

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that In the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

NEW SERIES NO. 15.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1898.

WHOLE NO. 151.

A LEGEND.

A knave and a fool on an island were cast;
Their ship had gone down in the hurricane's blast.

On the island they met, while hungry and wet,
A wise man who aid to them gave;
They were given a home, with the freedom to roam,
Bounded by naught but the wave.

The fool, though demented, was easily contented
To live in this beautiful land;
But the knave was a schemer, (there's plenty lots
meaner);
He thought out a wonderful plan.

Said the knave to the fool: "It's plain that some rule
Must govern society here,
Else murder we'll do—Anarchy ensue—
A government is needed, I fear."

The fool was demented, and of course he consented,
But the wise man opposed it alone;
His logic was parried, for the measure was carried
Over the minority of one.

Now none but a fool or a knave wants to rule,
For a wise man knows better than that;
So the knave was elected, for no fool is selected,
To wear a governor's hat.

The knave, as a State, was something quite great,
The fool was lost in surprise
As he looked on in awe, for the majesty of law
Quite blinded and dazzled his eyes.

But States are expensive, and the fool was quite pen-
sive

When the tax collector called 'round
And took all his money—and it wasn't quite funny—
As payment for using the ground.

E're long the poor fool, by means of the rule
Of this cunning knave of a State,
Was reduced to a slave and made to work for the knave
From early morn 'till even 'late.

The wise man foresaw that the knave and his law
Would drive from the island its peace.
He was branded a hater of law, and a traitor
For whom toleration should cease.

The fool, patriotic and quite idiotic,
(Synonymous terms, I declare,)
Was ready with chains and the law's legal pains
To fasten his own despair,

And to kill with a blow first his enemy's foe
And his own true defender and friend—
To preserve the knave's law, which he worshiped in
awe—
And to the gallows the hero did send.

—Ross Winn.

RENT, INTEREST AND PROFIT.

My friend I. K. Ingalls of Glenora, N. Y., sends me the January Number of "The Modern Philosopher," containing an article of his on "Economic and Monopolistic Rent." His distinction is as follows:

"Economic rent arises from choice in the fertility of soils, and in the eligibility of situations, and so would wholly disappear were all soils and locations equally desirable. On the other hand monopolistic rent proceeds from a lordly power to exclude labor from the use of any land whatever, and would in no way be affected if all lands were equally desirable, and all situations equally attractive.

"Economic rent is greatly modified by the introduction of novel industries, and recent improvements in application to soils and locations, previously deemed inferior. But monopolistic rent is increased by new inventions and applications, upon the most inferior soils and situations, as well as upon the best.

"Economic rent tends to equalize the earnings of labor, to favor the choice of the best lands for improvement. It stimulates the adoption of new methods, and opens new avenues to productive labor. Monopolistic rent tends to constantly in-

crease the dependence of the worker and tenant, enabling the landlord to reap income from less and less productive soils."

My friend believes in economic freedom, but seems to regard commercialism as a stimulous to improvement and rightful endeavor. It is easy to understand that commercialism rests upon these three sources of increase—rent, interest and profit. I am reminded of a discussion of this question between my friend and T. L. McCready, assistant editor of the "Twentieth Century," during the early part of 1890. McCready said: "If we consider that the term land, in economics, embraces all the material and forces of the universe, external to man; that production of any kind is nothing more than the application of human muscular exertion to the materials of the universe, moving them about so as to present them in new relations to the forces of the universe; and that—economically speaking—land has no use whatever except for purposes of production, it becomes evident that the definition I have quoted ("The value or ratio which would accrue to favorite soils or locations under freedom of vacant land."—I. K. Ingalls.), is equivalent to saying that economic rent is the measure of the excess of wealth which can be obtained by the application of labor in any occupation, over that which can be obtained by the application of equivalent labor in the most remunerative occupation in which men can freely engage. And if we consider farther, that the reward of the application of labor, in any occupation, is wages, our definition resolves itself into this: that economic rent is the measure of the excess wages which can be earned in any occupation, over those that can be earned in the least remunerative occupation in which men are compelled to engage for the satisfaction of their wants. Mr. Ingalls and Mr. Pentecost say that this economic rent is natural—there will always be, says Mr. Pentecost, certain locations for which men will be willing to pay a bonus. I say that it is not natural—that if men were not compelled by force to pay for the privilege of engaging in some occupations, it would be impossible for any man to secure, by the application of his labor in any one occupation, higher wages than could be secured by the application of equivalent labor in other occupations, and that consequently there would be no location for which any man would be willing to pay a bonus."

As an advocate of free competition, I, too, entertained the idea of economic rent; I could not see how commercial relations could be maintained without that stimulous to trade. I am free to confess I never liked it; it did not strike me as entirely consistent with the eternal fitness of things. Competition seemed a cruel necessity. I looked upon it somewhat as a nauseous medicine to cure a greater evil—monopoly, just as I had looked upon government as a necessary evil, to be endured as long as human nature displayed that tendency to invade the rights of others. But I came to see that this tendency to invade was due more to restrictive government than to human nature, and in due course of time I came to see that competition was due to the spirit of monopoly, and while it may tend to kill off the big monopolies under freedom, it would in nowise decrease that spirit of greed which under government has developed the millionaire.

My study of Anarchist-Communism helped to dispel those fine spun theories of "value" and "marginal utilities," and I see clearly now, as G. B. Shaw has said, "however useful any commodity

may be, its exchange value can be run down to nothing by increasing the supply until there is more of it than is wanted," proving that value, in the last analysis, is simply the price of monopoly. And with conditions such that the vast army of the unemployed could apply their labor to free land, the price of their products might fall below the cost of production. What then? Mr. Shaw affirms that in such a case men would cease producing. So they would under our present system, but our present system would never allow such a condition. And so it is: men are continually carrying over into a state of freedom their ideas born of a state of servitude. I believe freedom will eliminate the idea of price from the minds of men, and establish a system of production and distribution wherein the bounties of nature can be enjoyed by every soul without money and without price.

Porterville, N. Y.

A. L. BALLOU.

THE LAND.

No man made the land. The first conception of a perfectly unbiased person would be that it is the product of nature, as necessary to the support of human life as air and sunlight, and that to monopolize it, or even to claim private ownership in it, is contrary alike to natural law and to human reason. If this is the correct view, it follows that to deprive any one of the free use of land—which has been so freely bestowed—is to curtail their right to life and their opportunity to seek happiness.

For many centuries land has been held as private property by the most civilized races of men. How this ownership originated and developed, is not exactly known. Many writers affirm that all land was originally held in common, and the arguments adduced by Maurier, Laveleye, Morgan and others in support of this theory are almost convincing. Others, however, maintain that private property in land obtained in the earliest ages, one writer (De Coulanges) giving it as his opinion that such tenure is a "primordial fact, contemporaneous with the earliest cultivation of the soil, natural to man, produced by an instinctive recognition of his interests and closely bound up with the primitive constitution of the family." If a general recognition of the natural rights of all men to freedom of the soil is in harmony with evolutionary development, it would seem to strengthen the views of those who hold with De Coulanges. And yet, this writer adduces no proof of his theory.

Whatever may be the origin of property in land, it is certain that the fact itself has ever been one of the principal causes—if not the chief cause—of social inequality, of human poverty and misery. Landlordism has been the curse of all the ages, and the lamentations of the landless have been a never-ceasing sound. The ownership of the land by one class, to the exclusion of others, gives to that class unlimited power of extortion and oppression over all the landless people. Millions of human beings have been enslaved, and, as in the case of Ireland, whole nations have been reduced to famine because of the power created by landlordism. It is largely through the private ownership of the earth that labor is robbed of most of its product.

We read in Grecian history that before the time of Lycurgus the land of Greece had become monopolized to such an extent that the great mass of the people had no land. Lycurgus, although a ruler, was, for those times, a humane and just man. He

induced the people to consent that private property in land should be abolished, and succeeded, in procuring a new distribution of land founded on the idea that each citizen of the state was entitled to sufficient for his maintenance. Incidentally it may be remarked that he also banished gold and silver as money, substituting therefor iron coin, which being more unwieldy and less valuable than gold and silver could not so readily be hoarded. But all this was changed after Lycurgus' death; the land again came into possession, through fraud and force of the rich, and pitiless misery again became the portion of the poor.

In the enumeration of the three factors in the production of wealth—land, labor and capital—land is always mentioned first. It is the passive, yet the principal factor, for without land there could be neither labor nor capital. Victor Drury, defining the term in his "Polity of Labor," says:

When we say land we mean the surface of the planet, all that is below in the shape of minerals, etc., down to the center of gravity, and all that is above it, from the blade of grass to the exterior of the terrestrial atmosphere. It is evident that without these materials and substances, which are furnished by nature, labor would be impossible. Therefore it is that land is the first element.

Land, therefore, comes first, and it is both right and necessary that in all discussions of economics the relations that this great factor bear to man should be thoroughly understood. With Herbert Spencer we can say "Equity does not permit property in land;" and the mere fact that its possessors base their right of ownership upon written titles does not give them a natural right to the land. They or their ancestors have used force or fraud in order to obtain their monopoly, and only by force or fraud can they continue it.

No reform is worthy of the name or of a place in the hearts of the people that does not demand the freedom of the soil. Land monopoly is the curse of this as of all other so-called civilized nations. Abrogate every title deed, and thus restore to the people their natural inheritance. Free land is absolutely necessary before we can have free men and women.—Cato, in Labor Exchange Guide.

ANARCHY VERSUS LAW.

All knowledge is conveyed to the mind through the senses. There is only one defacto basis from which to determine whether a thing is real or not: that is, the senses. Therefore when I say: Man is living on the earth, I have stated a fact, for the senses confirm the assertion. With this fact there incidentally looms up in the mind another series of facts, no more disputable than the first, for no less confirmed by the senses, namely: The earth exists, so it must be matter, for nothing but matter exists.

Scientific investigation, microscopical and nature-historical, has shown by a series of empirical demonstrations that the earth has evolved its present forms of life from others that now only live in their descent. If the forms of life are subject to this process of evolution, the earth itself must be, for both are matter. And if the earth is, all matter must be. Evolution therefore is the all embracing principle from which life is born. It was important to emphasize this principle, for all phenomena must now be classed as evolution, or a point attained by it. In this manner egoism or selfishness, a principle which consciously or unconsciously characterizes all things, is nothing but evolution appearing in separate forms as one and the same. It is simply the working of the one principle, that urges all beings to jealously watch their own individuality; for only in that manner can they cultivate and promote it, in other words evolve. And whenever this principle as in the case of the human family, becomes detrimental to the whole, it does not so because it is outside and inimical to the whole, but simply because its appliance is misunderstood, and consequently misdirected. This misdirection, however, is the logical outcome of its evolution; it is but the remnant of qualities from a lower form of life.

We will now sum up and clearly state the result of our investigation: Man lives on the earth through selfishness. His selfishness must assert itself primarily in striving for all the comfort that he deems neces-

sary for his well-being. The problem that confronts him in this respect is not a difficult one. It is apparent that the ultimate cause of man's inability to satisfy his desires lies in the fact, that that which he is striving for, is held by some one else. This some one else is in the first place nature, but humanity would be delighted to wrest the treasures out of her hand, for she holds abundance, were it not for the insane grabbing propensity of man. This grabbing is done by law.

A law is established that makes a certain piece of land the exclusive property of a certain man, and at once this person becomes a privileged person. The land that has been confiscated by law becomes his private property; he can sell it or rent it.

At this point a very ingenious contrivance is invented, namely, a standard measure of values, called money; it is supposed to be the only value existing, as it is to represent all values. This invention of money however rests on a grave misunderstanding. The truth is, that it has no value of its own, and therefore cannot represent value of labor and its products. This truth becomes at once apparent when it is considered, that men who never did any useful work, own acres and acres of this land. They bought it; they gave supposed value for real value. A few pieces of gold, silver or paper, backed up by no thing but legal scrip, have made them possessors of unearned wealth. This is the logical outcome of the institution of private property. Where there is the latter, there must also be a means of increasing it, for accumulation of property on one side and dependence on the other, that and nothing but that is the property-law, and money functions as the means of increasing it.

The term property-law includes in fact all law, for all law has as its basis the institution of private property. Indeed, there can be no law, where there is no property. How could authority enforce a rule, had it no property in man, or the ground, or its products? How could a man be jailed, and certain comforts withheld from him, were it not that authority had jurisdiction over these comforts? Furthermore, how could government fine a person unless it were able to force this person to add to its property by giving up some value? Property therefore necessitates law and vice versa.

It is apparent, that if law proves a detriment to the human family, the absence of law must be the contrary, an advantage. It is apparent, that if law and disorder go hand in hand, a fact taught by daily experience, the absence of law must mean order and peace. It is legal property, creating want and greed, that prompts people to steal, rob and eventually murder. It is human selfishness, dwarfed and stunted; damned into a forced bed, away from its natural course, that makes criminals. Give it its natural flow, and it will prove a high and noble quality.

It is through selfishness that men till and plow the ground, for besides yielding them the necessities of life, this sort of occupation is pleasurable to them. It is through selfishness that men will act a play for you, for their individual ability has prompted them to take up this sort of occupation. It is through selfishness a person will save another from a burning building, for his sensitive mind does not want to see anybody destroyed. Take the trammels of human selfishness away, direct it into its natural channel, and universal well-being will be the result. This is the next point toward which the evolution of the human race is tending.

H. E.

ADDIS EXPLAINS.

As explanations seem to be the order of the day in FREE SOCIETY, I will ask a small space for the purpose of making an explanation.

In a "Letter-box" Comrade Isaac says I will not join the FREE SOCIETY group in San Francisco because I "don't like the climate." This is one reason, and there are numerous other reasons. The water in San Francisco is bad and soon causes me stomach trouble. I am none too stout at best, and I know from experience, that I could not be healthy in San Francisco. This I consider as a good reason for staying away.

I have long wanted to be associated with some congenial comrades on a piece of land, from which we could produce our food supply and a little to exchange for clothes, groceries, etc. To go to San Francisco would be to go much further from this desire than I now am. That would mean greater dependence, and the best propaganda work can be done when we feel the most independent—the least dependence on others.

A great deal has been said about me, critically, by the various members of the Free Society Group and other comrades, but I have tried to refrain from denouncing anyone, or mistating facts. Misunderstandings have occurred, however, and I am as likely to err in judgment as another; for this reason I wish to announce to the readers of FREE SOCIETY that no matter what may have been said about me, or by me, I am, from this on, so far as the propaganda work is concerned, and the accusations of comrades in the work, a non-resistant to the extent of not trying to refute any charges that may be brought against me, or of holding any ill-will toward anyone. If I can not live amongst others peacefully on this basis, then I will live alone.

I expect to go my own way, live my own life, and do my own life work as best I can under existing social and economic conditions, leaving everyone else free to do likewise, without any interference from me. If in so doing I fall in company with others I am happy. If others do not wish my company I will go on alone.

HENRY ADDIS.

MONOGAMY AND EVOLUTION.

We find him (Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe) saying that "just as all life is an evolution from the simple to the complex, so the monogamic relation is the last, crowning, and most elevated sexual condition." It does not seem to have occurred that his analogy has landed him dangerously near the region of the absurd. If all life be an evolution from the simple to the complex, how can monogamy, which is a simple sexual relation, be the crowning sexual condition? On the lines of his analogy, the crowning sexual relation should be a complex one, comprising varied desires and varied psychological attractions toward various persons. And, not to mince matters, we find this to be precisely the case. While sexual desire in the primitive man was in the main confined to one woman, the human race has persistently moved in the direction of diversity of desire. Just as the palate of a child barely discriminates beyond the recognition of sweets and sour, while the civilized adult has an extended gamut of taste perception, so civilization has immensely widened the scope of man's sexual attraction. For the bed-rock savage, the mere satisfaction of crude sexual hunger suffices. But as the imperfectly developed nervous organization of the savage is succeeded by the highly-wrought nervous system of later man, in like manner, simple physical sexual desire is succeeded by a complex psychological condition which demands for its equilibration opportunities of physical and social intercourse with varied members of the opposite sex. . . . And so we come to the conclusion that exclusiveness in the sexual relation must eventually give place to variety. But what of the children? We have seen that in the early days of the race, marriage was rendered necessary by the requirements of the offspring. But the decrease of the passion of jealousy on the one hand, and the growth of the social spirit on the other, will enable civilized people to so order their relationship to offspring that their existence will not depend upon an exclusive sexual contract between parents. Here, as elsewhere, man will overcome the obstacles which nature has placed in the way of his enjoyment.

The supposed advance of the race from promiscuity to monogamy being a myth, the whole superstructure which Mr. Donisthorpe has built upon it melts into thin air. The tendency of the race is not toward monogamy, but away from it—toward variety. That even the facts of personal experience point this way Mr. Donisthorpe comes very near admitting. When he says that "young people are not monogamic at first," when he adds that "It is the tritest of commonplaces that the younger a couple start married life the less happy the union is likely to prove," he is merely insisting on the fact that in the heyday of sexual vigor, human desire is for variety. As for his argument that youthful longing for sexual change tones down, as life advances, into respectable conformity to the monogamic custom, it only means that the difficulties in the way of youth satisfying these varied desires, deadens them. On desuetude follows atrophy. Because a slave after long years of bondage conceives an affection for his slavery; because a long immured prisoner is unhappy if removed from his cell, it does not follow that the evolution of the human race is from liberty to slavery. Put a horse in a mine and he will become blind. Immure a man in a monastery, and if he be really an ascetic, his tastes will atrophy. Place human

beings in such circumstances as call for the constant repression of every sexual desire outside the married relation, and the love-passion will be crushed to death under the weight of sordid ambitions which are so ready to usurp the high place held in youth by the tender passion.

Mr. Donisthorpe says: "I believe in monogamy, not because it is good for the race, not because it is good for the husband, not because it is good for the child—but because it is good for each and all."

How does this generalization accord with the facts? For the race, monogamy is bad, because it hinders free sexual selection; for the husband it is bad, because it means either sexual slavery to one woman, or a life of hypocrisy and deceit; for the wife it is bad, because, whatever her physical condition may be, pregnant with child or suckling her babe, it makes her the slave of the sexual desires of her husband; for the child it is bad, because it rears him in an atmosphere of sexual ignorance, and worse than ignorance; for youth it is bad, because it offers him no opportunity of satisfying his vehement love yearnings other than in the debasement and debauchery of the brothel, or in the mind-and-body destroying habit of masturbation. Under monogamy, the child, the youth, the maiden, the wife and the husband all suffer. And upon the harlot and upon the venerably diseased; upon the seduced maiden and the illegitimate child born of that seduction, the christian world heaps its scorn and bitterness. This is the vaunted modern ideal; the so-called crowning and most elevated sexual condition. But in antagonism to this there is a fairer ideal, whose realization, looming now on the horizon, will enable the world to appreciate the beauty and fullness of love under freedom.—Orford Northcote in University Magazine.

APPROVES THE ATTITUDE OF COMRADE A. J. POPE.

I want to express my hearty sympathy with the courageous attitude of Comrade Pope, and disapprobation of the way some comrades are talking about him. I do not at all blame Comrades Isaak and Addis for their conduct in the matter. They must judge for themselves; and "Wisdom is justified of all her children." Nay, I myself advised Pope to have a lawyer; and when he would not, I wrote him a defence, which, I imagine, the Post Office stole. But I did all this solely with a view to mitigating his trouble. If he is not personally afraid, I am sure he is doing more for Anarchism by utterly defying the law and its minions than he could by trying to trip them with an argumentum ad hominem, such as any plea we can make before them must be. And after our other comrades' experience with the traitor McGinn, it may well be questioned whether he is not really doing the best thing for himself.

If Harman, Bennett, Heywood, had at once pleaded guilty, or, like Pope, refused to plead at all, they would probably have suffered less than they did. No, I have little faith in courts or lawyers; but much in the power of a hard head and a stout heart to make a hole in a stone wall. Comrade Pope's telling Harman that his (Pope's) time would come, has the right ring. I am often ashamed that mine has not come yet. What reformers always want is plenty of pluck—lots of Parsons, Spies, Lingge, Fishers, Engels, Papes, and others, who will not eat a grain of dirt to save a pound of flesh. What brings persecution to an end is the law and order fellows' finding out that the more such men are persecuted the more they are talked about and listened to—that there is no rostrum like the scaffold and no publishing office like a penitentiary cell. All the good that can be done by fighting in court over technical gibberish is to save one comrade at a time some suffering; and when judges like ours are after him, there is not much hope of that. A country in which it was possible to hang Fisher is a country in which the courts will do anything. One thing comrade Doering says of Pope does indeed seem rather weighty—that he caused the financial ruin of his partners by his "vanity" and obstinacy. But I have always understood that Pope was the chief proprietor of the Firebrand. If so, he had a right to "run" it; and partners who did not like his style should have sought their remedy in retiring then, rather than kicking now. * As to the propaganda in English being annihilated and comrades' purses drawn upon, that is all booh. There is nothing the matter with the propaganda in English on the Pacific coast, while FREE SOCIETY continues to wave; and whenever I have a dollar to pay a radical publication

it shall always go to the one nearest the foe. Skulkers' services are not very valuable; and they don't need help, for they take good care of themselves. Let me say one thing in conclusion—it is not policy for comrades to write to the judge. Doing so in Harman's case made old Big Wig furious. I can't say I wonder at it, reasoning from my knowledge of what judges are, and what our comrades would be likely to write. Besides, I have been told, by lawyers who rather sympathize with us, that it is "not a proper way to address the court." And I am at a loss to see, if it hurts the prisoner, what else it does than harm. We seem to have a middling good judge in our Oregon comrades' case. It would be a pity to make him a bad one by communications which, as only he sees them, can do no offsetting good.

C. L. JAMES.

* Comrade Pope has never been "the chief proprietor" of The Firebrand. The paper had existed nearly two years before he joined The Firebrand Group, and the money he brought along (\$185) was invested in a dairy business in which we failed. I do not kick about Comrade Pope's conduct, but I say I rather stay out of jail as long as I don't have to sacrifice any of my principles.

I never heard any of The Firebrand Group complain that Comrade Pope wanted to ruin us by his vanity or obstinacy. On the contrary, he was a very persistent worker in the group.

A. ISAAC.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

Our patriotic heroes, Gompers, Powderly and others of their tribe, have acquired a powerful ally in Hanna's doll—President McKinley. When interviewed regarding the strike of the textile-workers in the New England States, he advocated, as a remedy for the deplorable condition of the working people, an increase in wages and reduction of the hours of labor and adjustment of labor troubles by arbitration. He attributed all labor troubles to the unlimited immigration of foreign laborers and favored restriction.

What a sad commentary upon political parties and governments! Here is the representative of one of the largest nations of the world and the head of one of its most prominent political parties giving expression to utterances that an ordinary schoolboy, who is acquainted with facts and has studied the rudiments of political economy, would justly feel ashamed of.

As a matter of fact immigration has decreased from 250,000 in 1896 to 190,000 in 1897. The working people of Europe are beginning to realize that this is the worst monopoly-ridden country in the world and that the economic condition of the European worker is at present better than that of ours; they therefore naturally stay at home.

As a matter of political economy the amount of wages and the hours of labor are by no means the effect of arbitrary regulations of employers, but depend upon two factors, viz: interest and rent, entrenched behind government, and it is only in the abolition of these that a permanent remedy for existing evils is to be found.

The natural resources of this country are still so vast that, as has been repeatedly and correctly asserted, the Mississippi Valley alone, properly cultivated, would furnish sustenance for the whole population of the United States. Wherefore, then, restrict immigration?

The proper issue, then, is the abolition of monopoly. But Mr. McKinley, of course, is not a representative of the people, as "themasses"—the reader will here please make his own division of these two words—imagine but a representative of monopoly, and his interests, inclinations and instincts are with monopoly.

The immigration bill will, in all probability, become a law, but McKinley's promised prosperity will be a long time coming unless the free citizen begins to "put on his thinking-cap."—Freiheit.

CHILDREN'S COMMUNITY.

We received a letter and a circular calling our attention to an enterprise which purposes a rational education and raising of children. The following is an extract from the letter:

"I saw a notice of your paper in The Altruist and I thought you might be interested in knowing how a Baby or Children's Community is progressing. I do not know but you may have seen some of the many notices that have appeared lately in the papers and in many different cities. There was a very good article published in The New England Magazine for October.

"We now have twenty-five children, but we need women interested enough in such an unselfish work to help us in the care of them. We need a kindergarten for the little two, three and four-year-olds, and another teacher for the larger children; some one to cook and some one to sew, and some one to care for the babies. The two oldest children are ten years and they range in age from that down to eleven months. Few of them under two years. The ten older ones go to school every day and they help considerably with the work. We believe that bringing these children up communally, they can live the communal life. In connection with this work we have houses and land for those who want to work co-operatively. A store is near the houses.

"We are now about starting the dairy business to make this place self supporting, and that the children will have a business when they are grown. We need good men to help us in the dairy business and in the care of cows.

"There is a good opening here for a canning-factory or broom-factory. We have a fine garden (some glass), and we would like some one to work it and live communally, or live in their own houses and work it co-operatively."

EXTRACTS FROM THE CIRCULAR:

"Situated in a bend of the Rio Grande, in what is known as the Masilla Valley, with a range of low mountains to the east and west of it, 3,800 feet above the sea, one mile to the west of the Dona Ana Station on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, fifty miles north of El Paso, Texas; post-office address Dona Ana, New Mexico; located upon a tract of land of about one thousand acres, which is free from debt and called Children's Land; this land, with all the improvements thereon, has been deeded to trustees and their successors forever, for the use and benefit of the children now in Shalam and those who may come after them, and can never be encumbered by mortgage, nor sold to deprive them of a home and an inheritance.

"Buildings, amply sufficient for fifty or sixty children and for the adults who have the care of them, are now completed and furnished, and there is also an abundant supply of good water for household purposes, and to irrigate a large garden and many trees.

"The climate is delightful and admirably adapted to the raising of children; a clear sky most of the year, with just enough cold weather to tone up the system. Except a few weeks in winter, the children require but one or two articles of clothing, and seldom wear any head covering, and most of the year prefer going barefooted. Under a law of New Mexico, all the children are adopted by the association of Faithists at Shalam and are thenceforth legally our children.

"There is no intention of forming here a community of adults. This is not a work of charity for children.

"This is no place for adults, however spiritual they may consider themselves, or however "advanced" they may be, or however high their aspirations, and who yet are too lazy to work for the little children.

"The inspiration is upon man to better the condition of the masses, and many are seeking to accomplish this by trades-unions, co-operative societies, etc.; but in all these the effort has been to change the existing order by means of adults, and in no instance has the entire doing away of the competitive system been considered of vital importance. And yet it is not probable that until this is done away with a few will inevitably become masters and the many servants?

Here an attempt is being made "to found on earth a place (like which there shall be many in time to come) where shall rest perpetually a system that will provide a new race, where poverty and crime and helplessness cannot enter," and to do this by means of the young and not with the adult.

"And they shall be fed and clothed and raised up, not after any man's whim or conceit, but according to the accumulated wisdom collected from all the different nations and peoples in the world, as to how to make the best corporeal and spiritual men and women."—Address: Mrs. Francis Howland, Dona Ana, New Mexico.

ATTENTION RADICALS.

Men and women wanted, who are free from all superstition, who are Anarchist Communists and New Idealists, and wish to live out their ideas as far as possible under the present system, to start and join an Anarchist Communist, New Idealist Colony. Address, enclosing stamp, Wm. P. Austin, Box 218, Plano, Calif.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Co.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 13 Oak Grove Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

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.

NOTICE.

We wish to state that comrades F. A. Cowell, G. E. Miller and Chas. Govan have withdrawn from FREE SOCIETY, and that the paper hereafter will be published by J. P. White, A. Isaak and family.

Comrade J. H. Morris may join us sooner or later, and will in the meantime contribute for the paper. Comrade H. Addis has also promised to send contributions regularly, if possible, and so we feel confident that the paper will also do its share in the future in the battle for freedom.

But our treasury is empty and besides we have a little debt to liquidate, therefore we ask all those who are interested in the English propaganda, and especially those who are in arrears with their subscriptions—of whom there are many—to help us immediately. It will be seen on page 8 that "The Firebrand Defense and Publication Fund" was nearly exhausted, and the treasury of the "Propaganda Fund" only contained \$24.94. We had to pay comrade F. A. Cowell \$50.00 for material he had invested in the plant, and thus we are "broke" again, as we have been many times when we were in the Firebrand group.

FREE SOCIETY GROUP.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Next Friday evening, February 4, the Trades Assembly Economic club will discuss, "Help Yourself, or Voluntary Co-operation." The free silverites, the single taxers and the socialists have had their innings and this time is the Anarchists' opportunity.—Duluth Labor World.

That's nice. But—are there any Anarchists in Duluth? If not, and none appear to uphold Anarchism in the Duluth lists, I suppose that will be proof conclusive that Anarchism has no case. But if I remember rightly Duluth is one of the benighted places where the A. P. A. is a factor in politics. Selah!

The nuisance of what the Germans so aptly characterize as "Personenkultus"—veneration of persons—is becoming well nigh unbearable in our press. Not only does the monopolistic press indulge in regular daily presentations of the distorted physiognomies of their pets and "culprits," but even the reform press has adopted this mania in order to give "our intelligent readers" a diversion and furnish them a "source of attraction." Most of those "progressive journals," from the antiquated Trade-Unionist to the "infallible" Governmental Socialist, frequently exhibit some beautified pumpkinhead whose countenance is often "magnetic" enough to scare the wits out of a lover of the perfect. It is gratifying to know that the Anarchist press stands isolated in this respect; that it has ideas and principles to offer as an attraction instead of a pumpkinshow.

The following letter speaks volumes for the condition of the miners:

Dear Sir: In order to give you an idea of the miners' condition in the Massillon district I hereby append an account of my net receipts of the year 1897:

January 16, drawn in money	\$13.00
January 26, " " "	10.00
February 22, " " "	22.00
March 13, " " "	11.48
April 17, " " "	15.00
May 16, " " "	38.60
June 26, " " "	13.00

(Here intervenes the period of the strike during which, up to December 1 I drew no money at all.)

December 30, drawn in money	\$23.71
December 24, " " "	5.00
Total	\$151.79

"That is the wage for the labor of myself and my son! Out of that I was obliged to support my wife and two children."

This is a miner's report, \$151.79, wages for two men—father and son—in one year! That's American "prosperity."—New Yorker Volkszeitung.

"Gods wise laws," such is the heading of an article in the last issue of the "Voice of Labor," which concludes with the following paragraph:

"Only one requirement is indispensable to suppress root and branch all our industrial turmoils, all our class enmities, all our poverty or fears of poverty, all our harassing uncertainties. That requirement is to accept the wisdom of God's laws in nature applicable to all our social relations. So far human government has been an insane attempt to make the wisdom of men transcend that of the All High."

What that unknown quality and quantity called "God" is, or whether it exists at all the greatest modern scientists are unable to ascertain. It can neither be seen, heard, felt, smelt or tasted, and about the only sense it appeals to is—non-sense. However, speaking from the standpoint of this befogged deist, his position is ludicrous, for if his "All High" "ordaineth all things," as all deists claim, be, she or it also ordained the existing deplorable order or disorder of things and even it is part of his, her or its "wise" laws.

"So far human government has been an insane attempt" of some human beings to subjugate others, which is the essence of government, and it is not in the "acceptance of the wisdom of God's laws," but in the realization of the fact that all laws and governments are infringements upon the equal freedom of the individual and in corresponding action that our redemption must emanate from.

Wake up, Brother Rip van Winkle!

Statistics prove that there are no less than four millions of consumptives in the United States which means one to every seventeen inhabitants. It is also proven that the largest number of these unfortunate people are of the poorer classes which leads to the natural conclusion that they are the victims of our perverted industrial system.

Thus modern society characterizes itself more and more as a hydra-headed monster, continually swallowing up its own offsprings by consumption and otherwise.

The "scientific" gentlemen who are investigating this subject have nothing to propose as a remedy for this evil, but a lot of sanitary and socio-political laws.

As if those roots of the social misery which cause such fearful human woe, could be afforded the least relief by quackery for which, by the way, none of the gentry care who nowadays occupy responsible state or social positions?

Allow human beings the opportunity to fully satisfy all their normal desires and consumption will go out of existence.

Murderer Sheriff Martin of Hazleton and his 80 accomplices who last fall caused the bloody carnival of Latimer, were to be tried this week; at the last moment, however, the case went over for several weeks. This postponement will in all probability not be the last trick employed to prevent the enactment of justice upon these blood-stained human monsters. As these bandits are backed not only by the coal-barons of that vicinity, but by relatives who personally participated in that massacre, there are in all probability friends enough on hand to "fix" everybody who has anything whatever to do with this case in an official capacity. Indeed it would be no surprise if the itching palms of the jurors hands were even satisfied.

Whether therefore a proper trial be had or not, certainly none of these bandits will be hanged. The "dear" people, who are as yet far from realizing the thorough corruption of the rascals whom they periodically authorize to chastise them, will perhaps be given an opportunity to witness the farce of a trial, that's all.

After the Homestead battle, too, Frick and Consorts who had hired the Pinkertons, were arraigned, but nothing further was ever heard about that "case." Thus it has always been in cases where criminals were to be prosecuted who had belonged to the ruling classes or had been commissioned by the latter to perpetrate their crimes. Had it not been for the pressure brought to bear upon the Austrian government by some peculiar coincidents the bloody carnival of Latimer would have been hushed up. The powers

that be expect to whitewash this affair by a farce trial. Very tame and optimistic indeed must be he who after such a wanton disregard of popular clamor for justice imagines that satisfaction is to be gained in such cases by any other method but lynching.

At a farmers' convention in some Pennsylvania county a resolution was passed to take tramps to the county line and administer a severe lashing to them to prevent their return. "Civilization" with a vengeance!—Freiheit.

The downward tendency of the farming industry in this country is plainly to be seen in the fact that there are at present 4,300 farms in the small New England states out of cultivation and for sale at exceedingly low prices. This is due to the fact that farms conducted on a large scale monopolize the markets. Whatever small margin of profits is left to the small farmers after such a fierce competition, is swallowed up by railroad-magnates.

The following portion of an "inflammatory speech" did not emanate from the lips of a revolutionary Anarchist but is a part of a recent address of the Dean of the University of Washington:

"The roaring thunder of the approaching storm is becoming more audible from day to day. The army of the poor, of the unemployed, of the starving and of the ruined business people is fast increasing before the doors of luxury. It has ceased to be a question whether their demands are just or unjust. The fact exists and demands our consideration: the number of the dissatisfied are growing, politicians are wrangling, thousands are perishing in misery or are forced to live by robbery and theft; aristocratic idlers are making disgusting show of their unearned increment; the large and legalized robbers are increasing their spoils, while our ships are decaying at the wharves, commerce and industry are at a standstill, while the pure and noble minded people in all classes of society are trembling with fear in the expectation of the imminent eruption of the volcano. But he who dares to speak publicly about these facts is a crank, a pessimist, and agitator and croak and an enemy of society. Sincere admonition is fanaticism and loud protest is Anarchy. We are oblivious of the fact that this is the seed of all great reforms of human society." Correct.—Freiheit.

A German silk manufacturing firm is going to start a large silk weaving factory and employ twelve hundred weavers at Paterson, N. J. Here is a moral to the patriotic American workman. The wages of the American wageslave have been reduced to such a degree that they are now actually below German wages and the German manufacturer finds it more profitable to shift the scene of his operations to this country where he can have the direct advantage of the "free" American wageslave. More "prosperity."

The monopolistic press is still occupied with the excitement resulting from the sale of French state papers to the German government. To radicals this affair has long been a dry-fuss. Ha-Na, Ma-Kin-Lee and Co. would never be guilty of such "treason," of course, not! But—if—Oh, horror!—if—if—they—did? —Why—if—they—did,—why they'd make a better job of it and sell papers, state and all!— S. D.

The "Journeymen Tailors' Union of America" has set on foot an agitation for the demand of so-called free tailor shops from October 1, 1898. Under the present tailoring system small tailors who are working for large establishments are obliged to take their work home and generally rent small shops to accommodate about half a dozen. This the journeymen claim to be an injurious system to health causing, as is well known in such districts, contagious diseases. They therefore aim to induce the large establishments to drop the piecework system and in its stead engage regular hands at day work and at steady employment, —presumably at their own, the manufacturers', establishments. This, in the estimation of the Union, would have a tendency to reduce competition between the journeymen to a minimum and guarantee steady employment, to a greater number of persons, as well as improve their sanitary condition. The matter was

discussed and the plan unanimously adopted at the last convention of the "Journeyman Tailors' Union." The new arrangement will, of course, mean a small slice off the large profits of the manufacturers, and some opposition is expected from that quarter. However, the Union is determined to carry their plan into effect even though a general strike should be necessary. Lively times are therefore expected at New York and Chicago, the supposed center of this agitation.

Last Friday evening, Feb. 11, the second of a series of lectures on Labor Unions was delivered by Comrade A. Klemencic, his subject being "Labor Unions and the General Strike." The speaker showed quite clearly the uselessness of the leaders in the labor movement, and the reasons for the failure of the majority of strikes. Quite a lively discussion followed, but most of the critics ignored the subject of the lecture altogether. The meetings so far have been well attended and we look for good results from them. On next Friday the 18th inst. the same speaker will lecture on "Trades Unions in the Future Society," at Templar Hall, Pythian Castle, 909 Market Street. All comrades in this city are requested to attend.

PATRIOTISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The sore straits in which patriots find their "ism" is aptly illustrated by the movement to establish in the public schools of the country a patriotic salute to be observed daily by the pupils, lead by the teacher. The first outbreak of the malady, or mania, occurred at Boulder Colo. this winter. Salem reports show that it has spread to the middle and eastern states. The children are required to stand facing the flag and repeat a rignarole; beginning: "Our country; our flag," etc., and winding up with something about consecrating their lives to their country and their god.

It is encouraging, no matter from what motive, that some pupils have refused to participate in the salute, though the penalty for such refusal is dismissal from school. I am of the opinion that most of those so refusing are the children of seventh-day adventists, a Christian sect and the most bitter opponents of government interference in religious matters in the country today. Whatever they might prove to be if in the majority, and persecuted as a small minority, their literature is really refreshing to a lover of liberty.

Our little rebel in the Boulder school, being asked sarcastically if he were an Anarchist, made a reply worthy of one of riper years. Said he, "I would salute the flag a hundred times a day if there were cause for it; but no power on earth can compel me to repeat those words." I think he was a little bit tintured with the spirit of Anarchism, and I am satisfied that there was more honest sentiment in that one boy than in the whole "patriotic" push.

This movement is one of the signs of the times. Not knowing the relation of cause and effect, interested parties seek to stop certain of their operations by compelling the observation of outward forms. Their ignorance is the rope with which they will hang themselves. They will not increase patriotism by one iota; the regrettable part is, they will succeed in making hypocrites of some of the children.

J. H. M.

MY LIBERTY.

The word Liberty is a household article with every body, for everybody uses it. But it is not used in the same sense by any two persons. One wants to use it for this, another for that object. Only in one regard is there a semblance of likeness and that is as a means to an end. For the same reason as charity is used by certain people to cover certain acts, so is liberty used by which they wish to attain certain ends. The drunkard wants liberty to get drunk as often as he feels like it, and get all the booze possible to be had. The saloonkeeper wants the liberty to permit all the booze that he can possibly expect to get pay for. The priest wants the liberty to compel everybody in the State to attend church, and for everybody to consult him in every act of life. The politician wants the liberty to compel every voter in his district to vote for him. The merchant wants the liberty to dictate terms to the producer and compel every consumer to get supplies from him at his prices, and a monopoly to both. The money-lender wants the liberty to plaster the whole country and its contents with mortgages for interests sake. The policeman wants liberty to bully everybody and the judges want liberty to compel

everybody to mind and feed them; and here is what Judge Grosscup recently said in regard to his holding on to the bench rather than accepting a place on the inter-state commerce commission: "I love power and here I can exert it to my heart's content."

What do you say to this, you free and equal-born American citizens? This man loves to lord it over you! He is very frank about it, too. The reasons for their desire for liberty are as diverse as the occupation that each one follows. They all run counter to each other and a swamp of chaos ensues.

The conceptions of liberty between the non-producers and the producers of wealth are diametrically opposed to each other. Which is right? The non-producer, evidently; for he has the power to command for his liberty the respect of the wealth-producer, and is able to have somebody to maintain it for him. The liberty of the wealth-producer? He is at liberty to submit, or—fight for it.

The question arises now: what do we want, or what do we need to be at liberty to do? To answer this, we must consider the ethics involved. Ethics call for equal regard for the needs of others in order that harmony among the citizens may be obtained. Either this, or the right by might. If it is the latter, the police power of the State is a fraud and a usurpation of a function which logically belongs to the citizen—subjection. If the former, again the police power of the State is a fraud and a usurpation of a function which logically belongs to the citizen—arbitration—the settling of disputes outside of a permanent court. No arbitration can take place where interests are diametrically opposed; but, an armistice may take place, and we have the right by might where disputes are settled under compulsion.

But I have been taught from my earliest boyhood up, that we, who live in the present century, are striving for a higher and higher civilization which involves harmonious action and habitation of the citizens among themselves. But to accomplish this it is evidently necessary to abolish all discord; all discord among citizens has its root in their opposing interests for mercenary ends.

The money-lender and the borrower; the employer and the employee; the landlord and the tenant; the merchant and the customer, and any two tradesmen in the same line, in each instance their interests are diametrically opposed to each other and arbitration results in an armistice and war is raised at the first opportunity.

What do we need to be at liberty to do? We need liberty to produce, each citizen in conjunction with the others, all the wealth that each wishes to consume in order to enjoy life at his own expense of energy.

Every now and then I hear the argument, that in order that one may live he shall accept any position or perform any kind of service which offers him the means of subsistence. I object to any such proposition because it is contrary to the principles of liberty.

As a liberty loving citizen I am compelled to refrain from doing any kind of an act which either directly or indirectly tends to support, and thereby perpetuate the present system of economics as well as of ethics.

As an advocate of a new order of things generally, and as I strive for a new ideal society where each one is to act free from outside interference, it behooves me to shape my personal conduct so as to harmonize with the standard of such ideal society, and so far I feel gratified in my efforts. I care not for the opinion of those whose education has been neglected, and who plod along in the path marked out by their prejudices, superstitions and inherited habits. I have nothing to do with the mass of the people; I have no reason to wait until they are ready to act. All I can ever hope to accomplish is to find my equals and in conjunction with them to carry out the principles which we profess.

There are from 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 members of the Catholic church, and perhaps 15,000,000 members belonging to the other christian denominations. Am I to wait until all of them are converted to my standard of liberty? I guess not. I shall go my way, follow my principles, apply them wherever an opportunity presents itself, and allow the rest to take care of itself.

If ever I should meet a person in the act of committing suicide I would do nothing to prevent it; for anybody who has decided to leave this life of misery, ought, in my judgment, to be at liberty to do so by any route he sees fit to take, and if by such an act any other person should suffer loss, then it is that person's business, as well as others who object to such an act, to set themselves diligently to work and find out the

reason why, and then apply the remedy. But not as is done now by sending a person who is caught with suicidal intentions to prison for disorderly conduct. No, such is brutal, and only in harmony with the savage teaching of a christian priesthood. But change your conduct in society and quit doing anything which tends to enslave others mentally or physically.

Much has been said about the corruption of the politicians, but they are insignificant compared with the corruption rampant among the people at large, whether they are workmen, millionaires or business men; it is a national disease and I refuse to interfere with any of their actions or sufferings resultant. All that I can hope to accomplish is to find a sufficient number of people with whom I may unite and act in conjunction with a view to obtain that liberty which is objectionable to no one—to live happy at my own expense of energy and to gratify my desires of a noble character.

BODENDYKE.

ACTIVE WORKERS.

The following appears in our German contemporary "Freiheit" and deserves the attention of all comrades interested in the propaganda:

At the conference held by the West Pennsylvania Comrades at Pittsburg, Pa., on November 14, 1897, all those present agreed that it was time to make a new attempt in this part of Pennsylvania, to popularize revolutionary Communistic-Anarchistic ideas, to create a healthier agitation and to procure means for more effective work. Meetings are to be arranged for, and traveling speakers to be engaged. Papers, pamphlets and books are to be distributed and circulated more systematically in future. A voluntary committee of agitation of eight capable comrades is ready to undergo the task of calling into existence a healthier agitation, but naturally depends upon the co-operation of all revolutionists, friends of true liberty and foes of the existing rotten social system.

Every reader of a liberal labor paper ought to furnish it at least two additional subscribers a year. We shall furnish free of charge to anyone literature for propaganda purposes. Everybody is requested to correspond with us, for we are anxious to learn all the different opinions. We are ready to assist and send speakers free of charge to any place meetings may be arranged at.

Twenty men immediately volunteered at the above mentioned conference to pay 50 cents per month for this purpose while they are at work and able to earn anything. This laudable example ought to be imitated everywhere.

The committee of agitation for West Pennsylvania, C. NOLD, Secretary.
73 Springgarden Ave.
Allegheny, Pa.

P. S. "Freiheit" will contain a quarterly account of all contributions for the above purpose."

FROM ALLEGHENY, PA.*

As to Alexander Berkman's liberation from prison, we desire to inform the readers of FREE SOCIETY that his case has been argued before the Pennsylvania Board of Pardons last October by two able lawyers, who proved that his sentence on six charges is in contradiction with the laws of Pennsylvania, and that legally he could only have been sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. The Board answered that it will take the case again in consideration as soon as the first sentence of 7 years will have expired which will be in June 1898.

As no protest against Berkman's release had been entered (even H. C. Frick was not represented through his lawyer to protest) we feel encouraged and entertain now more hopes than ever that the Board will decide in Berkman's favor. An account of the money received and expended by the Berkman Defence Association, Pittsburg, Pa. in behalf of our imprisoned comrade has been published in FREE SOCIETY.

The Committee on Agitation,
The Berkman Defence Association,
Pittsburg, Pa.

H. Bauer and Carl Nold, Secretaries,
73 Spring-Garden Ave., Allegheny, Pa.

* This report, and the notice about the arrangements of Emma Goldman's meetings which the readers will find on page 8, were found after we had taken charge of Free Society, which is our excuse for the delay in publishing them.

A. I.

THE EMANCIPATION OF SOCIETY FROM GOVERNMENT.

BY DALLAN DOYLE.

INTRODUCTORY.

There seems to be nothing harder for the natural man than to be asked to dethrone from his mind the idols of the particular phase of society in which he lives, and to turn his mind toward the company of long forgotten gods. It seems difficult to realize that these hideous images, which are still kept as relics in the museums of the world, were at one time worshipped just as we do now the "unknowable." This, however, is due to the fact that however great his development, man is, after all, a product of nature, and cannot separate himself from the social environments in which he grows up.

No doubt in all ages there has been a tendency to take the prevailing notions as fundamental and eternal, and to look upon existing institutions as the work of God. Even today, when we have partly outgrown the superstition of the past, the tendency to take things as they are, is characteristic of nearly all of us. We still cling to the old for no other reason but that it is old. We still defy the new for no other reason but that it is new.

Yet every page in the history of the world shows clearly that there is decay and growth in everything. That as time rolls on, the old things pass away, and the new in their turn become old. That ever by the grave of buried age stands smiling youth. We need only look into our history, the records of past events, to see that society is in a state of perpetual motion; that no set of ideas are so fundamental as to have existed at all times; that no institutions or customs are so sacred and eternal that human beings have not somewhere, at some period of the world, lived in direct contradiction to them. We dare not call even instincts fixed and eternal. There is apparently no instinct which the conditions of existence, the force of superstition, cannot overwhelm. Although the instinct of self-preservation would be classed among the universal feelings of mankind, still, we need not go far to bring thousands of instances where this instinct has been violated. In India the practice of "Suttee" and in many other countries the immolation of the wives and slaves of a dead man, because it is believed they are to accompany him to the next world, show how completely the religious feelings and the force of public opinion can overcome the first instinct of nature.

There is a great deal in the maxim: "The history of mankind is the history of its ideas." The power of thought is "the divinity that shapes our ends rough hew them as we may." It is ideas, and these alone, that shape our relations with nature, and guide us this way or that, in proportion as they are thorough or superficial, true or false. Ideas, therefore, like all powerful things, are either beneficial and life-giving or detrimental and life-destroying.

And so, he who has studied the customs, thoughts and religions of different races at different times, can easily see that our ideas are partly inherited from the past, partly developed in the present and are subject to improvement in the future.

The unbiased student of the historic and the modern men must concede that our present ideas contain a large portion of barbarous survivals which we cherish with the same ardor as a little girl will hug "the most archaic, effete and mouldering old doll, because she has known and loved it for so long a time that she can see in its tattered body and hairless skull nothing but charm and beauty."

Nothing but a shaken confidence in the existing ideas; nothing but the destruction of that superstitious belief in the fundamentality of our existing institutions can make it possible to judge them fairly.

Unless one has outgrown the superstition of worshipping the old, he cannot find fault with the existing; neither can he agree with those who propagate the new. Progress is not inevitable. Although there be many of those who look upon progress as an automatic force which keeps on its course in spite of all opposition, still, when we look upon the existing facts, when we see how comparatively small an area of globe is inhabited by progressive nations, and how vast an area is filled with people who have remained in a practically stationary condition for centuries, it is impossible to hold that the chances to obstruct progress are non-existent. Sir Henry Main, in his "Ancient Law" gives us numerous instances where, in consequence of the restrictive effects of religion, and other causes which produce a changeless order of ideas, making the people spellbound and inaccessible to new views of life, people remained at the same stage of civilization for centuries. He speaks of China, Persia and Spain as modern examples tending to demonstrate the baselessness of the belief that progress goes on in spite of all opposition.

Of course, there are very few chances to prevent progress from keeping on its course in a civilized land like this, but, just as the words of Confucius for centuries held the Chinese millions under an unbroken spell, so are there now gallant attempts made to obstruct progress by the words of Mammon. It is not likely that these attempts shall be successful, but what about the struggle to acquire money? Money being the all important thing in modern life, the struggle to acquire it tends to absorb the energies and to turn away our thoughts from all other topics.

In the struggle to acquire money one gets enough heartless work to cease looking at the mode of life he leads; he manages to get the most out of things as they are, for himself and his family, heedless of those who are wounded or fall victims in this bloody war. The cry of the disabled is of no avail to him; he is not even pitied.

Those unable to succeed in this hard struggle for existence are looked upon as though they were disabled by ill-luck or ill conduct. In a word, the struggle to acquire money so completely absorbs our energies that we no longer think of our fellow beings; nothing but how to get most out of things as they are seems to interest the modern men. And here we have, besides the powerful force of religion, another set of circumstances tending to preserve things as they are, tending to obstruct the course of progress. In the presence of all these causes, which, one way or another, tend to make our people spellbound and incapable of understanding the

new ideas of life which might result in new social relations, it cannot be said that there are no chances even for the most civilized people to remain on the same stage of civilization for a century or so.

But every age has had its sinners. There were always men who loved the truth and perished for its sake. These men were the giants who, in spite of all opposition, moved the wheel of progress onward, right onward. These men are not lacking even now. They live now and see what the ordinary man refuses to see. They have outlived the superstitions of the past and are now inflicting the death blow to the superstitions of today. They are the heralds of the coming era and no ignorance, however dark; no threats, however terrible; no power in the world can diminish their numbers. They are the products of time and grow with its growth. It is these men who have shaken the foundations of our existing institutions and it is these men who can trace the origin and development of society and government. An idea which threatens the so-called sacred structure of our State does not fill their hearts with fear. They trace man from his primitive stage till that of today. They follow out all our notions, trace them historically, and find that our customs, religions and ideas are not eternal, but periodical. They find that we now hold certain things to be right which were considered wrong in the past. They find that government and society, though considered by almost everybody inseparable, are not only different, but have different origins. In a word, those who have outlived the superstition of the age in which they live, those who look upon the existing from a rational standpoint, are those who can judge our institutions fairly, and can by tracing their origin and development recognize the true tendencies of social progress.

CHAPTER I.

It is commonly believed that society and government are identical and inseparable. Most of the people will not grant even a slight distinction between government and society. To most of the people nowadays it seems that what light is to the eyes, what air is to the lungs, government is to society, whereas, as a matter of actual fact, society and government are not only different, but they have even different origins, and it is only when society is not what it ought to be that governments are thinkable. Society promotes our happiness and unites our affections, while government comes in to create distinctions and to discourage intercourse. Society is the product of love, and government the product of hatred. Where there is love there is happiness, where there is hatred there is suffering. And yet people would go on thinking that society without government is a physical impossibility. Is society ever more perfect than when the interference of government ceases to hamper our social relations? Are we ever happier than when all around us are happy? Do we find pleasure in the agony of our neighbor? Of course not. Then why not leave the natural forces unite us by the necessities of life and solidarity? I know why. Because, as Hobbes tells us, "during the time that men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war of every individual against every individual." This is just what would be answered by nearly all governmentalists, to the question "why government at all?" But is this answer warranted by facts? No facts that experience and observation has accumulated. They point to the contrary. They show that Mr. Hobbes' answer is simply an assumption and nothing more; an assumption the falshood of which is demonstrated by the many small uncivilized communities in which without any "common power to keep them all in awe" men maintain peace and harmony better than it is maintained in societies where such a power exists.* But however false this assumption may be, we will still grant it for the purpose of showing the absurdity of the more advanced governmentalists who insist upon the necessity of government by the authority of the people.

These more advanced governmentalists, Austin and Bentham, insist upon the necessity of government, because there must be a power to enforce justice among men. Austin gets his conception of justice from ancient law—a method of reasoning pursued by nearly all lawyers—thus taking the problem of justice a step deeper into the mud without giving us any substantial reason for the justification of "the enforcement of ancient law. Bentham, on the other hand, makes an effort in this direction, but succeeds only in bringing us to the justification of "no government at all," while the question: why government?—remains unanswered. Bentham admits that the people are the only ones who can pass judgment upon the conception of right and wrong; they then appoint a government to enforce that right which they have passed upon, against the wrong, found to be a wrong by the will of the people. Now, if the people are competent to pass upon the conception of justice, why are they not competent to be free? If they are the makers of an ideal, why have they no right to destroy it as soon as they found that this ideal is a wrong one? If the people are sovereign, why do they become subjects? If, as Mr. Bentham admits himself, government adds nothing to the existing conception of justice, then that conception of justice would exist without the government, in this case, again—why government at all? Had the government been an institution conferring only such rights upon the people as the people gave it in trust, then the people would have had these same rights without government and such an institution would have been utterly useless. Yet some smart governmentalist may jump up and say "It is true that we believe that the people are sufficiently competent to pass upon the conception of justice, but what we want the government for is to see that no one violates that justice." Whereupon, I should simply say, if the people pass upon the conception of justice, those who constitute the government are supposed to obey the will of the people, and if the will of the people may be contrary to justice, then where do you get the right of government to enforce that will? Unless the will of the people is always just, there can be no justification for the government to interfere. And if the will of the people is always just, then again—"why government at all?"

But Mr. Bentham's idea of government is based upon an assumption, hence it becomes a mere useless institution, while its use is too well cherished by monopolists and politicians to abandon it unless they are obliged to. The government is an institution which enforces the will of some against the will of others. The government is an institution which gives shelter to invaders and plunderers. It robs

*See Herbert Spencer's "The Great Political Superstition."

the poor and protects the robbers. Governments exist for the sole purpose of protecting invasion. Without government, such robberies as are committed daily by the huge monopolists would be impossible. Take away government and these scoundrels are on their backs. Without government, Hanna, McKinley, Cleveland, Olney and the rest of the crowd would have to behave; they would have to take care of themselves and let everybody else alone. Without government, a few men could not create a panic in a land where there are plenty of materials and plenty of men willing to supply the entire world with food, shelter and clothing. It may appear a bit sweeping to make such statements, but they are warranted by facts and by reason, as we shall proceed to show later on.

And so the necessity of government from Mr. Bentham's point of view practically disappears, while a majority still believe that government must exist, because it is an institution that has existed for centuries.

In order to realize how completely baseless the prevailing notions of government are, we must understand that our notions are simply a matter of the moment; that government itself is comparatively modern; and that there were times when people, with fewer developments and smaller achievements, lived harmoniously without government.

We shall endeavor to point out, as briefly as possible, the time when men lived without government, and how government originated for the purpose of showing how we are gradually drifting away from government altogether.

In tracing man to his primitive stage, as far as the science of different races of men, their characteristics, customs, and religions, say as far as the science of ethnology will allow us, we find that he has always been a gregarious animal. We find him always grouping in hordes, tribes, families and societies for the purpose of gratifying his desires, which are purely natural.

Not until more or less recently, has there arisen the so-called necessity of government. Men have long lived together without hurting one another, as Mr. Hobbes assumes; aye, they have maintained peace and harmony in their social relations, without any fear of government.

Uncivilized as they were, primitive men like the animals even today, knew enough not to hurt their neighbors. Nay more, not only was a person safe in the midst of other men, but even his property, insignificant as it might have been, was always safe as a matter of custom. Long ere the trace of government can be found, there existed customs which were observed more earnestly than our modern laws. Herbert Spencer, in his "Great Political Superstition," refers us to a vast army of the most celebrated researchers who point out that conduct is regulated by customs and yet the people live happily together without robbing or otherwise hurting one another. I need only mention a few facts to justify these statements. In Southern Africa, the Bechuanaas are controlled by "long-acknowledged customs." (1.) Among the Koranno Hottentots "when ancient usages are not in the way, every man seems to act as is right in his own eyes." (2.) And so, tracing the life of the primitive man way back, we find that customs among Araucanians, the Kirghizes, the Dyaks, and the inhabitants of Madagascar and Java, have not only existed long ere governments were established, but they have many a time subordinated government power after it was established. "These customs," says Herbert Spencer, recognize certain individual rights—rights to act in certain ways and to possess certain things. These customs went so far as to recognize the right of proprietorship in weapons, tools and personal ornaments. The North American Indians who are without government recognize private ownership of houses. And, as we proceed in the study of ethnology we find that there are numberless instances where men have lived harmoniously together, without any government at all. In a word there need be no fear as to men's ability to live harmoniously without government, when we find that the primitive Arafuras of whom the celebrated Kollf says: "They recognize the right of property in the fullest sense of the word without there being any autonomy among them other than the decisions of their elders, according to the customs of their forefathers." But we need not overburden our reader with ancient history, our essential point being proven by the fact that nearly all our ancient laws are based upon customs. The fact is that people were safe and their property was safe also long ere governments were dreamed of.

The same natural causes which urged the primitive man to respect his neighbor also urged him to respect what belonged to his neighbor.

And this was quite natural. In his pursuits to gratify his desires, man found his neighbor his most profitable companion. He also found that he would not long keep his neighbor's companionship if he should cheat him, and thus there came into existence customs recognizing the rights of each individual, customs which were kept more sacred than modern laws.

We then find that man kept on progressing. His associates grew more numerous and he developed intelligence, sympathy, sense of justice and many other feelings which made him a sensitive being always ready to lend a hand to his neighbor. A long time had passed and men kept on uniting in pursuance of common causes, from which, as a result of their associations, they achieved marvelous ends.

But the force of nature, say the climatic conditions, which made it difficult for man to gratify his wants in some places, and at certain seasons, drove him into association for the purpose of invading the territory of other communities. Here we begin to find traces of chiefs. These chiefs came into existence in time of war and disappeared in time of peace. They were chiefs while the war lasted and were only privates as soon as the war ended.

A peculiarity well worthy of notice is that during those times there were no slaves. Even the conquerors did not enslave the vanquished. The conquerors kept only the property; killed part of the vanquished to assure permanent victory; leaving the other part of the vanquished go free, because the struggle to acquire food was so difficult that one could hardly get more than he could consume.

In a word, when we look over the successive steps of progress which the human race has passed, we find they have always been in accordance with the natural forces which marked the successive epochs. It is absurd to believe that man is a cruel being, and if left free from governmental restraint, would go on killing his most intimate friends as well as his most bitter enemies. In his desire to get the most of his surroundings man has always sought the respect of his neighbors. In his desire to have his neighbors treat him kindly, man has always been

bent upon treating all those whom social relations brought in his way with the utmost care and consideration. Had a Vanderbilt and a Depew not been protected by a standing army, the strike of millionaires against miners in Spring Valley, Ill., would never have occurred. Even these beastly monopolists would work for a living and be content with the products of their own toil had it not been for that vast army which assures protection to all invaders and plunderers.

1. W. J. Burchell, "Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa."
2. Arrousset and Daumes, "Voyage of Exploration."

(To be continued next week.)

APPROVES ANGIOLILLO'S DEED.

James Armstrong's article, "The Modern Anarchist, one man's view," caught my eye. Such views generally do, for it is one of the mysteries how a liberty-loving individual can judge so cruelly and unjustly some of earth's noblest and best. The great Bakounin declared that the divine spark that elevated man above the beast, was the "power to think and the desire to rebel." Thought is of no use to the human race if not expressed in words, and words would be as useless as unexpressed thought, did they not lead to acts. Therefore, the rebel who thinks speaks and acts, is the motive power and the savior of the race. I would like to ask James Armstrong, and others of like views who condemn the use of force and violent resistance to invasion, and sit apart on lofty mountains of self esteem, wrapped in the delusive dream of self acquired freedom, gazing on a world of fellow creatures that they designate as "ignorant, murderous vermin;" I would ask these philosophers, how many martyrs have died that they may possess a limited use of words? It was not so very long ago that a spoken thought, breathed in revolt against priest or king met instant death, but if men of unconquerable spirit, courage and strong sympathy for the oppressed, had not persisted in the face of death for the right of free speech, would that right exist today, or rather be recognized? Rights do not need to be created, only to be taken possession of. And were not the martyrs of free speech, according to friend Armstrong's view, as insane as the martyrs who resist invasion by deeds instead of words?

It is wearying to the flesh, all this condemnation of force. What resort is left an intelligent minority? Must they stand idle in the face of wrongs, that cry to the soul for vengeance? How are the exploited to free themselves, if not by violent resistance to the invaders of human liberty? Was a king ever known to abdicate to please a rebellious subject, and will those who have cornered the earth, willingly let go?

That a majority of wars have been of no benefit is quite true, but there have been exceptions, namely: the American and French revolutions. These revolts sounded the tocsin world-wide of the death of king-craft and priest-craft; the poor peasant learned that men of common clay might repudiate divine authority and even vote the death of a king, and God's wrath would not crush them from this vantage ground gained mid the smoke of battles and fires of fierce revolt. Humanity is steadily marching on; the spirit of revolution always lights the way, and that spirit is personified in the person of Angiolillo and other brave comrades.

Angiolillo killed Canovas—not that 2,000,000 vermin might "suddenly go on two legs," but as the most solemn protest a man could give of his hatred for crimes committed against helpless, innocent brothers. Oh, that a friend of liberty could find heart to condemn the righteous execution of that brute Canovas, fills one with sorrow! If any man demand justification for Angiolillo's deed, let him read it in the story of the Barcelona martyrs; in the history of the fair islands wet with the blood of the innocent. But we, his loving comrades, make no such demand, and while we deplore the loss of that brave life, we glory in his worth and courage and feel that such men are the beacon stars of slaves that point the way to go, and nerve the arm to strike.

As to the negro race, there are plenty of instances of courage, rebellion and fidelity to principle, to mark the race as human. It was either slavery or death for them in a strange land among a race of people who did not consider them human. It is true that a few chose death to slavery. Nat Turner, a Virginia slave, back in the 30's started out to exterminate the legal owners of himself and fellows. Fifty-five whites met death at the hands of rebellious slaves, and then Turner and his fellows received in turn the portion awarded all rebels, death! They had escaped slavery, "and none were so poor as to do them honor," but true lovers of liberty know, that those poor slaves manifested the divine trait that separated them from beasts, and that divine ray was the "desire to rebel." Yours for mental and physical revolt,

KATE AUSTIN.

A POOR MAN'S LIBERTY.

The liberties of a poor man are few indeed. He must not beg, he must not loiter, and he may not steal. Indeed, his liberty gives him the right to work if he can get employment, and to starve if he can't. But let him be very careful how he conducts his untimely dissolution, or he will be punished. He must starve quietly and unobtrusively, and without fuss or hurry. Let him but try to accelerate the process by taking a dose of rat poison, or by a jump in the canal, and the consequences are severe. If his attempt is frustrated, he will be punished in this world; if his attempt is successful, he will be damned in the next.

Land is not and cannot be property in the sense that moveable things are property. Every human being born into this planet must live upon the land if he lives at all. The land in any country is really the property of the nation which occupies it.—Froude

Altruism is not the negation of individuality, for the finest and strongest individualities have been specially altruistic.

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

FREE SOCIETY'S AGENTS.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for donations and subscriptions for FREE SOCIETY:

Chicago, Ill. O. Plutner, 469 Wabash ave.
Vandee, 347 Ward St.
W. P. Borland, Trade Building
New York City. I. Rudash, 368 Grand St.
A. Levin, 340 Cherry St.
Buffalo, N. Y. F. Kohlbeck, 622 Jefferson St.
Philadelphia, Pa. L. Babotnik, 721 Plover St.
Allentown, Pa. A. Frey, 14 Madison Ave.
H. Bauer, 78 Springarden av.
Baltimore, Md. B. Morvitz, 1005 E. Baltimore.
Providence, R. I. S. Bookbinder, 45 Water St.
J. H. Cook, 40 Hanover St.
St. Louis, Mo. Otto Rinke, 3869 Kosciuszko St.
B. H. Schneider, 3722 Calif. av.
London, Eng. E. Leggett, 28 Eve Rd. London E.
Glasgow, Scotland. Wm. Duff, 9 Carlin St.
Gowan Hill.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S MEETINGS.

The Committee on Agitation for West Pennsylvania has arranged for Emma Goldman, who will agitate in Pittsburgh and vicinity from Feb. 23. to March 12, the following meetings:

- Feb. 23. Pittsburgh.
- " 24. (South Side) Pittsburgh.
- " 25. (Lawrenceville) Pittsburgh.
- " 26. Monaca.
- " 27. Beaver Falls.
- March 1. Carnegie.
- " 2. Allegheny.
- " 4. Duquesne.
- " 5. Mc Keesport.
- " 6. Pittsburgh.
- " 7. Charleroi.
- " 8. Roscoe.
- " 10. Newton.
- " 11. Tarentum.
- " 12. Pittsburgh, anniversary of Paris Commune, Imperial Dancing Academy, 10 Wylie Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

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 907 Market St. There is a free platform for everybody.

The Letter-Box.

L. G., Philadelphia.—Your idea is good, but is too late for the present edition of the pamphlet.

Wm. H. T., Langston Oklahoma.—We found your letter with the remark "Not received," affixed by Comrade Cowell. The paper will be sent anyway.

E. B., City.—We could not find your name on our list and that is, of course, the reason you did not receive the paper. Sent you back numbers.

Ch. H. Y., Sheboygan, Wis.—All right. No, the book is not on hand; write to Comrade Lucy E. Parsons, 1777 N. Troy Street, Chicago, Ill.

N. M. J., Hustburg, Tenn.—We see your name is on the list and consequently the paper must have been sent regularly. Contributions are welcome.

H. N. C., Red Oak, Mo.—The paper will be sent to you, and you may pay whenever you are able to do so. We are only sorry that young people are not as anxious to investigate Anarchism as you are. Greetings.

Mrs. F. H., Dona Ana, New Mexico.—You forgot to enclose the stamps; the paper will be sent, though. There are some good ideas in the circular, but also some that are too mysterious for our narrow minds. For instance: "Teaching them not to accept any God, Lord, Saviour, priest or king all born of woman, but Him only, the everlasting All One, the Creator." Who is this "Him" the "All One"?

J. A. S., Ventura, Cal.—While our columns are open to all shades of opinions, our space is limited and we are therefore naturally obliged to give preference to condensed communications. If you will therefore eliminate all unnecessary repetitions and verbiage from your communication, we shall be pleased to publish it. Our time is too valuable to undertake the rewriting. If you desire it returned please send stamp for M. S.

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. 14.

International Group, Chicago, \$1.25 Snellenberg, \$1.25.
Futner, White, each \$1.00
Graun, Wenzel, Stalling, Oervenka, Daniels, Levy, Krueger, Foulkrod, Gillestrom, Sokol, Lacock, Kaminsky, each 50c.
Austin, Hawkes, Appel, Beltzer, Shilling, each 25c.
Blanchetti, 43c.
Barnes, 20c.
Schwartz, Lange, each 10c.

I respect a man who knows distinctly what he wishes. The greater part of all the mischief in the world arises from the fact that men do not sufficiently understand their own aims. They have undertaken to build a tower, and spend no more labor on the foundation than it were a hut.—Goethe.

MIGHT IS RIGHT;

OF THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.
NEW BOOK BY EUGENE REDBEARD, LL.D., U. OF C.; 178 PP.; CLOTH, GILT, \$1.50; PAPER, 50c. POSTPAID.

This is no ordinary book. Undoubtedly it is the most remarkable publication that has appeared in Christendom for fifteen centuries. Its philosophy is that of a scientific Satan, a realistic Anti-Christ. With grim and pagan logic it asserts the divinity of moral codes, religions, politics and law; affirming that modern civilization is a horrible hypocrite, a continuation of the terrorism and gloom of the Dark Ages. It marshals an overwhelming array of facts to prove that the man of today is a physical and mental dwindling, a coward, a weakling and a slave. Upon biologic Spencerian principles it attacks the golden rule, the sermon on the mount, the Jewish decalogue, statute books, written constitutions and representative institutions, affirming that they are all without higher sanction or authority than organized duplicity or armed power. Therefore if man is ever to be free, these artificial and domineering "Thou Shalts" must be entirely swept aside.

Dr. Redbeard contends that fitness to survive must be tested by the clash of armies: all other tests being fraudulent. Victors in war are naturally entitled to dominate; and the "defeated"—that is the runaways who feared to die—are equally entitled to servitude. Throughout all organic life the chief selective agency is combat. Women admire warriors above all other kinds of men. Communities of cravens (and their descendants) are rightfully plundered, degraded, enslaved.

"Right" and "Wrong" are decided not by the Meek, but by the Mighty, who consequently may write laws, create constitutions, title deeds—and re write them at pleasure. Equality ideas are mere millennial illusions, for all life is strife—a combat to the death.

As long as the struggle for existence is "moralized" or limited by Governments and Gods, the unit and base, instead of being trampled down (as nature intended) are stupidly permitted to set up Imperial Injunction seats and deal out death, bondage and ruin to Highest Types. Thus, by demanding his credentials, Darwinism is fatal to the tyrant. It rises aloft round with menace and destruction. It hurls against him ten thousand trained Rivals. It proclaims to all men: "Nothing is true; nothing is sacred; all things are open to you; blessed be the Vanquishers!" Address

ADOLF MUELLER (sole agent),
108 N. Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.

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 \$1.50.

Order of Free Society.

SAN FRANCISCO LECTURES.

Comrade A. Klemencie, 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.

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. RUEDEKNECHT.

THE MOST MASTERLY WORK ON THE SEX QUESTION IN PRINT.

It is written in language that anyone can understand, and yet is not offensive to the most refined.

Don't fail to read it. You can't afford to.

CONTENTS: Our Free thinkers and Christian Morality. Explanations. Our Children. Our Young Men. The Preventive Check. The Girls. Love. The Value of Marriage and the Free Love Movement. The Happy Marriage of Today. How long will Love Relations last in Free Society? Jealousy and Possession. The Old and the New Ideal. Love and Friendship in a Free Society. The Ideal Society. The Number of Children in a Free Society. Undesired Children. Licentiousness. The Sense of Shame. Obscenity. Prostitution. Crime and Disease. Erosity—An Appeal to the Women. Woman's Emancipation. The Social Question. The Propaganda.

APPENDIX:

Introduction. The Criticism of a Leader. The Charm and Beauty in Exclusiveness. Women vs. Man. The Weakness of Woman. "Call for the Criticism of Socialists and Anarchists. Tolstolem. A Paradox. My Hopes and Fears.

PRICE: Paper cover, 65 cents; cloth, \$1.

FREE SOCIETY LIBRARY.

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

- No. 1, "Law and Authority," Kropotkin.
- No. 2, "A Talk About Anarchist Communism," Malatesta.
- No. 3, "Emancipation of Society From Government," Dallen Doyle.
- No. 4, "Perfect Motherhood; or, Science vs. Religion," Lois Waisbrooker, and "Woman and Marriage," Prof. W. S. Bell.

IN QUANTITIES.

	10	100	1,000
No. 1, 25 cents	\$1.75	\$15.00	
No. 2, 25 cents	1.50	12.00	
No. 3, 25 cents	1.50	12.00	
No. 4, 30 cents	2.00		

—THE—

WHEREFORE INVESTIGATING COMPANY.

BY

LOIS WAISBROOKER.

An interesting book, written in story form, showing the inevitable and bad results which arise from monopoly in land. A splendid missionary book of 313 pages.

"LEND A COPY TO YOUR CONSERVATIVE NEIGHBOR."

"THE HOMELESS MILLIONS OF THE WORLD CRY LOUDLY FOR"—THE LAND.

This Book is Printed in Large Clear Type, and on Good Book Paper.

Regular Price, 50 Cents.

OUR PRICE, 25 CENTS.

ARMSTRONG'S AUTONOMIST.

of Waco, Tex., is a conservative journal of absolute individual freedom. It is against every organization, whether anarchistic or governmental, and advocates a free society in logical accordance with the philosophy of Herbert Spencer. It has secured twenty-five thousand readers in three months time. Its style is at once vigorous, original and sensational. It mingles the melody of Ingersoll with the clang of the gamin and the depth of Spencer. Subscription, \$1.00 a year, 10 cents a copy. For sale by the leading news companies and book stands or supplied from office. Subscription refunded if it does not please. Address Armstrong's Autonomist, Waco, Tex., U. S. A.

NEWS STANDS

Where FREE SOCIETY can be obtained:

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

NEW YORK.—A. Tannen, care of Ufner, 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.
Brigham's Restaurant, Washington st.

BOOK LIST.

In lots of ten or more, five-cent pamphlets furnished at three cents each.

- "Appeal to the Young, by Kropotkin. 05
- A Talk About Anarchist Communism. 05
- Law and Authority, by F. Kropotkin. 05
- Anarchism vs. State Socialism, by G. Bernard Shaw; 3 for. 02
- The Commune of Paris, by F. Kropotkin, and An Anarchist on Anarchy, by S. Reclus (one volume). 05
- Anarchy on Trial. Speeches by Paris Anarchists. 05
- Common Sense Country, by Beveridge. Social Conditions and Character. By "Ireland." 05
- Religion and Labor, Parts I & II, by Fox. Liberty Lyrics, by L. B. Beveridge. 05
- Basics of Anarchism: Historical, Philosophical and Economical, by W. Holmes God and the State, by M. Bakounin. 05
- The True Aim of Anarchism, by Steinle Revolution, by S. H. Gordon. 05
- Wants and their Gratification, by E. Adis When Love is Liberty and Nature Law. 10
- My Century Plant, by Lois Waisbrooker. 1.00
- Wherefore Investigating Company, regular price 50c, but while present supply lasts "they go at" 25

*The 5-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 335 Blue Island av.

Anarchist Headquarters in San Francisco 1274 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 1927 E. St., Tacoma, Wash.

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

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

Group Proletariat of New York City gives Anarchist lectures Fridays at 40-52 Orchard st., and Saturdays at 21 Suffolk st.

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

Social Science Club, Lee's Hall, 61 E. 4th 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, 368 Grand St., New York City.

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

The International Group, Chicago, meets every Thursday 8 p. m. at 129 Bunker St. near Desplain St. The object of the group is to spread FREE SOCIETY and other radical literature.

Wendell Phillips Educational Club will meet every Sunday, 8 p. m. at 45 Winter St., Providence, R. I. Pamphlets in English, German, French, Jewish and Russian languages on hand.

Belitche Listy is an eight page Anarchist weekly paper, published in the Bohemian language at New York City, 402 E. 71st St. by the International Workmen's Association of America. Send for sample copy.

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

The Altruist is a monthly paper issued by the Altruist Community, of St. Louis, whose members hold all their property in common, and both men and women have equal rights and decide all their business affairs by majority vote. Twenty-five cents a year; sample copy free. Address, A. Longley, 2819 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.

WANTED: Light on the Sex Question. This is humanity's greatest need. Read Lucifer, the Light Bearer, the only paper of its kind in the world. Weekly, eight pages, 10c per year. Send 25 cents now and receive Lucifer three months on trial and these five thought stirring essays, which are worth an equal sum, as premium: "Subsistence and Justice," by Lucinda B. Chandler; "The Sexual Enslavement of Woman;" "Love and the Law;" "Variety vs. Monogamy;" by E. C. Walker; "Thomas Jefferson as an Individualist," by Gen. M. F. Trumbull; Address M. Harman, 1204 Congress street, Chicago.