

FREE SOCIETY

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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. 17.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., SUNDAY, MARCH 6, 1898.

WHOLE NO. 153.

IN THE YAEH ----

Then man shall upright stand,
Not tremble 'neath the tyrant's glance;
Nor in unseemly humbles
Of worship be as naught.

The despot obsolete,
Each shall on each his best bestow,
And, giv'n his due of life, shall thrive,
As in the wilds do lofty pine
And groundling violet.

—Viroqua Daniels.

POPULAR DELUSIONS

CONCERNING

POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

BY W. S. BELL.

Upon the question of Church and State Thomas Paine was, for his day, a profound thinker. He perceived not only the corruptions of these two institutions, but he also discovered that they both were evils *per se*. If the Church was the outgrowth of man's ignorance and weakness, so too was the State. Each was a vampire living upon the life-blood of the people.

In these days when the air is full of cries for Nationalism, Socialism and Anarchism, it certainly may prove interesting if not instructive to listen to the voice of him who devoted his life to the study of the rights of man and the despotism of governments.

Here are several selections from one of his works, entitled the "Rights of Man."

"A great part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of government. It had its origin in the principles of society, and the natural constitution of man. It existed prior to government, and would exist if the formality of government was abolished. The mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has in man, and all the parts of a civilized community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds it together.

"Government is no further necessary than to supply the few cases for which society and civilization are not conveniently competent; and instances are not wanting to show that everything which government can usefully add thereto, has been performed by the common consent of society, without government.

"For upwards of two years from the commencement of the American war, and a longer period in several of the American states, there were no established forms of government. The old governments had been abolished, and the country was too much occupied in defence to employ its attention in establishing a new government; yet, during this interval order and harmony were preserved as inviolate as in any country in Europe. There is a natural aptness in man, and more so in society, because it embraces a greater variety of abilities and resources, to accommodate itself to whatever situation it is in.

"The instant formal government is abolished, society begins to act. A general association takes place, and the common interest produces common security.

"So far is it from being true, as has been pretended, that the abolition of any formal government is the dissolution of society, it acts by a contrary impulse, and brings the latter closer together.

"Formal governments make but a small part of civilized life; and when even the best that human wisdom can devise is established, it is a thing more in name and idea than in fact. It is to the great and fundamental principles of society and civilization—to the common usage universally consented to, and mutually and reciprocally maintained—to the unceasing circulation of interest, which passes through its innumerable channels, invigorates the whole mass of civilized man, it is to these things, infinitely more

than anything which even the best instituted governments can perform, that the safety and prosperity of the individual and of the whole depends.

"The more perfect civilization is the less occasion has it for government, because the more does it regulate its own affairs and govern itself; but so contrary is the practice of old governments to the reason of the case, that the expenses of them increase in the proportion they ought to diminish. It is but few general laws that civilized life requires, and those of such common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the forms of government or not, the effect will be nearly the same. If we consider what the principles are that first condense men into society, and what the motives that regulate their mutual intercourse afterwards, we shall find by the time that we arrive at what is called government, that nearly the whole of the business is performed by the natural operations of the parts upon each other.

"Man, with respect to all those matters, is more a creature of consistency than he is aware of, or than governments would wish him to believe. All the great laws of society are laws of nature. Those of trade and commerce, whether with respect to the intercourse of individuals, or of nations, are laws of natural and reciprocal interest. They are followed and obeyed, because it is the interest of the parties so to do, and not on account of any formal laws their governments may impose or interpose."

Never in the history of the world have there been so many indications of unrest and agitation among the people at large as there are today. We boast of the civilization of the nineteenth century, and point with pride to the achievements of science in the mechanical arts. But these modern triumphs are not so real, not so fundamental as they appear. We speak of the wonders of steam, telegraph and ten thousand inventions, but do not see the evils of our civilization which are also assuming vast proportions and a more marked variety of forms. We have not only progress in poverty, but also progress in disease, insanity and in commercial dishonesty. The people everywhere are becoming alive to these facts, and they are discussing all phases of society; they are seeking some remedy for the ills they suffer.

The political arena is filled with Populists, A. P. A's, Single-taxers, Prohibitionists, Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, Women's Rights party, not to say anything of the Republican and Democratic parties, which are, like two giants, struggling with each other to see which one of them shall save the country from the treason and corruption of the other. However palpable the fraudulency of the old hack party politics and party government may be to the masses, yet the people continue to be the childish dupes of knaves and thieves who corrupt and deceive them.

If the political outlook presents nothing but turmoil and discontent, the religious status indicates more disturbance and more indications of immediate efforts at revolution. Science and the spirit of investigation are increasing the thoughtfulness of a large and always increasing class, and at the same time it is deadening their superstitions on all supernatural aspects of religion. But while this is true on the one hand, it is equally true on the other that there is a mighty effort being made to reinstate religion as a power in the minds of the people by legislation. Accordingly we see the God-in-the-Constitution party, the Sunday-Law party, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union party, and others.

The signs of the times indicate a transformation

of society through the media of science, philosophy and humanity. This is not to be accomplished without violent reactions, such as we see in all Christian legislation to support its dying superstition. But a free press points out the doom of all superstition. It is a question of time. Both Church and State have outlived their usefulness. They have ruled in the name of God; they have ruled in the name of king, and they have ruled in the name of the people; but whether in the name of God, the king, or the people, they have always RULED—always ruled at the expense of the people.

Look at it from whatever point of view we may, we shall find that in its very nature and in whatever form it may exist, either in Church or State, government is a despotism. All governments spring into existence through violence, and maintain themselves by violence. Such a thing as a good government never existed. There never has been any democratic or republican government. It is, however, an exceedingly pretty form of speech to talk of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. It were a vast deal nearer the truth if we should speak of our own government as a government of politicians, by politicians, and for politicians.

But to speak of a government of the people appeals to our vanity and weakness, and politicians are not slow to take advantage of our weakness in this direction. We forget that all governments spring into existence through conquest of some sort. Is it not folly, then, to prate about governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed? When did you and I consent to our government, to our constitution, to our laws? Perhaps it may be urged that our fathers instituted this government and we inherit it from them. Is this the way we consented—our father consented, therefore we consented? But how did our fathers consent? A war separated the colonies from Great Britain, and after their separation forms of State and general government were instituted after being formally submitted to the people.

But all the engineering and wire-pulling done in the matter of getting up a constitution was done by a comparatively few men. The people at large had small aptitude for making constitutions or forming governments; but they had immense qualifications for being duped, robbed, and set on edge, one against another, by party zeal and fanaticism, just as our voters today have towards those who support an opposition candidate.

But suppose we should admit that our government was founded by the consent of the whole people, would not the fact of our national degeneracy prove that government is in and of itself an evil? The fact that our government, from the days of Washington until now, has gone down steadily, becoming worse and worse, is not because the people themselves have been so greatly demoralized, but because it is in the very nature of government to grow always worse. Founded upon violence and injustice, it puts a premium on corruption and thievery; while with the mockery of justice, it says, "Let no guilty man escape," yet it gives him time and opportunity to do so.

Man's consent to be governed is not asked by the government; but government commands him, as the police do, to "move on." That mountebank preacher of Brooklyn, Talmage, says, "If you don't like our laws, if you can't move on with the rest of us, then move out of the country." We are not

asked to give our consent to the government under which we live, but are commanded to submit to it, to obey its laws and support its officers. All the liberty we have respecting the State is to obey its behests—to pay taxes.

Government is not based upon principles of justice extended to all citizens, but upon privileges snatched by a few under a serious mockery of voting. It is not justice that obtains in any department of government, not even in so-called courts of justice, or in the manner of appointing or selecting judges and juries.

Privilege characterizes all parts of the State. PRIVILEGE IS INSEPARABLE FROM GOVERNMENT. DESPOTISM, PRIVILEGE, AND ROBBERY ARE INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE SYSTEM. Monopolies are proof of it. The banking monopoly, railroad monopoly, telegraph monopoly, land monopoly, Standard Oil monopoly, associated press monopoly, and all sorts of trusts, are like pythons squeezing the life out of the unprivileged citizen. These monopolies and trusts are not fungi, but the genuine fruit which the governmental tree has always born. It never has failed to produce this crop. It is in the very nature of government to rob labor and protect capital. How could it be otherwise, when it not only has the power to make laws looking toward its own self-preservation, but, when it has the power and disposition, to enforce all such laws at any expense of blood and treasure. Officials generally have their minds upon two objects, namely, to continue in office, and how to secure more plunder or spoils of office and not be found out.

Many years ago we had a great rebellion, and there were two privileged classes in the country, namely, those who went to war and those who staid at home. The privileged class that could go to war and be shot, had the privilege of staying at home and be shot. The other class could stay at home, and had the privilege of paying three or four hundred dollars as bounty. While the horny-handed sons of toil were facing the cannon's mouth, the privileged gentry at home were making laws for the good of the nation. They were fine workers, too, for they made two kinds of money for the country, a cheap kind in which the government paid off the soldiers, and another kind to pay the bankers with.

Mr. Brown, on hearing of the high-handed ways of monopolies, bankers and trusts, exclaimed, "Why, the men who compose these trusts, banks, corporations and monopolies run our government, don't they?" "Oh no," said Mr. Smith, "they ARE our government."

The people are gullible. In fact, they seem to want to be humbugged. What are our elections but farces? See what scheming and wire-pulling there is among certain voters to get their favorite nominated. And after a candidate is up, see what promises he will make—in fact, promise anything you ask for your vote. If elected, he does not want to meet you, and if he does, he can promise you nothing. He says he'll see about it and gets away from you.

What roguery and rascality are practiced to overthrow a rival candidate. In all this political skullduggery the people themselves have had almost nothing to do. They have been fooled into doing what they have done. It is true that they have held caucuses, but the roughs and toughs with the aid of whisky and beer, have carried the caucus. Because of the dishonesty and rowdism of the caucus the best citizens do not attend it; I mean the caucuses of large cities. After the work of the caucus and convention comes the campaign. I am now speaking of the presidential campaign. On these occasions the poor voter is inflated with the importance of his franchise. His vote will count as much as the vote of a Vanderbilt. His vote can offset the vote of the President of the United States.

All this and much more of the same style of vanity puffs up the voter with a vast amount of self-importance. When the campaign is on I have

seen ten thousand men turn out to a torch-light procession. The political hacks seduce young men and old men of very light calibre to swell the ranks of the procession, by promising or actually giving them a red flannel shirt. Some are bought up with a half-holiday, others are bribed with money, and a vast number are inspired with whisky, and still others are rendered exceedingly patriotic by bad arguments and an appeal to their bad blood. And all this passes for a love of liberty, a love of country.

And all this is the outcome of the glorious elective franchise. The truth is, that when we come to look at it seriously, voting cuts no figure at all in the management of the affairs of the State. The vote is a toy, a plaything which the victim of despotism is allowed to amuse himself with.

When I was a child my father would sometimes in the evening, as I sat on the carpet before the fire, give me several silver dollars to play with. It was a rare treat to have real dollars, to look at them, to jingle them in my hands, roll them on the floor, toss them in the air. It was rare sport. At last, when he thought I had exhausted my gushing enjoyment he would quietly ask me to hand them back to him. Then I could see them go back into his pockets. The ballot is like the dollars. The voter can play with it, nothing more. For the kingdom and the power and the glory belong to the government, and the government will never entrust its life in any other hands than its own. It may appear to do so, but it is only in appearance.

It is constantly asserted that government is instituted to protect men in their rights. This statement is not true, because governments are set up by the war power. And if it could be shown that sometimes they are not, still it would not avail, for it matters not how governments are set up, for they cannot maintain themselves except by the war power. Therefore it is not true that governments are instituted for the protection of man in his rights.

The rights of men are invaded by governments. Governments cannot exist without despoiling some one. To talk of a government doing equal and exact justice is a delusion. If government does anything for one person, that is, if it gives anything to the citizen, it is because it has taken away from another what it has given the first.

All new laws enacted for the benefit of corporations and trusts are ostensibly enacted for the benefit of the dear people. The modern Solons go on gulling the people by talking about the public welfare, public prosperity, the public weal, the public interests, etc.

The demagogue frightens the little man by telling him that personal interests must not stand in the way of public good. He has much to say about "national" liberty, "political" liberty, "republican" liberty, "democratic" liberty, "constitutional" liberty, "liberty under law," and all other kinds of liberty except "individual" liberty. Our government does not tell us that individual liberty means freedom from all compulsion to do anything whatever except what justice requires us to do, and freedom to do everything whatever that justice permits us to do.

Government is a relic, a most fruitful and pestilent relic, of barbarism. In no way can it be disguised that the foundation stone of government is, "Might makes right." In its eyes man has no inalienable rights. Any and all of his rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness may be disregarded at the will of this phantom. He can be taxed to a point of starvation; his life may be thrown away before the cannon's mouth to save the barbarous ghost of the barbarous past. Yes, the government owns him, body and soul—he is a slave—common property. Yet he fancies himself, on the Fourth of July especially, as enjoying the greatest, grandest liberty imaginable, in this "the land of the free and the home of the brave." This reminds me of the Irishman

who stood looking at the steam plow. After eyeing it for some time he broke out with, "Oh ye's can puff, puff, and whizz, whizz, but ye can't vote—ye can't get on the peffice force." The Fourth of July orator and the Irishman are twins.

Government assumes to possess all rights, and any such things as commonly pass for rights of men are only conventional—they are privileges granted the individual by the phantom government, which it may resume at any moment. A war arises, and the little Fourth of July man, all bloated up with the liberty he enjoys, is called upon to face the deadly cannon of the enemy, and Pat, who could vote, must keep him company. Whether they have objection to being killed in this fashion is immaterial—and that they have conscientious scruples about going out to kill somebody else, who has done them no wrong, is equally immaterial. If they don't go they may be shot, if they do they are almost sure to be shot. Government denies man the right of property because it takes his property as well as his person and uses it and him to their destruction. As far as the principle is concerned, this is a denial of man's right to exist on this planet, as it is a denial of man's natural right to those things that are necessary to his existence.

LOOKS FOR THE CAUSE.

In reading *Free Society* of Feb. 17, I note several truths of interest. J. A. Gillie tells some "bottom" truths in seeming, but, as usual with men, he goes to the bottom upon the masculine side only; and this is the fault of O. S. Fowler's works. Man does not, cannot fully understand the work that Nature has given to woman. Nature says to woman: "Make the most of yourself, and trust to yourself, to your own attraction in the selection of the best fatherhood; then leave the result with me. It is not yours to superintend the work of gestation. I will make you desire what I need in my work, and if you can obtain it, all right, but if not, the less you think about it the better."

That is the way I read Nature, but Fowler, and all other men who have written on the subject, so far as I have read, would have women live for the coming child by given rules, whether those rules are in harmony with her feelings or not, and in every case where she does, for the sake of the child, that which is not in harmony with her feelings, but only with her intellectual perception, the effect upon the child is right the reverse of what she intellectually seeks. It is her feelings, her emotional, her soul-sense, that direct the gestating currents.

If a woman, during gestation keeps thinking of her child, sets aside her own wishes because of her child, constantly feels that it is of more importance than all else, she organizes that feeling into the very being of the child. As she has lived for it before birth, the self-importance that she has made a part of its nature will demand her service after birth, and thus she becomes the victim of a one-sided bottom truth.

The progress of the race through the law of heredity is a bottom truth, but to bring this about we need to seek the best conditions for ourselves, need to seek the greatest possible development for ourselves—in a word, self-seeking in its best sense, in an intelligent sense—this, and not self-sacrifice, is what is needed to improve the race.

What "medical science demonstrates" is not always a demonstration. Experience demonstrates that what is one's meat is another's poison. I believe with Comrade Gillie that "if we had social and sexual freedom there would be little desire for stimulants," but I would add, "after the effects of past slavery have past away." In one or two generations this desire might cease, but if a man or woman is born with but one leg, artificial support becomes a necessity as long as life lasts.

While lack of the right kind of sexual stimulus largely increases the desire for other stimulus, it is not responsible for it all. The mother's unsatisfied love hunger often becomes a part of the child's nature, and thus some kind of a stimulant becomes a necessity, and prevents even worse results. Liquor and tobacco are very offensive, but where a craving is inherited, its use often saves from drunkenness. As to liquor, while constant use, or in quantity, would destroy me, I know that it has saved my life more than once, and in the most marked case, it was ordered by

one of the best physicians, and also a friend who took nothing for his service. Yes, our children should be instructed, but as no amount of instruction will prevent epilepsy if one has inherited the conditions which bring it, neither will it prevent the inherited craving which calls for satisfaction in some form.

As to the insane asylums, penitentiaries, etc., they are the effects of secondary causes when traced to drunkenness. The primary cause lies farther back, lies in unhappy homes and false sexual relations. It is a well established fact that a large number of the insane become such because of unsatisfied, or perverted sexual life.

Another point: It is well known that our present economic system enslaves and cripples us all mentally and morally in a greater or lesser degree. Now suppose our social system to be a machine of wood or iron that took off a hand from one, a toe from another, an ear from another, and so on, and the badly crippled ones should unite in trying to destroy the machine, what would you think of the less crippled ones? Should they demand that the others should mend themselves first? It is the machine that must be destroyed; all else is a diversion.

Suppose I go to a chemistry class room and begin to talk of botany or astronomy, and the teacher says: "This room is devoted to the study of chemistry, please do not bring in something else," and yet I persist in my course, would he not have the right to ask me to stay away? The S. L. P. is working to destroy or change our economic machine, and the personal habits of its members is not the question under consideration. If they are badly crippled it is their misfortune.

Some people have a queer idea of freedom. I once had a friend who was forever talking to me of the food question with the hope of converting me to his theory. It finally became very tiresome and I forbade him saying anything more to me on the subject, and he then complained that I was interfering with his liberty. In other words, it was his liberty to annoy me. I do not so understand liberty.

But I am making this article too long, and will conclude by saying I am sorry that Comrade Loveridge considers me a fraud or a fool; I don't know which category he puts me in, as I am a Spiritualist.

LOIS WATSEKROOK.

IS FREE PRESS GROWING?

Emil F. Ruedebusch, author of "The Old and the New Ideal" was convicted Tuesday February 15, at Milwaukee, Wis., upon an indictment of having "sent obscene literature through the U. S. mails." It is gratifying to learn that an appeal will be taken to a higher court and it is to be hoped that this will be made a constitutional test case.

The "obscene" literature of course was Ruedebusch's latest book "The Old and the New Ideal." This book contains a purely scientific treatment of a rather new and exceedingly interesting phase of the sex question, viz: variety and the practicability of plural love relations. It is written in a refined style and the ideas are couched in select language throughout, not even suggesting any of the coarse, vulgar lowbrow sensationalisms with which all of our monopolistic "great" dailies are teeming.

The great merit of the book consists in its bold, straightforward exposition of a theory or theories which have been and are continually PRACTICED by millions of people for generations, who however, being under the impression that their conduct is "wrong," yet being unable to reconcile their conduct with existing social prejudices were and are obliged to become hypocrites and live dual and wretched lives.

The author of this book, therefore, by exposing these glaring inconsistencies between practices and theories and by attempting to bring about a reconciliation between universally existing "underground" practices and the natural principles expounded by him, the open recognition of and conformity to which would at once lift millions of human beings from the quagmire of popular prejudices and superstitions into the revivifying light of reason; and which would pull them out of the slough of despondency, woe and despair, substituting therefore a happy and happyfying life by the free satisfaction of natural, healthy desires, serves a grand and noble service to society, the great importance of which can hardly be fully realized by the present generation and the proper appreciation of which must be left to posterity. Yet this noble man stands before the world a convict!

Anarchists care naught for constitutions; for them stands but the one lofty principle or expedient of non-invasion and upon these grounds alone this conviction stands itself convicted. But to the blind masses of the American people who have such implicit faith in their laws and institutions this case conveys a new lesson; it is a parallel to the Firebrand case. Americans pride themselves upon their constitution which declares "that the freedom of speech and press and the liberty to carry arms shall never be abridged." The liberty to carry arms the people have been deprived of long since, free speech exists but between four walls and even there it is often interfered with, and the freedom of the press?—See Firebrand and Ruedebusch cases!

Hurrah for American liberty! Three cheers for monopoly and a tiger for Government! S. D.

THE FIREBRAND CASE.

Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr. writes:

"There ought to be some man in Portland who could go before a jury and make a good straightforward stand-up fight to prove that you folks never have been touched under the obscenity literature law; that it does not apply to you at all, and never was intended to apply to such literature.

"If you get an attorney who is as liberal minded as the judge, he would do. You have been very fortunate in your judge, and with that good luck you ought to get an acquittal and make a precedent which would be useful to the cause. Those who went to San Francisco to establish a new paper seem to have done a clever thing, but it may be all in the seeming. If the government has its own way with the prosecution there in Portland, the prosecutors can go right down to San Francisco and burst up the other shop just as easy as not, and I think it will do it. The paper has confessed itself as a successor to The Firebrand, and is advertising Ruedebusch's book which is under indictment. The post office authorities in Washington have only to wink to the postmaster in San Francisco and he can stop the mailing of the paper. People who won't fight for their rights don't deserve any. Artful dodging will not save the friends of liberty in the long run."

Dr. Foote is secretary of the National Defence Association, and there is a lot of sound logic in the above letter. H. A.

COMMENT.

Dr. Foote is, of course, sound from his standpoint, but not acquainted enough with the facts to pass sentence upon us. The moving down to San Francisco was not a matter of dodging the fight, but simply a matter of expediency. The postmaster of Portland told us decidedly The Firebrand could not go through the mail until after our trial, and as most of the contributors to the "Defense and Publication Fund" urged us to issue another paper, we thought it best to change locality.

The fight has to be made just the same, but the truth is it has so far not been "a fight for our rights" or a "constitutional fight," as some say it ought to be. We are not indicted for having issued The Firebrand and published certain articles, but simply for having mailed the bundle of papers the decoy letter asked for, and as Comrade Addis and I deny that we mailed the bundle in question, the government will have to prove that we did mail it. To make it a test case for a free press we ought to insist upon the fact that we had a legal right to mail those papers.

As the suppression of The Firebrand was nothing but an arbitrary act of the government, it was my desire to make it "a fight for our rights," but when I consulted a prominent lawyer about it, he said: "Yes, you can sue the government, but that will require much money and time." A. I.

THE INTELLECTUAL SUICIDE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

Starting out a year ago loudly acclaiming its determined purpose to conquer the enemies of the people, virile in its denunciation of the damnable existing order of society, the Social Democracy kindled into a glow the fire of hope in the breasts of millions of oppressed people who had almost despaired of the future, and there went up a vow unto high heaven that liberty should at last be crowned king of a free society. But, alas, degeneracy set in, heroism gave way to cowardice, and the effulgent streak of hope

lighting up the dark skies of despair became as dim as the faint flicker of a fire-fly in a London fog.

All went well until the people of the civilized(?) world were startled by the news of the horrible massacre of the starving miners in Hasleton. Then it was that the indomitable members of Branches 1 and 2 of the Social Democracy in Chicago vigorously protested against that most atrocious crime. Immediately they were assailed by the newspapers, and warned of the fate of our martyred comrades. Eugene Debs hastened to Chicago, and, like Barrios, proclaimed himself dictator. He repudiated the sentiments expressed at these branches and demanded retraction under penalty of expulsion. One of these sentiments was that the blood of a workingman was as precious as that of a millionaire. It was thus that Debs accomplished the intellectual suicide of the Social Democracy of America.

Fearing the wrath of their high priest and wincing under the displeasure of the newspapers, members of Branch 1 meekly recanted, but the loyal friends of humanity as represented by Branch 2 stood by their post of duty and refused to obey the shameful command to retreat. Thereupon a council was held in the inquisitorial chambers of the Social Democracy from which was issued the edict to revoke the charter of Branch 2.

Since then the orthodox members have been wasting away the life blood of their intellects in listening to discourses on inconsequential and vapid subjects such as might be heard in a salvation army barracks or a backwood's schoolhouse. The dull monotony was broken on Sunday, Jan. 30, when Mrs. Parsons made bold to expose the shallow sophistry which was the order of the day. Chagrined by the scathing criticism of Comrade Parsons and trembling lest the ire of the Tribune should be called down upon them again, the hierarchy was appealed to. That august body of high mucky-mucks issued the ukase that forthwith free speech should be stifled on the floor of the Social Democracy and the order went forth to prohibit discussions.

Thus did the corpse of the intellectual suicide lay in state.

Mr. John Lloyd had not frequented the meetings for some time, but hearing of the intention to throttle free speech, he attended the following Sunday. He told the audience in unmistakable terms what he thought of such reprehensible tactics. He rebuked the weakness of those who quailed under the empty frothings of the mouthpieces of plutocracy. What a lamentable spectacle to behold so vital a cause retarded by senile cowards high in the councils of the Social Democracy at the behest of whimpering clowns and hysterical neurotics. His fervid eloquence sank deep into the hearts of his listeners, and judging from the applause he received, it would seem that the majority of those present were not in accord with the star chamber proceedings in abridging the right of free speech.

Thus were the last sad rites of the intellectuality of the Social Democracy ministered.

But, after all, what could you expect of people who are so credulous as to place faith in leaders! sooner or later they turn out to be tyrants when the scepter of power is placed in their hands. Fearing the results of aggressive agitation, they invariably turn cowards; and you have a sample of it in the Social Democracy of America. Debs has proven himself as variable as the winds and wholly unreliable in crises. Like a captain of a ship at sea, he is all right in fair weather, but he loses his head in a gale when his services are most needed. Of course, the Social Democracy may continue to eke out an inane life for a time, but its vital force has gone. It might in light moments reflect on the past, but only momentarily, and then fall into darkness again, and by violent fits wear away its body.

In conclusion, I would urge all the true lovers of liberty to free themselves from the domination of such a despotic bureaucracy. Do not hang back in a corner as pessimists, but come out and let us work for the salvation of humankind. Never despair. Press onward. Let liberty be your goal. C. PFUETZNER.

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, Plano, Calif.

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

MONTHLY LIBRARY.

No. 4. of the Library will be either "Anarchist Morality" or "Representative Government" both by Peter Kropotkin. Either one of these pamphlets is very useful as a means of propagating our ideas and should be ordered in quantities. The price is the same as that of No. 1. of the FREE SOCIETY LIBRARY.

THE PASSING OF COMMUNITISM.

I am glad to see the line, "Exponent of Anarchist-Communism," etc., which so long graced The Firebrand heading, supplant the Communityist line that, in my opinion, disfigured the fair name FREE SOCIETY. The change aptly illustrates the difference between the old and the new managements—the difference being simply the difference between a true and a confused conception of Communism. I say this with no unkind feeling for those who, in setting up and advocating Communityism, advocated their highest conception of a free society, and who, in the course of mental evolution, will attain to the higher ideal. It is a stage of development through which the late Firebrand group passed, and which appears to lie in the way of transition from Commercialism to Communism.

That people will, under Communism, group themselves into communities, I have no doubt. But such a grouping will be less a means than an end; an effect, more than a cause, of Communism. Such grouping will be not so much economical as social and fraternal. The attracting force will be that which draws friend to friend and lover to lover. Production is but a means to the great end—happiness; and under Communism it will not hold first place in the minds of men. It is absurd that so simple a thing as the production of the comforts of life should engross people's lives to the exclusion of the enjoyment of those comforts!

Communism is not merely the grouping of individuals for economic reasons or productive purposes. It is the recognition and living of a great principle—the principle of equality of opportunity. The reason that such equality alone constitutes liberty is that superiority of opportunity possessed by one individual over another carries with it some degree of power over the life of that other. That superiority gives the favored one the power to withhold and set a price upon that which is desired by the less favored. Such inequality is the essence of monopoly, and without monopoly, price cannot exist. The absence of monopoly, commerce, price, value, is Communism. Nothing short of this deserves the name.

But what is opportunity? In the parlance of political economy, it is "the land." A man cannot produce without access to the earth; that is axiomatic. The political economist begins with the adult. But life begins further back, and to solve the problems of life, we must begin where life begins. Here is where Mr. Tucker went astray, leading to his "ownership of children"—that is, the denial of the common rights of life and liberty to children. Following popular fallacies, they had no standing in his philosophy until they reached adult age!

But if rights and opportunity begin with anything but the ability to conquer them, they begin with life. Under Communism liberty—equality of opportunity—begins with the child. The first opportunity the human being is entitled to is the opportunity to develop. That means food, clothing, comfort and care. All these are as much opportunity as is land. If a person cannot become a producer without access to the earth, neither can he without first having access to the products of labor applied to the earth.

Thus those artificial distinctions, by which the political economist mystifies the people and creates the

impression that the social question is a complicated one, vanish like a morning fog. "Land," "Capital," "Wealth," are all one—opportunity, the means of life and happiness. He who may withhold one of the factors, will find a way to set a price upon the whole.

J. H. M.

A CHARITABLE INSTITUTION.

The rottenness and corruption of the monopolistic system of society is well known to every honest person who is at all given to reflection, but the following account of the management and exposure of a "charitable institution" is sufficient to curdle the blood of the most philosophic mind.

There is a city foundling asylum at Randall's Island, N. Y., which has been managed for more than twenty years by a Miss or Mrs. M. C. Dunphy, who on account of her large wealth amassed by corruption, has been baptized "Queen of Randall's." This woman receives a yearly salary of \$2,500 and all living expenses and manages to steal about \$5,000 more in the shape of teachers' salaries, etc.

According to the recent mortality reports of this "model" institution there were 454 deaths out of a number of 466 children, so that only twelve children survived out of 466. The period of torture varied between five and six weeks on an average. The sanitary commission declared in their report that it would be far more humane to place a sponge saturated with chloroform under the noses of the babies when placed in the asylum in order to save them the cruel sufferings from starvation.

Complaints about this wholesale murder den had been heard for years, but somehow the "queen" had always managed to "fix" things. In 1896 the lazy, loafing charity commissioners were at last obliged, by the unusual mortality reports of from 47 to 98 per cent of deaths, to make concessions to public indignation and to institute an investigation. A physician—E. J. Tucker—was given extraordinary powers for that purpose, but the "queen" managed to "fix" him. He was succeeded by a man of high moral and professional reputation, Dr. Edward Kershner, formerly physician in the U. S. navy. But the shrewdness of the "queen" forced this truly honest man out of his position, and the brazen, ignorant and demoralized nurses who had been previously discharged for being the "queen's" willing tools, were re-engaged.

Matron Wilcox who characterized the poor innocent infants as "bastards" was recently granted a six weeks' leave of absence for the alleged purpose of going to Ireland to collect a heritage. It subsequently transpired that Ireland was in the St. Vincent hospital of New York, and that the collection consisted of a "bastard" which had been conceived by Matron Wilcox.

In January 1896, a child, Stella Cowan, 20 months and 23 days old, was burned to death in its cradle by an "accident," resulting from a dripping candle. This case was reported as a death from bronchitis, pneumonia and measles. Falsified reports are a matter of regular daily occurrence. The lovely "queen's" influence appears to have found its way even into the grand jury room.

But at last justice comes uppermost. Public indignation has now been aroused to such a pitch over this case that the president of the sanitary council has been obliged to take cognizance and assume personal management of the case on account of the following affidavit:

State of New York, City and County of New York, S. S.

Christopher J. Costello declares under oath, that on March 1, 1897, upon recommendation of Inspector General James S. Knowles of the charity department to chief surgeon of Randall's Island, Dr. Kershner, he was engaged to saw wood. Dr. Kershner instructed him to ascertain the cause of the waste of bread and milk and other food supplies. In the course of a few days he found out that the daily supply of 100 quarts of milk from the cows on the island and intended for the exclusive use of the infants was used as follows: 6 quarts for Mrs. Dunphy, superintendent; 25 quarts for the household, 25 quarts for the kitchen, where everybody who had access to the place was welcome to help himself; the balance of the milk vanished in the dining room; not one quart had been left for the babies; "city milk is good enough for those bastards," had been said by the matron. The charity department had allowed a daily supply of from 13 to 15 quarts of cream for babies who were nursed on the bottle, but even that had been usually carried away from the diet kitchen by the housemaid, and the matron on duty in that department readily acceded to the housemaid's demand in spite of the strict orders of the chief surgeon, Dr. Kershner, to the contrary, thus regularly de-

priving and robbing the poor little infants of their food.

Before he had gotten the milk and bread under lock, the poor little children who had already begun to walk, had been fed on coarse black prison bread, although there had been plenty of Vienna bread for them.

It was nothing unusual to throw 200 loaves of bread to the cows in that manner. It would take him 48 hours to approach an adequate description of the scandalous management of affairs in the infants' department.

Upon such an affidavit surely further comment is unnecessary.

One of the recent reform commissioners, General James O'Beirne, who, last year in the presence of his colleagues Croft and Faure, had the door shut in his face by "Queen" Dunphy, is now an almost daily visitor upon the island.—A. K. in "Freiheit."

WHITED SEPULCHRES.

The Chicago Presbytery, an organization of professed christian ministers, has just received a severe shock to its exceedingly fine sensibilities. It has actually been brought into close contact with one of the sinners whom these clergymen are supposed to be anxious to save. This was not through any volition on their part, however. They did not seek him. He came to them. There is no indication that their interest in saving men extends further than merely talking about it. The very first opportunity that presents itself to save anybody gives them a cold chill down the back which they have scarcely recovered from since. This particular sinner appears to have been an ex-convict; or, at least, that is what is charged. He had sought to cover his past with a mantle of forgetfulness, so far as the world is concerned, by changing his name slightly, so that he could escape identification and get a chance to recover himself; and then, in order to surround himself with influences which might help him to a better life—save him from further lapses—he chose to preach the doctrines of the Nazarene, who in his lifetime was known as the friend of publicans and sinners, certainly a very appropriate thing to do! But saving men, or even talking about it, has come to be a regular business; and those in the business have formed a kind of trades union, which they call "the Chicago Presbytery;" and whoever wants to follow the trade must join the union. That is how our poor sinner came to be in the company of these professional soul savers.

It soon transpired that some one, with the instincts of a ghoul, obtained an inkling of the previous history of this wretched young man, and straightway set out to add to that wretchedness instead of saving him, as the Master certainly would have done. One would suppose that men who professed to be followers of the meek and lowly Jesus would lend encouragement to an erring brother who was trying to escape from a life of sin and degradation. That is the way Jesus would have done. So far from holding himself aloof from the erring he always courted association with them. He said, "I am not come to bring the righteous, but sinners to repentance." It was he who thought forgiveness for an offending brother, not only seven times, if necessary, but seventy times seven. It was a harlot who anointed his feet with precious ointment and wiped them with the hair of her head. And when the woman was brought before him who was caught in the act of adultery, he had not one word of censure for her. After her self-convicted accusers had slunk away in shame, Jesus turned to the woman and said: "Woman, where are thine accusers? Hath no man condemned thee?" She said, "No man, Lord." And Jesus said, "Neither do I condemn thee. Go and sin no more."

With such examples as these before them, set by the Master, one would suppose that men who profess to be his followers would have taken this unfortunate brother by the hand and drawn closer over him the mantle of forgetfulness with which he sought to cover himself from the uncharitableness of the world. But no! They must needs strip it off entirely and invite all mankind to come and witness his shame and misery. He must not be allowed to regain a foothold among men. There is no forgiveness for sin in the creeds of these modern Pharisees, at least, not to be practiced. Why! the law even, is more merciful than they. After the convict has served his time and been discharged, he is eligible for naturalization, like any alien, and restoration to citizenship. And yet, the chief actor in this monstrous piece of uncharitableness is one who sets himself up as a special expounder of

the International Sunday school lesson and whose articles have appeared regularly every week in the Chicago papers for the last year or more. It is men like this, who assume to interpret the teachings of Jesus, who have prostituted christianity from an active social force for the uplifting of the poor and needy into a set of theological dogmas. They have enlisted it in the support of a system of avarice and private appropriation. The Church, the modern temple, has become what Jesus characterized the temple of his day, a den of thieves and money changers. It is like a whitened sepulchre, fair without but within full of all uncleanness, uncharitableness, hypocrisy and dead men's bones. No wonder it commits such acts as these preachers were guilty of to those who fail to respect the sacredness of their golden calf! No wonder it is fast losing its hold upon the hearts and consciences of the common people! Oh! for a revival of the christianity of Jesus which shall visit those who are sick and in prison; lend a helping hand to those who have no helper and which shall minister to the needy and comfort the afflicted; for, as Jesus said, "In as much as ye did it to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it unto me."

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

In its issue of Feb. 12, the Voice of Labor publishes the following:

"As will be seen by a communication in another column, Mr. J. S. Clark has severed his connection with the Voice of Labor. As Mr. Clark himself states, he takes issue with Mr. De Bernardi, the founder of the Labor Exchange, upon what we believe to be a vital question, viz., the "New Era" method of issuing gold interest-bearing bonds, upon deposits of mines, land and other valuable property. Bonds mean bondage, bondage is slavery, and the Voice of Labor does not propose to advocate slavery under the guise of Labor Exchange.

"The Labor Exchange is a way out of bondage, not into it."

Very sweet, indeed, brethren! But what are wages, pray? Is not it also a "condition of bondage?" Wages, no matter how high, constitute but a portion of the results of labor. Is therefore the advocacy of Trade Unionism, to which the Voice of Labor is lately principally devoted, a "way out of bondage?" Honor bright! brethren, is it not rather a way to perpetuate the existing condition of bondage?

You may claim superiority of your principles on account of your occasional demand for a little more corned beef and cabbage, but, please remember that a simple increase of corned beef and cabbage constitutes by no means the FULL proceeds of labor, and not until labor receives the FULL outcome of its efforts will it be "out of bondage."

Moreover your increase in corned beef and cabbage (wages) is simply a delusion. In reality wages, according to the most rational students of social economy, do not rise without a corresponding increase in rent and interest which regulate and keep down wages to the lowest point, leaving the drudge-animal just enough to subsist and propagate its species.

The fact is that not only is that imaginary increase in wages neutralized by an increase of rent and interest, but it renders the average worker laboring under that hallucination a more subtle and more willing slave to the present vicious economic system and makes him deaf to more rational propaganda.

Interest and rent then are the real breastwork of the enemy and have to be attacked and destroyed if ANYTHING AT ALL is to be effected toward the improvement of the material conditions of the workers.

Thus the New Era method of reducing interest, although falling short of the original Labor Exchange principle of the total abolition of interest, is certainly an ameliorative measure and a vast improvement over the misleading and unprofitable effort to increase wages, the foundation principle of Trade Unionism.

"The purchase of the Lake Shore Railroad makes Cornelius Vanderbilt the greatest railroad king the world has so far known. These railroad-trust and monopoly kings of all sorts and description are growing continually more powerful, and Uncle Sam, who so kindly raised these creatures by franchises and subsidies, is growing correspondingly thin. It is time Uncle Sam awoke from his Rip Van Winkle sleep and remembered that his continual republican reign is seri-

ously endangered by the growing power of these monopolists. The State ought to own the railroads."

One of our contemporaries clips the above and comments on it very timely thus: "What absurdity! To demand the governmental ownership of railroads by a State whose whole governmental apparatus represents but a mighty monopolistic engine of oppression of the people, is simply childish. Who is the State anyway? Monopoly and plutocracy are the State,—exploitation and plunder are its legalized privileges. The president and all the rest of the 'great men' at Washington are but the hirelings of the Vanderbilts, Astors and others, that's all. After experience has proven, beyond any shadow of doubt, the conservative nature of the State it ought certainly be time to stop this 'state-ownership' twaddle."

It is reported that the district attorney of Wilkes-barre is lacking the funds wherewith to prosecute the case against Sheriff Martin and his assistants in crime.

This is the latest news in this infamous court comedy. The state is becoming very saving, since it is to defend the rights of working people. It only furnishes the district attorney, pays \$1.00 a day for every witness and pays the jurors. The district attorney, however, declared he has not sufficient means on hand to pay his assistant attorneys and to furnish the necessary evidence. The fund of the prosecuting committee is also used up. Thus it is quite possible that the excuse will be made in this legal farce that there is no money on hand to defend the rights of the people.

"Ultima ratio regis"—the king's last argument—is the lovely motto the young fellow in Germany who manages to lead the "nation of thinkers" by their noses is having imprinted upon the new German rapid firing cannons. Some of the German people are said to gnash their teeth at such brutality, but that's no worse than his grandfather's action 50 years ago in having gatling guns turned upon the people when they had had a "fit of temporary sanity" and threaten to shake off his yoke. It is no worse than his instruction to the recruits a few years ago that they must be ready to shoot down their own brothers and fathers in the holy cause of "God, king and fatherland." Such action is the logical outcome of authority, be it in absolute or constitutional monarchies, be it under republican, democratic, bourgeois, or for that matter socialistic governments. To govern means to subjugate, and the difference between the different governments is not in principle, but in degree. In principle the most liberal government is an invasion of the freedom of the individual.

However, in the case of this German young fellow, a slight change of program is likely to occur before he will be able to enact many more of his pranks. Once upon a time—on the 10th of August 1792—another "smart Alleck" who passed himself off as King Louis XVI of France, had cannons planted before his palace for his protection against the wrath of the people. The people there, at that time, too, had a "fit of temporary sanity" and turned the cannons upon smart Louis, and reduced "his majesty's" size just by one head. There the motto "Ultima ratio regis"—the king's last argument—was changed to "Ultima ratio populi"—the people's last argument.

One can't tell, you know, how Billy may fare yet.

Professor Charles Latourneau of Paris, the famous student of prehistoric man, in his latest work on the evolution of slavery, calls wage slavery the LAST FORM OF SLAVERY; he designates it a temporary phase in the modern process of evolution to be followed by a communistic form of property.

He says: "As soon as this movement is completed (for the abolition of the wage system) educated humanity will be perfectly free. Then and only then it will be prepared for physical, moral and mental perfectionment and will realize for the first time the full meaning of life's happiness."

Since 1894 a secret socialistic paper has been published in Russian-Poland under the title of "Rabotnik" (the worker), which lately with its 25th issue managed to celebrate its jubilee of persistence and energy. Although great danger is connected with the publication and distribution of this paper, the publishers succeeded to continually increase its size and circulate it among the masses, proving to the government of the czar that

even Siberia and the terrors of the Peter-Paul's fortress are unable to smother the revolutionary movement.

The leading columns of the latest "Rabotnik" contain some characteristic figures. The numbers of the paper so far issued contained 208 pages. There were 32,000 copies distributed all over Russian-Poland. The significance and importance of this to the socialistic movement in Russia is then dwelt upon. The following articles of the jubilee number deserve special mention: A critical review of the new Russian factory law; an illustration of the bloody occurrences of Dombrova; an analysis of the secret edict of the Russian minister of the Interior concerning the supervision of the labor movement. The second part of the jubilee number contains a vast correspondence from all the industrial centers of Poland and Lithuania, furnishing a faithful and extraordinarily interesting description of the inexpressibly miserable condition of the working people of Russia. The print and make up of this paper, published by veritable heroes, risking their liberty and their very lives, in this work, is splendid.

The public are promised new "sensational developments" in the "old rascal Boss Tweed case." A diary and other private papers of Boss Tweed are to be published by W. E. D. Stokes of New York according to which that "daisy" expended no less than eleven million dollars by order of his monopolistic taskmasters for the bribery of individuals who have heretofore borne an unstained reputation.

These documents will also give the "lay" politician a hint as to how presidential elections are "fixed." Boss Tweed was a model bookkeeper. He had kept an accurate list of the names of all his co-operative "lambs," who had assisted him in carrying his "honest citizen reform movement" and whose itchy palms had been greased. The most interesting part of these documents are the signatures of Boss Tweed's lambs.

A New York dispatch regarding this new sensation says: "Tweed's diary proves that everybody with whom Tweed had any transactions whatsoever, was purchasable."

News has just reached us that Judge Bellinger heard the motion for and allowed a new trial of Comrades Addis and Isaak. The sentence of Comrade Pope may now be looked for at any day.

Much credit is due to Mr. Isaac Swett, who is a liberal, bright young attorney and volunteered to take up the Firebrand case free of charge. Mainly through his perseverance and untiring efforts the allowance of a new trial was obtained.

Just before going to press news comes from Comrade Ruedebusch stating that his sentence consisted in a lecture by Judge Seaman, one day's imprisonment and a fine of \$1200 (twelve hundred dollars), and that owing to his disgust with courts, lawyers, etc., he did not appeal. The report on another page, of his appeal taken from a German exchange was therefore based upon error.

Some comrades from Chicago protest against the suppression of the discussion of the sex question which has been occasionally recommended by other comrades. They claim that those comrades demanding a suppression of the discussion, are not genuine Anarchists. They hold that in order to be perfectly free—even theoretically—we must ventilate all questions. Again they complain that some self-styled radicals on the sex question who are loudest in their professions of radicalism and sexual freedom at meetings and in public, are narrow, bigotted and brutalize "their own" women. One of them cites a case in Chicago in which a comrade professing to be a free-lover, tyrannized his legal partner and prosecuted her for adultery after she had left him, because she had been unable to bear up any longer under the terrible strain she had been enduring for years.

The comrade's suggestions and strictures seem very timely. Similar cases of a reactionary tendency, in which men prove their insincerity by the discrepancy between their professions and practices are known to the writer, and no doubt to many readers. Of course it is impossible under existing conditions to harmonize all our actions with our theories, but on this particular line—in sex matters—there is no necessary obstacle and there is no excuse for conservatism, except weak-mindedness which permits the old mischievous "green-eyed monster" to predominate and is simply a return to barbarism.

S. D.

The following extract from a private letter, received from a participant in an exploration party into the interior of Africa for the purpose of finding new markets, illustrates the manner in which the savages are being civilized:

"There was very little fun in attending to the two hundred trappers we caught and forced into our service and who took the slightest chances to desert. No matter how many of the caught deserters were shot to death or hanged, the balance would take no heed but made new attempts to desert, and many of them were successful. Thus our loads would have been left behind, had I not the patience to go to the neighboring villages and drive together all the men and women found there. I loaded 30 kilograms upon their heads and continued the trip. Several times everybody deserted the village, when I put a hut or two on fire. This proved a good means of bringing the inhabitants back. Then the chief was caught and forced to furnish us slaves. In cases where this plan did not work and induce the inhabitants to return, we seized all the provisions we could find in the huts and magazines and gave them to the blacks of our troops who were nearly starving. We had them all watched at night, but they all fled at once and it was rather difficult to kill them all."

The atrocities committed on the Dark Continent in the name of civilization, cry to heaven. But what do the European capitalistic countries care? No matter how many hundreds of blacks are butchered like cattle, so long as new markets are found and the sale of whisky is increased. The means justify the end; the profit justifies the butcheries!—Chicagoer Arbeiter Zeitung.

In the last convention of the "Socialist Bond" in Holland, the question, "Shall the Socialist union take part in politics or desist altogether?" was brought up. It was decided that the members of the union should use their own judgment in regard to this question and act accordingly. Domela Nieuwenhuis is strictly against any compromise with any kind of parliamentarism and so he resigned his position as chief editor of "Recht vor Allem."

A. K.

LOOKS BAD FOR ANTHONY.

It begins to look as if there was soon to be such a shaking up of the dry bones of the infamous New York gang of blackmailers, known as the Vice Suppression Society, as will startle and drive to their holes the so-called respectable element that have stood at their back and by their moral support enabled the lazy gang to make a living. Comstock has at last attacked the wealthy publisher of the "Police Gazette." Mr. Fox waived a hearing on Feb. 2nd, before Commissioner Shields and entered bail for court. Lum Smith, a former Philadelphian, has demanded to be heard before a U. S. grand jury on a sweeping charge of blackmail and general cussedness. Dr. Leverton has in turn entered suit for damages against the king pin of blackmailers and vice promoters. Other suits aggregating nearly \$250,000 are also pending against Anthony, so you see his is not a bed of roses.

J. A. W.

"I do not care whether any party fuses or does not fuse, whether any individual votes this way or that way or does not vote at all, for there will be no ticket put up to vote for or against which will do us either good or harm. But I cannot refrain from feeling a trace of scorn and contempt for those alleged reform editors who keep every bit of radical red hot stuff out of their papers as carefully as the gold bugs do. I may have respect for an outspoken enemy, but mighty little for a cowardly half-cooked reformer, who is trying to sneak into an office by smothering his convictions, if he has any."

The above is clipped from The Commoner, a State Socialist paper, and shows that the editor is making some advancement. Go ahead, Brother Clyde; I fear, though, you will not be "in it" when election time comes. Honesty and consistency are superfluous qualities in politics.

During the trial of fiend and murderer, Sheriff Martin, a witness by the name of Joseph Meki, a miner, testified that he had been discharged by his boss because he had declared his intention of testifying against Martin and his criminal deputies.

Sofranik, one of those who had been wounded by the shots of these villainous deputies, has also been

discharged. The name of the firm who discharged these two men, is Calvin Fardee & Co.

One of their foremen, Robert Fagan, threatened to discharge a number of other men if they went to court to testify against that murderous gang.

There are some newspapers in this country which during the discussion regarding judicial corruption in France assumed an air of moral superiority, as if such things could never happen in this country. There is now ample room for reflection and comparison in this trial. The management of this case in particular must be very humiliating to American "patriots," for while in France it was simply a case of shielding a lot of political thieves, it is in this American case a question of shielding a lot of political murderers.

There is hardly a country on the face of the earth that could not be outdone in corruption by this nation.

BIBLE TEACHING UP TO DATE.

"I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me."

These words of David cannot be improved, if used to describe the gold standard, and the heading of his CXII psalm shows also the development in these days; "the prosperity of the godly shall be an eye-sore to the wicked"—the godly were and are now evidently those who uphold the kings of wealth, and the wicked were and are, poor robbed Laborers. Then as now, apparently, the injured were hated by the injurers; with what gusto and gory hands David praised God everytime he killed a few thousand (brothers.) This man upheld the church and the priests, just as king gold now upholds all the churches, (sect no object) and their parsons, who in turn prop up all robbers of Labor by preaching superstition and keeping their sheep as far as it is possible in ignorance of the sole cause of the poverty of those who produce all the wealth of the world.

Parsons now teach that all men and women are shapen in iniquity, and in sin did their mothers conceive them; they also read from the same church-made bible, "and God blessed them (Adam and Eve), and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth." (Gen. I. 28.) "And it repented the Lord that he had made man on this earth, and it grieved him at his heart" (Gen. VI. 7). We are taught to believe this of a being who is the same yesterday, today and forever, and who saw the end from the beginning. This right about face in the course of the first six chapters of the first book, and the utter contradiction by David in calling it sin to carry out the expressed God ordained multiplication exercises, proves that it is high time to awake out of darkness, do our own thinking, and let the blind leaders of the people fall into the ditch by themselves, and not be allowed any longer to ditch Labor.

The first class of parasites to be removed from the backs of Labor must be those who produce nothing but superstitions of heaven and hell, and make a God of their church-made bible.

No reformer, or body of reformers, should listen for a moment to, and much less invite any parson to address them on any subject of reform or on any phase of freedom, until they have first dropped all titles that designate them as being guides to heaven or protectors from hell, either for cash or on credit, and in addition to this have taken to making texts on some of the useful occupations for a living; for they are the class who have been the most powerful in bringing society into the present state of intensified hell. Let them preach the gospel of truth for the love of it, then will Labor look upon them as brothers, and will say: "come thou with us and we will do you good." America is the finest place on earth, and with the Labor Exchange (honest medium of exchange), we can make heaven here now. We have done with listening to vague vaporings of a sweet bye-and-bye; our faith is now fixed on substantial hopes for improved present conditions; no one person can see an inch further into the next state of existence than any other person; we doubt if any reliable information has been received from beyond the Styx.

If the Labor Exchange could for twelve months use the wealth that flows into the maw of the church we would have a far more delightful heaven than any quantity of gold thrones, gold harps and gold crowns, (climax of discomfort excepting the gold bugs) could create. Let the Labor Exchange be our faith, hope and love, and we will feel the brotherhood of man and thus realize the fatherhood of God even before the

time comes round when Labor is excited with rage and flags, brass bands and buncombe, bribery and coercion; that period when fools delight to glory in the title of free and independent electors, go through the worse than childish farce of electing 355 men to represent 70,000,000, knowing that 88 other men will somehow or other be placed in judgment over the decisions of the 355, these 88 to be subjected to the will of five of the supreme court, who agree to agree on any point, according to the will of THEIR MASTERS who gave them their office, without any reference whatever to the wishes of the 70,000,000.

The Labor Exchange check is not shapen in iniquity, nor conceived in sin; free exchange of Labor which it will effect is the Truth that will make us free; with free land which it will bring about our oppressors will vanish, and Labor will be Sovereign.

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.

COMMENT.

No doubt, cooperative efforts, such as the Labor Exchange, set people to think and tend to imbue them with the idea of the uselessness of the existing government. They sow the seed, however, for another power when they uphold the theory of value or, in other words, of paying a just equivalent for labor performed. A standard of value must of necessity be arbitrary, and arbitration means government.

A free society, for which Comrade Kinghorn-Jones is struggling, can only be founded on the basis of absolutely free production and free consumption. Not before the Labor Exchange people strive for such a condition will their method be the "faith and hope" of the Anarchists.

A. I.

ANARCHY UNDER ANOTHER NAME.

It is quite evident that Edward Bellamy and Eugene V. Debs, as well as a host of others, look to something else than the silver question to form the basis of opposition to the present administration and existing conditions. Announcement comes from Denver that Bellamy and Debs have united and will launch a new party, having for its object the amelioration of present conditions. The party probably will be called the Social Democracy, and will advocate Socialism in its broadest sense. It is expected the new party will hold its first national convention in Chicago next June. It is unfortunate that a party of this kind, which doubtless will draw to it many sincere reformers and able men, thus commits itself at the outset to the fatal principle of State Socialism. That men need to cultivate a larger mutual interest, and become more and more co-operationists—which is Socialism of the right sort—all thoughtful men must admit. But the individualistic side of human nature is no less worthy of development, and State Socialism—and by this we mean the turning over to the State not only the public enterprises but "all other means of production and distribution" as well—would destroy not only individualism, but true co-operation, which must ever find its root and permanent development in voluntarism; never in compulsion.—Farmers' Voice, Chicago.

(Thus the editor of the Voice advocates Anarchism, and yet he shudders whenever his eyes strike the word. His conception of Anarchy is, of course, violence and chaos, and he will be surprised to hear that he is falling in line with us.

A. I.)

IMPORTANT NOTICE!

Allegheny, Pa.
February 19, 1898.

The committee which is assisting H. Bauer in distributing prizes has resolved to postpone this work until April 2, 1898, for the reason that most of the tickets are still outstanding.

Those having received tickets are kindly requested to settle and to return those not sold before March 20, 1898.

The Committee:

P. Haibert.	H. Gordon.
C. Nold.	A. Frey.
P. Schlipp.	L. Ruoff.

FOR CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Emma Goldman will lecture Sunday, March 13, 1898 at 3 p. m., at 223 Champlain St., and Monday, March 14, 1898 at 8 p. m., at Giessens Hall, cor. Woodland and Central Ave.

THE EMANCIPATION OF SOCIETY FROM GOVERNMENT.

BY DALLAN DOYLE.

(Continued from last week.)

CONCLUSION.

It is but necessary to cast a glance about us to see the constant growth of spontaneous co-operation and the marvelous achievements thereof, in order to realize that the tendencies of civilization are toward the complete emancipation of society from government. While the governments have at all times suppressed the records of their crimes, and have done all in their power not to keep record of the grand accomplishments of free individuals; we have numerous facts which demonstrate that free individuals co-operating in pursuit of personal benefits will eventually work out agencies for the gratification of all the wants of the individual, agencies that will adequately provide for the general good. The body politic like the individual body, grows naturally. And when we pass over the works of nature, we find that voluntary organizations which are constantly replacing those of compulsion are the inevitable outgrowths of the multiplications of needs of the civilized man. So numerous are these facts, so vast is their sphere of growth and so astonishing are their achievements, that we must recognize in them a growing factor in our life. Or as Herbert Spencer puts it, "I hold then that forced, as men in society are, to seek satisfaction of their own wants by satisfying the wants of others; and led as they also are, by sentiments which social life has fostered, to satisfy many wants of others irrespective of their own, they are moved by two sets of forces which, working together, will amply suffice to carry on all needful activities, and I think the facts fully justify this belief. It is true that a priori one would not have supposed that by their unconscious co-operations men could have wrought out such results, and more than one would have supposed a priori, that by their unconscious co-operation they could have evolved language. But reasoning a posteriori, which it is best to do when we have the facts before us, it becomes manifest that they can do this; that they have done it in very astonishing ways; and they may do it hereafter in ways still more transcending expectations." * This is the verdict of Herbert Spencer, the acknowledged foremost philosopher of the age, the man who would rather be kicked than called Anarchist. But this is not all. Not only does he believe that the tendencies of civilization are toward the free aggregation of free individuals, but he even goes so far as to state that this belief has the most scientific basis. Not only is this belief just as scientific as all other conclusions drawn from evolutionary philosophy, but it is even more positive than any other conclusion. Let me quote him again: "Scarcely any scientific generalization has, I think, a broader inductive basis than we have for the belief that these egoistic and altruistic feelings are powers which, taken together, amply suffice to originate and carry on healthy social life." Such are the conclusions drawn from facts which cannot be mistaken. The natural man is gregarious, and his feelings are such that he seeks self gratification by ministering to the needs of others. Therefore, whether we like it or not, the aim of social life so far as it can be ascertained scientifically, is Anarchy—the complete co-operation of free individuals without any arbitrary political restraint.

But here, again, it may also be said "since all progress in physical, biological and even sociological provinces has been effected without any apparent interference of a conscious human will with cosmic matter; since all things in nature keep on progressing without our consciously caring much about it; of what good is it to cry ourselves red in the face over the coming era?" This is the slippery road. This is the road which some pursue at breakneck speed. This is the road which leads to fatalism; and this road is one to which some of our most eminent men have switched off.

But we must not be harsh with our mistaken friends. We must be harsh with those who pursue the wrong path. We must only remind them that progress in evolution can only be considered in so far as the cosmic whole is concerned. We must remind them of those nations and worlds which could not stand the transformation required by the progress of evolution, in consequence of which they fell into the dust of oblivion.

Theoretically it is true that the future society is Anarchy, and that it will be attained by nature left alone. But practically, when we see so many nations that fell in the course of progress, and so many that remained practically on the same stage for centuries, we cannot feel that the causes of reaction are absolutely non-existent. Theoretically we may console ourselves that if we do not pave the way for the coming era, there shall be others that will; but practically we are all allowed to wish that the thriving ones should be ourselves.

This reminds me of a hunter who in order to shoot a lion discharged about a million shots in every conceivable direction. That the lion has thus been reached is true, but so have been many other unlooked for people and animals, not speaking of the vast quantity of gunpowder and labor that was wasted. Whereas, on the other hand, Charles Darwin adduces many examples of intelligent human interference into biological matters directly arriving at an end which it would take centuries for nature to accomplish through its natural course.

We must take care, whenever we interfere with the course of nature, that our personal ends do not contradict the natural tendencies of evolution. Having convinced ourselves that the tendencies of civilization, that is to say the result of natural sociological progression is Anarchy, it is only a question of which are the most practical ways leading toward that social ideal of the future. And certainly the most practical ways leading toward that social life exclude the let-them-alone policy. Although bad education may be worse than no education, yet it cannot be said that even the least bit of rational education is not better than no education. Therefore, though the natural tendencies of civilization are toward the complete emancipation of society from government, it is the duty of every unprejudiced person to do all in his power for the realization of that ideal to which social evolution points.

* See Herbert Spencer's "Specialized Administration."

Let every man adopt the ideal of personal liberty and propagate it among his fellow men. The time has fully come for us to throw off the dusty superstitions of the past. We must realize the absurdity of upholding the old because it is old, and batten the coming storm which will do away with the crown and the cross, the Church and the State, the king and the priest.

When the ideals of personal liberty have been realized, we shall have entered upon a new era. Then, and not till then, ought we to regard ourselves as having left behind the superstitions of the past. Then, and not till then, can the discoveries of science, the development of education and thought, upon the human race be utilized. Only then will the whole race be open to the beneficent effects of all the wonderful achievements of science, literature and art.

(THE END.)

FLOWERS IN THE PAVE.

Speaking of inheritances, wouldn't it be surprising if we could know just how much of our thinking and doing were thought and done for us centuries ago?

We see England in America every day, not merely in the fad of Anglomania, but in law and manner. It is exhibited in the country whenever a man puts on waste-ground a sign that reads, "This part of God's earth is mine—all mine. Therefore all common and unlabeled persons keep off from it." It is found in the courts whenever a man is set free for beating his wife or put in jail for trapping a rabbit.

Another tribal trait of ours is the habit of putting other people under discipline for not thinking as we do or being so lucky. What a grist of laws is ground in every state in every year—laws intended to make us as good as the men who passed them! How we are watched and ordered, and mandamus and enjoined, in our eating and drinking, our staying up o' nights, our looking at pictures, our dancing, our Sunday purchases and pursuits! Oh, what patient creatures we are! And when we do good to others how patient they must be! If you want to make a present to me—mind, I don't ask you to, and if it bids for any favor on my part I don't want you to—please not to give me a loaf of bread, or a bushel of coal, or a flannel shirt. There is too much of charity and too little kindness. A man has to be pretty low in body and mind to accept charity; but, granted that he must, how can he endure to receive bread, coal and flannel shirts all the time? Is it not enough to crush the life out of him? The donors would sometimes do better to give a picture, or a turkish rug, or a pot of flowers, or an etching, or a microscope to a man, before they go at him with bread and flannels. He might like a book, or a magazine, or a day in the country. Gifts with beauty, gifts that teach, gifts that stimulate, make it worth a man's while to earn his own bread, and coal and shirts. They make a horizon for his life, so that he can look up once in awhile when he is earning, and refresh himself, and feel that there is something on this earth after all, besides bread, and coal and flannels.

I don't know when I was better pleased than with the conduct of a couple of paupers in a Connecticut city, after their neighbors had got together and made a purse for them. They were well-bred paupers, mind you, and had asked no favors; but having been ill for a time, and lost work, they properly came within range of their fellow creatures. And the good souls said, "Now Mr. and Mrs. B. will be able to buy some flannels and a barrel of flour, and they really must get a necktie and a bonnet to come to church in." But what a cackling, what a holding up of hands, and rolling of eyes! The first thing these paupers did with their money was to buy two tickets to hear Charles Dickens read!

Dickens! A man who wrote stories that were not true! It never occurred to the deacons that a soul could be starved as well as a body. These two people had minds; their minds were hungry, and they had a treat that blessed them as long as they lived, but the givers of the fund were angry because all of the money was not spent for bread, and coal and flannel. I have known people to refuse aid to a man because he had certain comforts—books, pictures and a pipe. If he wanted aid, he was first to take these things to the auction room or the pawn shop, and get rid of them for a tenth of their value, and buy three meals. Then, having nothing left to live for or with, he was to have bread! As if the poor devil didn't live in his books and pictures more than in his bread! Motley was right: "Give me the luxuries, and you can have the necessities." How I could enjoy the flowers that I hope will be sent to my funeral!—Charles M. Skinner, in the Century, February.

WHO ARE THE FREE-THINKERS?

The Free-Thought Magazine seems rather worried over the fact that, as it says, "Lucifer, the free-love organ, is laboring from week to week to prove what christians have long been claiming, that free-thought leads to free-love and Anarchy." Well, if it leads anywhere it must be either in that or the opposite direction—toward barbarism. There are a certain class who call themselves Free-Thinkers who vociferously claim that it doesn't lead anywhere; it only means to be as decent as christians without christianity. "Free-thought" that denies liberty of action, which is but the fruit of thought, is a mere farce. Why should it be supposed that we have reached the acme of social and political development while yet under the sway of a religion so barbarous as christianity is pictured by these Free-Thinkers?

The original Free-Thinkers did not talk in this illogical fashion. They took a broader view of the case. They knew that the real curse of religious beliefs was worked out in false social and political systems. But this is an age of temporizing and apology. I know "Free-Thinkers" who have simply inherited a prejudice and hatred against christians; who are not, in any sense of the word, thinkers at all. They are as ready with abuse and invective (always the arguments of the unreasonable) against anything not bearing the label of their chosen leaders, as against whatever happens to bear the seal of christianity.

J. H. M.

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:

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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.

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The safest and most acceptable manner of remitting is by postoffice or express money order. Week ending Feb. 23.

B. Morvitz, \$4.00.
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Vito, Nye, Fritsner, Kessler, Rosset, Hirschson, each 25c.
Reed, Jackson, each 15c.
Sales, 25c.

By request we itemize the amounts "S. Press, Stoughton, Mass. \$20.50," contributed to "The Firebrand Defense and Publication Fund" by the following comrades:

M. Koff	1.00
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A. Freedman	1.00
L. Levin	1.00
S. Myers	.50
H. Graham	.50
B. Stibbel	.25
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Total \$20.50

CHRISTIANITY WORSE THAN ANNIHILATION.

Christianity offers eternal misery on the one hand and eternal bliss on the other as the only conditions of future life. Sympathy revolts at such conditions and reason teaches their impossibility. I would not willingly accept joy at the hand of a monster who would tear from me and damn to eternal pain those I love. Give me annihilation.—Morris.

A PRUSSIAN EX-MINISTER'S VIEW.

Herr von Berlepsch, late Prussian minister of commerce, in an address before the congress of the Society of Political Science, held at Cologne, expressed his views on the social problem, or the emancipation of the fourth estate, as he termed it. His utterances created quite a stir in conservative circles of the German empire, and the ex-minister of State is severely criticised by the government press for the heresies committed. The following is the substance of his address:

"The social struggles of today are no new phenomenon in history; past centuries witnessed similar conflicts. The exit of the last century brought the struggle for the emancipation of the third estate, and the conclusion of the present century presents us the emancipation of the fourth estate. It must be acknowledged that this is a struggle of a new estate, demanding the same intellectual and material advantages possessed by the estates that have already gone through this struggle. This endeavor is but right and just in the interest of a healthy progress, even necessary; and therefore our sympathy is extended to it. I feel myself free from all social democratic ideas so far as they are in opposition to the fundamental basis of our civilization. History stands too sound for me to believe that our intellectual and moral accomplishments are endangered. But to reject the right of the workingmen for a better existence and a partaking of the fruits of our civilization with the same emphasis as we do the misty program of the Social Democrats, would be a gross mistake indeed. Moreover the intelligent and propertied classes should tolerate and promote the rise of a fourth estate."

The Hamburger Nachrichten, Bismarck's organ ridicules Herr von Berlepsch for comparing the struggle of the eighteenth century, which was one for political rights merely, with the present labor problem, in which is to be decided whether the key to the safe deposit of wealth shall remain in the hands of the present owners or be taken away from them.

SHE WAS ONTO THE GAME.

She was a bright little maiden of six years, with an irrepressible vitality. One day her mamma was more than usually tired, and exclaimed:

"Dorothy Dimple, you ought to go to your room and ask God to forgive you for being so naughty."

Dorothy disappeared for a little while, then returned with a most important air. Mrs. Dimple noticing this, said:

"Dorothy, did you ask God to forgive you?"

"Yes, I did, mamma," said Dorothy with a toss of her head, and God said "Great Scott, Dorothy Dimple, I know lots of little girls ten times worse than you are."

DR. FOOTE'S PLAIN HOME TALK

EMBRACING

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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.

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

The German Group, Chicago, Ill. meets every Friday, 8 o'clock p. m., at 585 Blue Island av.

Anarchist Headquarters of San Francisco 1274 Folsom St. Open every evening from 7 till 10 P. M.

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

Independent Debating Club, St. Louis, 4104 Market st., Room 7, meets every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock.

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

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

Social Science Club, Leor's Hall, 61 E. 4th st., New York City. Free lectures and discussion every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.

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 Saturday, 8 p. m. at 31 Robinson St., Providence, R. I. Pamphlets in English, German, French, Jewish and Russian languages on hand.

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NEW YORK.—A. Tannen, care of Ufer, 390 E. 9th st. Also has for sale Freedom, the English Anarchist paper, at 3c a copy, and Anarchist pamphlets.

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

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Der Sozialist, a German Anarchist weekly. Address: Elizabethstrasse 66, Berlin N., Germany.

Freedom, an Anarchist monthly, 85c. per year. Address: 7 Lamb Conduit St., London W. C., England.

Freiheit, a German Anarchist weekly, price \$2.00 a year. Address: 617 Genesee Street, Buffalo, New York.

The Adult, the journal of sex. Office: 16 John Street, Bedford Row, London W. C., England. 3d. Monthly. 4d. Post Free.

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

Der Arme Teufel, a radical and literary German weekly. Price \$2.50 per year. Address: R. Reitzel, 675 McDougall Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Le Temps Nouveaux, a French Anarchist weekly. Address: 140 Rue Montfardet, Paris, France.

Le Pere Peinard, a French Anarchist weekly. Address: 15 Rue Lavieville, Montmartre, Paris, France.

La Tribune Libre, a French Anarchist weekly. Price \$1.00 a year. Address: Charleroi, Pennsylvania.

Germania, a Spanish Anarchist weekly. Address: B. Salbas, Casilla Correo 1120 Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic.

Miscarea Sociala, a Roumanian Anarchist weekly. Address: Matacalar 22, Bucharest, Roumania.

Sozialistische Monatshefte, a radical monthly magazine. Address: Marien St. 27, Berlin N. W., Germany.

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

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