question and other topics of the social question should attend the meetings of the Equity Club every Monday night at 997 Market St. There is a free platform for everybody.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S TOUR.

Comrade Emma Goldman's lecture tour will begin at Philadelphia, Feb. 16, 17, 18 and 20. From there she will go to Pittsburg, remaining in that vicinity till March 12. Any comrades there who may desire her to speak in their neighborhood should write her at once at 50 First St., New York City.

The subjects of these lectures will be: "The New Woman," "The Woman Question," "Bases of Morality," "Authority vs. Liberty," "Patriotism," "Charity," "Majority Rule," "The Absurdity of Non-Resistance to Evil."

THE LABOR ANNUAL

For 1898 was received this week. It is "A Year-Book of Social, Economic and Political Reform." All who wish to keep in touch with the movements along these lines cannot afford to be without this handy manual.

The contents for 1898 are:

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OPINIONS ON GOVERNMENT.

Curse on all laws but those which love has made.—Pope.

As long as the patient will suffer the cruel will kick.—Source unknown.

The worst is that men are party slaves the world over.—Henrik Ibsen.

Inequality is the source of all revolutions, for no compensation can make up for inequality.—Aristotle.

To educate the wise man the State exists. With the appearance of the wise man the State expires.—Emerson.

If you wish to understand what revolution is, call it progress; and if you wish to understand what progress is, call it tomorrow.—Victor Hugo.

Our laws, corrupted to their end that make them serve but as the instruments of some new tyranny, which every day starts up to enslave us deeper.—Otway.

The interference of State in matters of economy by means of regulations and imposts, rests on the old idea of the omnipotence and omniscience of the governor, and the incapacity and ignorance of the governed.—Guizot.

It is not enough that honest men are appointed judges. All know the influence of interest on the mind of man, and how unconsciously his judgment is warped by that influence.—Thomas Jefferson.

ELECTION TIME.

The New York Journal for December 28, contains the following astounding extract from an interview with Comptroller Eckels:

"I have known of the condition of the Chestnut street national bank for two years. At that time its affairs were in bad shape and were brought to my attention. One year ago I could have closed the bank, but it would not have done. It was election time."

So to prevent voters from voting to abolish the national bank infamy this scoundrel Eckels coolly admits that he allowed people—many poor people at that—to be robbed of hundreds of thousands of dollars. These "honest money" men are very peculiar people.—Milwaukee Advance.

PREPARED.

"You should be comforted, my dear brother," said the pastor to the dying man, "by the thought that flesh and blood cannot enter the other world."

"Then I am prepared to go," gasped the doomed man, "for I am reduced, as you see, to skin and bone."—Buffalo Times.

Zola has put all France on edge by championing Dreyfus. He has defied state and society, military esprit, the rabble of official tyrants and plotters. He has served notice upon powerful forces doing wrong that he means to check them. Is he mad? Is he brave? His enemies charge that he simply courts further notoriety. But it is always easy thus to dispose of a man doing an unpopular thing. The state itself begets revolution. It so much administered for the protection of trespass that its guarantees of freedom are nullified. Men without influence or power go unprotected in their innocence and are unduly hounded in their guilt. One murder makes a villain, millions a hero?

We have an industrial system which compels men to loaf. Loafers as well as gentlemen must eat. If we will not let them work to eat we must let them steal to eat. They steal. We jail them.—Conservator.

THE OLD AND THE NEW IDEAL.

A Solution of that part of the Social Question which pertains to Love, Marriage and Sexual Intercourse.

BY EMIL F. BURDEBUCH.

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These pamphlets are issued monthly at 5 cents each or 50 cents a year:

- No. 1, "Law and Authority," Kropotkin.
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AN OUTLINE OF PRACTICAL CO-OPERATIVE INDIVIDUALISM.

Written in the form of a novel this book takes the most advanced stand on the Sex Question, treating of it at length. Its economics are not so clear, however, but are in many respects worthy of close examination.

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Address Armstrong's Autonomist, Waco, Tex., U. S. A.

DR. FOOTE'S PLAIN HOME TALK

EMBRACING

MEDICAL COMMON SENSE.

For the information of those who may be interested, I would call attention to the popular edition of this book, that has been a standard of information, and a source of knowledge to tens of thousands of families for many years. The popular edition has been brought out to meet the ability of the poor to buy, and is sold at the remarkable low price of 15c.

Order of Free Society.

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, 909 Market street:

3. The Place of the Labor Unions in Future Society. Feb. 18.

4. Labor Union Men and Scabs. Feb. 25.

NEWS STANDS

Where FREE SOCIETY can be obtained.

SAN FRANCISCO—Paper Covered By Store, 1235 Market st. Anarchist a Free-thought Literature also on sale.

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

Boston—Columbia Stationery Store, 935 Washington st.
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- "Wherefore Investigating Company, regular price 50c, but while present supply lasts "they go"..... 25

The 3-cent rate does not apply to those marked with a *.

The Free Lance, Burnside, Ky., 25 cents a year. Samples free.

The San Francisco Italian Anarchist Club meets every Saturday night at 111 Trenton st.

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 555 Pine Island av.

Anarchist Headquarters in San Francisco 147 Polson St. Open every evening from 7 till 10 P. M.

The Independent Educational Club meets every Sunday evening, at 7:30 p. m., at 107 E. St., Tacoma, Wash.

Independent Reading Club, St. Louis, 416 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 936 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.

Group Proletariat of New York City gives Anarchist lectures Fridays at 48-52 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, sent monthly; 50 cents per year.

Social Science Club, Lee's Hall, 61 E. 5th st., New York City. Free lectures and discussion every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.

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-holders and comrades, by addressing A. Levin 540 Cherry St., New York City.

Wendell Phillips Educational Club will meet every Sunday, 8 p. m., at 49 Winter St., Providence, R. I. Pamphlets in English, German, French, Jewish and Russian languages on hand.

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