

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

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

NEW SERIES NO. 18.

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WHOLE NO. 154.

FREEDOM.

From "Life of Albert R. Parsons."

Toll and pray! The world cries cold;
Speed thy prayer, for time is gold;
At thy door Need's subtle tread;
Pray in haste! for time is bread,

And thou plow'st and thou hew'st,
And thou rivet'st and sewest,
And thou harvestest in vain;
Speak! O, man; what is thy gain?

Fly 'st the shuttle day and night,
Heav' 'st the ores of earth to light,
Fill 'st with treasures plenty's horn—
Brim 'st it o'er with wine and corn.

But who hath thy meal prepared,
Festive garments with thee shared;
And where is thy cheerful hearth,
Thy good shield in battle dearth?

Thy creations round thee see—
All thy work, but nought for thee!
Yea, of all the chains alone
Thy hand forged, these are thine own.

Chains that round the body cling,
Chains that lame the spirit's wing,
Chains that infants' feet, indeed,
Clog! O, workman! Lo! Thy need.

What ye rear and bring to light,
Profits by the idle wight,
What ye weave of diverse hue,
'Tis a curse—your only due.

What ye build, no room insures,
Not a sheltering roof to yours,
And by haughty ones are trod—
Ye, whose toil their feet hath shod.

Human bees! Has nature's thrift
Given thee naught but honey's gift?
See! the drones are on the wing,
Have you lost the will to sting?

Man of labor, up, arise!
Know the might that in thee lies,
Wheel and shaft are set at rest
At thy powerful arm's behest.

Thine oppressor's hand recoils
When thou, weary of thy toil,
Shun'st thy plough; thy task begun
When thou speak'st: Enough is done!

Break this two-fold yoke in twain;
Break thy want's enslaving chain;
Break thy slavery's want and dread;
Bread is freedom, freedom bread.

VIVE LA COMMUNE!

If we had been in the beautiful city of Paris 27 years ago this month, we should have seen a great city in the throes of armed revolt. Not merely a rebellion of the people against the political power which had misgoverned fair France; not alone a forcible protest against the surrender of the French armies to the victorious Germans, or an armed uprising against a threatened re-establishment of the empire—though each and all of these have been declared by some writers as the cause or causes of the revolt. It was a revolt of a far more sweeping character. It was a violent protest against the iniquitous political, industrial and social system which then prevailed and under which we still suffer. It was a complete overthrow, for the time being, of existing institutions, and an attempt to found a social and industrial commonwealth based upon the inherent rights of man. It was a protest of the robbed against further spoliation, of the poor against a continuance of their misery. It was a revolt against continued fraud, vice, crime and war.

It is not necessary to recount the incidents which transpired, in rapid succession, from the 18th of March 1871 till the army of Versailles effected an entrance into the doomed city. We are all familiar with the principal events of that memorable time: How, on the date mentioned, the government troops made a desperate but unsuccessful attempt to steal the munitions of war, held by the national guard, how the attempt

was frustrated mainly through the devotion of the women of the Commune, who by their entreaties caused the troops to lay down their arms and to fraternize with the people; how Generals Clement Thomas and Lecomte were shot, because of their cruelty and tyrannical conduct, by their own soldiers; how the cause of the Commune was daily strengthened by the repeated failures of the Versailles troops to dislodge the soldiers of the Commune from the advantageous positions occupied by them in the environs of Paris; how step by step our comrades mounted to the zenith of their power and influence, until on the 29th day of March the Commune was formally declared. Most of us are aware of the difficulties which surrounded the men upon whose shoulders rested the great burden of reconstruction and reorganization; what trials were borne, what triumphs ensued; of the plots and counterplots of the government, which had already been established at Versailles; how our enemies at last succeeded in organizing their forces, and through the treachery of traitors within, and the connivance of the German leaders without, they finally gained an entrance into the devoted city.

Let us dwell, for a moment, upon the scenes of that last fatal week, beginning with Sunday, May 21, when the government troops entered the city by the St. Germain, and lasting until noon of the following Sunday, when the last barricade in the Faubourg du Temple had been overpowered and the last armed insurgent had been hunted to death among the graves in the cemetery of Pere la Chaise. From the moment that the soldiers entered the city scenes of carnage were enacted which beggar all efforts at description—scenes which have no counterpart in history save the bloody night of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Would that I could paint in words of living fire the damnable deeds perpetrated in the name of "law and order" during that terrible week. I would sear and burn the knowledge of the awful truths so deep in the brains and hearts of my readers that their very cheeks would blanch and the blood would surge hot through their veins. I would bid them remember the shambles opened in vacant cellars by the French officers; where squads of Communist prisoners of all ages and both sexes were taken for slaughter. I would remind them of the crowds of men, women and children who were forced to march bareheaded under the scorching sun, through the public streets, manacled together with heavy chains, and who were shot or stabbed at the least sign of weariness or the slightest gesture of despair. I would tell them again of the sick and disabled, murdered in their beds in the hospitals; of the pregnant women whose bellies were ripped open; of the ruthless slaughter of innocent babes. And then I would paint for them the scene at Satory, where 20,000 of our comrades were penned like wild beasts in the mud, and finally mowed down with grape and cannister which was poured into them from all sides, until the enclosure was but a reeking mass of blood and mangled flesh.

Let us not forget these things, my comrades, for the day will surely dawn when their remembrance must nerve our hearts to perform deeds worthy of the cause which we call our own.

And what of the men of the Commune? Their names and glorious deeds will live forever. Their sufferings will not deter others from following in their footsteps; their heroism and daring will nerve many to like deeds of grandeur, and their triumphs will serve as an incentive to us and to our children. Delescluze and Raspail, Pyat and Flourens, Dombrowsky, Duval and Blanqui, Vermorel, Meyn, Mielliere and the whole noble host of martyrs, your names are immortal!

In its brief existence of two months the Paris Commune accomplished reforms that were the wonder of the civilized world. Prostitution was greatly diminished, vice was suppressed, crime was unknown. The city under the Commune no longer presented the scenes of

human misery and reckless ostentation and extravagance which had characterized it for years. The richer quarters ceased to be, as they had been for years, the brothels of Europe. Taxes were reduced; the conscription act was abolished; national workshops were established, and the Commune emphasized its detestation of official murder by burning the guillotine. And all this, be it remembered, while the city was surrounded by a foreign invading foe, and the French army under the butcher Thiers, was pouring shell and red hot shot into its heart.

Lack of space will not permit a history of the Paris Commune. We already have them, both from a capitalistic standpoint and by the officials of the Commune. The former do not deny, but justify, the wanton murder of 50,000 Communards; the latter give dates and places and documents to prove their recitals. Visitors in Paris at the time (among whom may be mentioned Frederick Harrison, the English essayist, and Frank Pixley of San Francisco) have also written accounts of the merciless tortures and butcheries of the Communards by the French soldiers.

The massacres of that awful week were ordered committed by those in authority. Nay, more, they were urged by the press and by the clergy. It was openly stated that when the government should once more resume its authority in the ill-fated city, the working people of Paris were to be treated like wild beasts, hunted and slaughtered without mercy.

Be patient, comrades! Be patient and strong! The beasts of capitalism may hunt us like wild beasts, they may imprison and hang our bravest men and women; they may gloat over their devilish treatment of the poor. The time will surely come when all this will be changed. Our sun of promise is already looming up in the East. From the countries of the Orient, from czar cursed Russia, from Germany, France, Spain, Italy, England and the Netherlands, aye, from many of the states of this union the rumbling of the coming Social Revolution is borne to us, and the signs bid us here prepare to join with our comrades over the seas in the struggle for human emancipation.

Shades of our martyred comrades on Satory's field, in the bloody streets of Paris, amid the Siberian wilds, on the gallows in Chicago—great hearts and fervent souls, we salute you! WM. HOLMES.

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION.

It is true that social and political evolution is, primarily, a product of thought, of brain power. New ideas supplant the old. New desires must precede new conceptions. And discontent is the first healthy symptom of evolution.

If the whole question were one of brain against brain, thought in combat with thought, the new, the vital, the higher conception would march along, change following change in interminable and uninterrupted succession. There would be no languishing in old and oppressive conditions; progress would not forge ahead by starts and spurts, only to drift, if not wholly, partially back into the old ruts. There could not be that phase of evolution commonly called revolution.

But there stands in the way Property, assuming to be superior to all else—superior to intelligence and even life itself. And it is ever ready to back the assumption with iron—the rifle and the sword. How shall thought prevail against these? What is passive resistance when thus confronted? Bullets are the pills employed by the propertied class to relieve a serious case of discontent.

And who first resorts to violent measures? Was Berkman's attack on Frick the first violent act? Was Carnot the first victim of violence? No one at all posted will make the contention. All know that the propertied class, government, has slain

thousands where the "violent Anarchist" has assassinated one. Let the passive resisters, then, go to the greater offender with their doctrines. Do they dare preach to us not to strike back when smitten? Convert those who always aim the first blow, and you will save much time and labor.

Here are men crowded off the earth, comparatively, huddled in tenements. But here is vacant land all about them. It is impossible that such a condition should not cause question and thought—evolution. Having questioned, discussed and arrived at the conclusion that they have a right to the use of any unused land, they move onto it. Nobody is assassinated; nobody's life is endangered by these Anarchists. But all the same there will soon be a show of guns. Forced by whom? Who fires the first shot? Who is the first assassin of peaceable men?

In this example is proof of all I or any Anarchist claims in regard to violent resistance: that it is an inevitable part of the evolution toward free land and free conditions generally. Of what avail is the brain part of evolution if the consequent part is to be decried and discountenanced?

We need not worry about the Anarchist becoming too violent. It is the other fellow that needs watching. All intelligent students of history and sociology have discovered this fact.

Violence, force, is Anarchistic only when used in defense. But this cannot be construed to mean that we are to sit supinely and wait until the hand is raised to strike us. We threaten danger and destruction to no one. But the attitude of the opposition toward us is clearly demonstrated. We are to expect no quarter.

Now some will call this incendiary; and indeed the plain statement of facts is sometimes inflammatory, and ought to be. But I am not "advocating violence"—I do not need to. I see it coming, to my intense regret and sorrow.

Much has been said in praise and condemnation of some individuals who committed, some would say, unprovoked acts of violence in the name of Anarchy. The facts are very plain and simple. It does not seem that such cases would need to be discussed at all by intelligent persons. Those men were the product of conditions, the same as were the men attacked or assassinated. We do not know the motives that conditions had given those parties. How, then, shall we condemn? Their acts were as inevitable as the coming violent struggle, under existing conditions.

I have no hard words for any individual or class—the millionaire, the pauper, the slave-driver or slave—all are the products of conditions; the thoughts and the acts of each are alike inevitable. Not in the sense of foreordination, of course, but in accordance with inherited tendencies and the play of present environments upon the organism.

J. H. M.

WHY I AM AN ANARCHIST.

I try to do to others as I would have them do to me. I would not be governed, therefore I would not govern others, which constitutes me an Anarchist.

I say as did Christ, "Neither do I condemn them." "Father forgive them—they know not what they do." If I had been organized and environed as the most negative, ignorant so-called criminal I can think of, I should have done just as he did, therefore I have no right to punish him and do not favor laws that would. I have only a right to influence him by teaching and by example to do as I think right. I am therefore an Anarchist.

I have a right to love even my enemies. I do not allow myself to hate or think evil of others so far as I can avoid it. I am therefore an Anarchist.

I am naturally sympathetic with suffering, and do not try to suppress my sympathies, for I never thought them harmful. I am too sympathetic, if for no other reason, to kill any living thing, much less a fellow man, and for that reason I never owned a gun nor killed anything with a gun in my life.

I, being an Anarchist, could not sanction government, and therefore could not nor ever did ask for an office.

I never commanded anyone, for a command implies obedience—obedience implies inferiority of the commanded, and punishment for disobedience; for behind every command is hidden in ambush—"If you don't, I'll make you." I am therefore an Anarchist.

I have lived a life of Anarchy for sixty years. I have never cost the county or state a cent for my support in poorhouse, in office, or in court; but on the contrary, I have always paid a heavy tax assessed against me for which I never received a cent benefit except in the roads and bridges built. I never went to war to tax others to pay me a pension. I never went to law to tax others to pay for courts. I do not support churches for the reason that they are authoritative, sanction and foster governments, war and all other evils that government implies. Yet there are some, especially among professed Christians, who do not love me as their teacher would if he were here. I feel sure that if Christ were here, and we could have a familiar conversation on sociological subjects, subjects he was so fond of discussing, that we would agree exactly. What he taught of sociology was profoundly true. Much of what he taught has since been demonstrated by Herbert Spencer and others of modern times to be true. He was the great sociological commentator and Anarchist of his time.

Of course, if he lived now, he would modify some things he said, but the main purport of all his teachings was just what Anarchists teach now. I know church members do not like to have his name associated with Anarchy, for the reason that they are either ignorant of Anarchy or Christianity. I have asked, and now repeat the request, please point to a single word or action in Christ's short life on earth that does not fully comport with Anarchy. If you can, I will cease to quote him. Yet professed Christians are the bitterest opponents of Anarchy we have. It is *prima facie* evidence to my mind that the Church is not Christian. Of course, I mean the orthodox churches. There are a few churches, largely in the minority, that approach Christianity in their ethical teachings. They are, however, illogical by not openly avowing Anarchy. Take the Friends or "Quakers." They oppose war and slavery logically, but illogically support government. They have never thought that all government is founded on war. If a command to pay your tax to support soldiers is disobeyed, the command is backed up by the sheriff, and he by his posse, they by the state militia, and the latter by the whole army of the government. Government is all and essentially physical force. Might is right. No appeal is made to the better emotions nor reason of men. Christianity and Anarchy appeal ENTIRELY and EXCLUSIVELY to LOVE and REASON.

It is not so difficult a matter, as some imagine it might be, to live an anarchistic life. One may not accumulate so much wealth, as society is now constituted, but the consciousness of having lived a non-aggressive Christ-life, void of offense to any man, is ample compensation for abstinence from so-called worldly pleasures, such as contentions, hatreds, law-suits, wars and offices of authority.

Christ might and doubtless would have lived to be over a hundred years of age if he had only kept his mouth shut. It is not for what any martyr for Anarchy ever did that he died, but for what his sympathetic and sanguine nature prompted him to utter. Simply for words, words, words, they died, and those words often disconnected and the sentences distorted to make a case of violation of man-made restrictive laws against freedom of speech.

I have never seen an Anarchist, but have read of them and have read their writings, and am fully persuaded that Anarchists, as a class, are the most noble, intellectual, philanthropic and sympathetic people living. It would not be strange if some Anarchist, driven to an insane frenzy on witnessing his comrades tortured—as 300 of them were in Barcelona, from which 28 died—to get them to confess to a crime they never committed, should assassinate Canovas the premier of Spain.

But notwithstanding the fact that diatribes, innuendoes, and epithets have been hurled at them, and even their name Anarchist is almost always used in an opprobrious sense, but one or two Anarchists in all the world have ever been proven guilty of infringing upon the rights or freedom of anyone. Why should they be so unreasonably accused of crime when the fundamental principles of Anarchism are equal freedom and non-aggression? Some Anarchists even go so far as to be non-resistants to force or persecution as Christ did. They are taxed to support governments, soldiers, pensions for soldiers and churches, none of which they en-

dorse. They are the most patient, long suffering and worst maligned and persecuted people anywhere to be found in the world.

I believe it was Rousseau who said the boast of patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel. Anarchists are not patriots. They believe as I do in the solidarity of the race; that if one member suffers the whole body is in pain. We are all interdependent creatures. If the most remote people on earth suffer, we feel it sympathetically.

I am an Anarchist because Anarchism appeals to every pure and noble emotion of the human soul. It is absolutely just, philanthropic, altruistic, and inspiring to every good action, and leaves no excuse or temptation to do a bad thing. I have never heard an effective argument against it. One argument often used against it consists in the question "What would you do with your criminals?" It is not a pertinent question to put to an Anarchist, for we challenge the world to disprove that government itself is the crime of crimes and the sole cause of all crime. We in turn ask our opponents, what are you going to do with your criminals? Now, since the prisons are bursting to overflow, and with criminals on the increase it is a serious question for them to answer.

A starving man might break into my house now, since there are so many against whom we bar our doors, but under Anarchist-Communism no laws nor locks would be needed.

No more important truth was ever uttered by Herbert Spencer than that, wherever society rides itself of an evil by coercive force, other evils as great or greater, unforeseen, spring up in its place. "Coercion," says he, "can by no process be made equitable."

Governments have in all times vainly tried to suppress crimes, and people seem to learn nothing from history. People still have faith that if there was a strong repressive law, with a heavy penalty to its violation against a certain evil, the millennium would be here. Did they ever have any experience in smoothing and straightening a sheet of copper or tin that had become cockled, as we say, at one corner? If they put it on an anvil and attempted to straighten out the cockle with one fell blow they would find they had made a half dozen more small wrinkles unforeseen and unthought of. Never, never, was evil overcome by evil! Government is evil. It is coercion. It is antagonistic to charity and every other elevating emotion. Since government has always failed to benefit the people, let us try freedom—Anarchism.

Hindsboro, Ill.

J. C. BARNES.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN PHILADELPHIA.

The extraordinary popularity of Emma Goldman was again attested by the crowds that flocked to hear her. A large audience is no criterion by which to judge of the popularity of any speaker, but the ovations she received are sufficient confirmations. Comments were frequent anent her remarkable improvement in public speaking, and what greater achievements this remarkable woman may yet attain, if she reaches life's autumn, can only be conjectured.

Owing to the fact that Comrade Goldman delivered six lectures here last week, it is impossible to make any extended remarks, but I will attempt a fair summary of each of the lectures.

On Wednesday evening before the Ladies' Liberal League the lecturer spoke of "The New Woman." She made a brilliant plea for the economical, political and sexual freedom of her sex, endorsing the sentiment expressed by John Stuart Mills in his memorable speech in the house of commons, that "The principle which regulates the existing social relation between the sexes, the legal subordination of one sex to another, is wrong in itself and ought to be replaced by equity."

She said that from time immemorial woman had been subjected by Church and State to abject humiliation and that the farther away woman progressed from these gorgons the nearer she approached the goal of intellectual liberty.

On Thursday evening she spoke at the Single Tax society on "The Absurdity of Non-Resistance to Evil." She showed the fallacy of the Tolstoid argument maintaining that the great reforms of the past were not attained through "passive resistance" but through force.

She very skillfully reviewed several great historical events and proved that they were successful only through the application of force.

She said she believed in non-acquiescence to injustice and not in a calm, docile submission to despotism,

closing with a quotation from Ibsen, that "when necessity breeds no revolt, then the people are not worthy of their own redemption."

On Friday evening she delivered an address before the Society for Ethical Research on "The Basis of Morality." This address was listened to by several well-known educators who have been holding their annual convention here. Comrade Goldman maintained that all morality is dependent upon what is known to moralists as the "materialistic conception", that is to say, the ego. She said she was thoroughly in accord with Frederick Nietzsche in his "Twilight of the Idols" when he wrote that "our present morality is a degenerate idiosyncrasy which has caused an unutterable amount of harm."

To sustain her argument that morality depends upon individualistic conception she cited the irrefutable axiom of Kropotkin, that the man who steals a loaf of bread and the man who gives away his last shirt to a child are both actuated by the same egoistic impulse. She denied the right of Church or State to frame a code of ethics to be used as a basis for all moral action. She stigmatized such usurpation as vile casuistry. She showed the relation existing between morals and economics proving that economic thralldom is responsible for nearly all the crimes so-called, and she closed by saying that as long as the present system of economic slavery continues she believed with Lacassagne, that "every society possesses the criminals it deserves."

On Saturday evening Comrade Goldman addressed the German Anarchist society upon the subject of "Freedom." The hall was so densely crowded that the narrator was unable to obtain admission and is therefore unable to furnish FREE SOCIETY with an epitome of her remarks. Suffice it to say, however, that she handled the subject ably.

Comrade Goldman was billed to deliver two addresses before the Friendship Liberal League on Sunday. The subject of the afternoon's discourse was "Patriotism." She said that patriotism has always been "the last refuge of a scoundrel." That it is a tool wielded by subtle politicians to accomplish their own designing ends. The lecturer referred to patriotism as the antithesis of comradeship and solidarity. She said that the history of mankind proves the fallacy of a chauvinistic policy. It is a breeder of dissension and strife between the proletariat of different countries. She referred to patriotism as the Veil of Maya that obscures the real issues of the day.

The lecturer warmly eulogized the Communists for the destruction of the Vendome Column, and who while in the act of demolition, exclaimed: "We will not tolerate this barrier against our German brothers. Our cause is their cause."

She closed her remarks with an eloquent plea for the abandonment of patriotism and warned her auditors not to allow their minds to be circumscribed within the narrow confines of any nation, but to be men and women of universal sympathy.

"Charity" was the topic for the evening discussion. She commenced her remarks by drawing the line of differentiation between charity and assistance, stating that her experience as a trained nurse had justified her belief that hospitals being indispensable institutions, should not be included in the category of charity. She characterized charity as the crumbs that fall from the table of the modern Dives. Charity, said Comrade Goldman, is an indictment against christianity.

The lecturer applied her scalpel to the management of penal institutions (which are based upon "sweet" charity) and stated that the "festering dung-heap," commonly known as "society," was responsible for the very criminals that it attempts to reform by incarceration. She said that charity and justice were incompatibilities.

She spoke of founding asylums as institutions created by society to hide the defects of its marital relations.

During the discussion that followed her remarks she was blackguarded by a notorious Camden pettifogger. I will contribute an article to your valuable paper upon this discussion, including Comrade Goldman's opening address, the criticism of an intellectual bastard and her clever rejoinder to him.

I leave it to the calm and philosophic consideration of the reader of this article who is the greatest benefactor to the human race, the wealthy Baroness Burdett-Coutts who distributes the very money in charity which is stolen from the laborers of England, or that poor, much villified Anarchist propagandist who is endeavoring to eliminate those conditions in society which make charity a possibility.

Comrade Goldman has gone to Pittsburg to "spread the gospel." She has the affectionate esteem of her Philadelphia comrades, who believe in her undying fealty to the cause; in her intellectual and discursive ability to expound and defend it; and in her indomitable will which is unswayed by either persecution or imprisonment.

O. SHILLING.

"CALL FOR ACTION."

Comrade Bodendyke's call for action in the issue of No. 150 with reference to establishing a colony is disturbing the minds of radicals of late. It seems there is sickness in our ranks, and the expounders of such erratic ideas furnish proof of it. If I look at things rightly there can be no such thing as an Anarchist community successfully conducted. First, we have not the means to start it; second, we cannot live up to our ideal so long as the dominant system makes war upon us, and admitting this to be a fact, our sole aim should be to make war upon the prevailing system; or, in other words, to be the yeast to revolutionize an oppressed and superstitious people. To do this, and do it right, we must stay in their midst, and not fence ourselves up in a community or colony.

The only object we can have for any kind of association is not to try to free ourselves from surrounding conditions (and finally to prove it to be a failure where every one of the participants accuses the other of having brought it about), but associate to further the propaganda. Let us, instead of trying to bring about impossibilities, establish a center for distribution of literature. Go to work and do something, instead of bewailing our own inactivity, and soon we will have something else than such a state of things as we have now. Comrade Bodendyke cries: "I dread to work for a boss. I'd sooner go to war if I could." We are in war now, comrade, and you either do not realize it or else your servitude has so affected you that you would unconsciously fall into the trap of a boss again, because if you would co-operate with ever so many or few mechanics, you would be as much under the power of monopoly as now. Where would you get the raw material to work upon, if not from them? And to whom could you sell, if not to a monopoly-ridden surrounding? As things are we could not lift ourselves out of this mire by our own boot-straps. We shall have to get out of it, else clear it away. No other method is possible, however we may dislike it. Therefore, if everyone of the comrades would help clear away the mire of superstition, and not waste away his life-blood trying to elevate himself above it, we soon would have better conditions around us, and not until we do this will our surroundings improve.

Now, comrade, get up and go to war again and you will have better results than you have had during the past three years.

CLEMENS PUETZNER.

Chicago, Ill.

BIBLE TEACHING UP TO DATE.

"But Christ is ALL, and in ALL."

Logically therefore an Anarchist must be Christ and christianity Anarchism.

Paul realized the ideal Anarchy when he said, "Lie not one to another, seeing that you have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him; where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free; but Christ is all, and in all. Put on therefore as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another if any man have a quarrel against any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye."

Paul earned his living in the sweat of his face, and by thus following the first law of nature, he at last found the truth in other matters, and became a leader of the very class he before persecuted even unto death; and in many instances, (such as the above) preached freedom.

Booth, the self-dubbed general—a more appropriate title would be, aide de camp of the plutes—has commenced his campaign of degradation in California by saying: "We want, however, not more bibles, nor more truths, but more men and women who love the truth; christianity means real men and real women who live free from sin;" right you are, and one sin is that of keeping you producing nothing but childish superstition; the greatest sin, the concentration of all sin, is that of Labor submitting to legal robbery,

through which those who produce all are clothed in rags, live in hovels and suffer starvation; and to continue these conditions quietly is the doctrine promulgated by the Salvation army. "Brother Booth's God is not an attractive one, there being no love, truth or equity in enticing dupes to still crawl down the Jericho road to fall among thieves.

Those professing or attempting to lead thought today, must first get rid of all the superstitions on which they were fed as babies, when they swallowed every lie the barons and priests selected from the utterances of biblical barons and priests, so as to retain them in bondage through ignorance.

Miss Francis Willard, the distinguished temperance advocate, for a long time preached intemperance as the cause of poverty and crime, but being an earnest seeker after truth she arrived at the conclusion that the unjust conditions under which Labor has to live, was the real cause of both the poverty and the crime.

Christianity means real men and real women, "who know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain them;" and they cannot carry this out in Salvation barracks, with hallelujah soup, and praise-the-lord-bare-bones. Let the general begin at the sore place; try the healing of the people by following the example of Jesus, and whip the money changers off the earth, clean out of the temple of humanity—then, and not till then, will there be peace on earth and good will between men—don't the Doctors of Divinity know this?

But what is Booth's mode? raise the down-trodden? No, tread them down so deep in the mire of superstitious fear and submission, that they will never rise again! The plutocratic press gives us the news that an ovation headed by Oakland's mayor was accorded him, before entering his carriage to be driven to Hotel Meritt, where he told the interviewer, "Since my visit to America three years ago the increase in membership of the Salvation army is something marvelous. I also find among MY PEOPLE a great advance in the character of work, and their devotion to the great and good cause is beautiful in the extreme. It can be expressed in just three words; they are, poverty, chastity and devotion" (what keen perception!) "Among the Salvationists the world over the likeness is striking. They are willing to serve, obedient to authority, ready to suffer, and are the most loveable people on the face of the earth. If the world goes on they must become a mighty force and a great aid to civilization."

The offer of a civilization of robbed, crushed slaves is not enticing; no one wearing any uniform can be free, be he priest, police, or collector of odd trifles under false pretenses—the Pope must be Booth's model, the pennies come in so thick and handy in both cases, through fear of damnation, purgatory and hell.

We prefer to follow the carpenter who taught that the truth shall make us free; freedom in hell is preferable to a heaven-community of brass bands, banners and buncombe; howls and prayers, colonels and slaves.

The Salvation army is a positive block on the road to Labor's emancipation.

We may meet beyond the river to check your baggage, barons, priests and colonels; you have at least saved us that worry. J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.

FOR CHICAGO.

Concert and ball of The International Group, Saturday, April 9, 1898, at 12th St., Turner Hall near Halsted St., for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY and the Berkman Fund. Comrade Emma Goldman will deliver an address. All comrades interested in our movement are earnestly requested to make this testimonial a financial success. THE INTERNATIONAL GROUP.

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 29, 1898.

The Committee:

P. HAIBERT.

C. NOLD.

P. SCHLAPP.

H. GORDON.

A. FRET.

L. RUOFF.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Co.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

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

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.

IN THE LAND OF THE FREE.

"The land of the free; the home of the brave." These are sentences that sound familiar to us. We have often heard them in Fourth of July orations. We have often heard them clearly enunciated by the well-to-do preachers in the church. Not alone there, but even our labor leaders—so-called—after condemning the particular evil from which his audience suffers, many a time bursts out: "But this is the land of the free; the home of the brave."

And yet our common observations will tell us that these words are as false as they are beautiful. We need only cast a glance at those crouching slaves that fill our department stores, our factories, our mills, and our mines; we need only look over the newspapers reporting the many suicides, starvations and destitutions, and we will be irritated by the repetition of the old song, "The land of the free; the home of the brave."

In the midst of the most gorgeous luxuries of life hundreds and thousands of men, women and children are driven to despair. In the midst of this grand civilization of ours men and women, sons and daughters, willing and able to work and be useful to themselves and to the community, are condemned to idleness and starvation.

There was a time, we are told, when things were quite different. There was a time when life was simpler, when life was easier. That was the time when men were truly free. They had their own homes, their own tools and lived nearer to nature. They were primitive times, early times; they were times which were conspicuous for the absence of two things, the absence of luxury and the absence of want. But that time has passed and we can only read of it in books. We can read and weep. The stories, the poems, and the sketches of primitive life make us feel sorry for its departure. We often wonder why man progressed at all. We often feel like wandering back to the old villages:—

"Where health and plenty cheered the laboring swain,

Where smiling spring its earliest visit paid,
And parting Summer's lingering bloom displayed."

We often sit recalling all the charms and beauties of nature and particularly the "health and plenty which cheered the laboring swain." We think of the simplicity with which nature shaped that life, where all was pleasant and all was quiet; when man required less, but had more; there was time to labor and time to sport. But those days are gone, their charms have fled. We are now more civilized. Our modes of life are more complicated. We have large cities, grand structures, wonderful bridges, splendid illuminations, and the most improved facilities of production. We have universities, theatres and libraries; we have an abundance of intelligence and refinement. We have a government to civilize our instincts and a police force to guard us. We have exploitation to manufacture crime and we have prisons and prison officials to punish those who commit them. We have laws to serve the people and we have an army to force the people to serve the laws.

The time is gone when man and man like brothers lived, when every rod of land maintained its man, when "his best companions were innocence and health, and his best riches the ignorance of wealth."

We now are learned in the ways of trade and know quite well how to utilize the forces of nature.

The wind and the stream, the air and the rain act now in obedience to our will. We have subdued the forces of nature, but nature itself is no longer free.*

"One only master grasps the whole domain,
And half a tillage stints thy smiling plane,
And, trembling, shrinking from the spoiler's hand
Far, far away thy children leave the land."

Here in Massachusetts we have cotton mills; we have mills where our fathers, our mothers and the little ones work early and late, and do not earn enough to fill their stomachs, to cover their backs, and keep their miserable dwellings warm in the cold winter nights. Before the election they have been told "Vote for McKinley and prosperity" and they did vote. McKinley is elected, but prosperity did not come,—prosperity so long a stranger to the men of toil, is a stranger still. Before election they have been told, "Protection means high wages," and they voted for protection, but the high wages never came. Nearly every consumable article has gone up in price, but wages did not. On the contrary, wages have gone down. And today the workmen are out on strike, the mills are closed, the streets are deserted, and quietly hundreds of families are dying for bread. McKinley, Republicans, Senators and the rest of the crowd of liars, where is your prosperity? Where are your high wages? It is not nice for a president to lie. Why don't you keep your promise? Why do you keep quiet while agony fills the air of New Bedford, Hazeleton, and every other part of the land over which you reign? There is no answer to that.

As long as men will expect from government what they alone must do, so long will this state of affairs remain. To abolish that, men must become self-reliant and active. They must look upon government as a tyranny which exists not upon its strength, but upon the weakness and ignorance of the people.

DALLAN DOYLE.

"FREE LABOR."

I am of the opinion that, after all, there is such a thing in this country as "free labor." Now all you red-eyed radicals, who never weary of asserting that freedom is unknown to the laborers, just wait till I explain before throwing down the paper in disgust. Let me illustrate.

There is a company, composed of Latter-Day-Saints of Jesus Christ, with head-quarters at Ogden, Utah. The worthy gentlemen are called Mormons by the wicked gentiles and Anarchists who know them. One of the branches of the company of Saints is known as the Oregon Lumber Co.

Now let me tell you what I mean by "free labor." If a piece of lumber gets out of the boom at the end of the flume of the Or. L. Co. at the mouth of the Little White Salmon River, Washington, it is said to be free and soon is floating on the mighty Columbia. That's a free stick of timber. If a man working at this boom is dissatisfied with the work and his wages, he can leave the boom and drift up or down the Columbia River. That is called a "free laborer."

Now that free stick of timber may be picked up by some one who has use for it, or else it will drift on until cast ashore by the water, along with other drift, and probably goes to help make fire some cold night for some free laborer who, too, is adrift. The free laborer may be picked up by some "philanthropist" who needs him, or else he is "cast ashore" in some hospital or morgue and his body furnishes a subject for medical students to whittle up as he once hacked up the stick of free timber.

Can't you see that "free labor" is a fact? If the foregoing illustration is not sufficient to convince you, let me call attention to another view of the matter.

A man went to work on the boom aforesaid, and his wife took charge of the boarding house where the laborers worked on the boom board—mind you, I did not say "free laborers," for the laborers are not "free" until they break loose from this boom. The man put in all the time he was allowed to building rafts at the boom, his wife put in all the time keeping the boarding house. At the end of the first month they had handed them for their month's work, after their

* The assertions in this paragraph are rather bold and can be questioned.

"expenses" had been deducted—for they had to buy everything at the company's store—the magnificent sum, in the form of a check, of TWO DOLLARS AND FORTY CENTS! Now if that company did not get a lot of "free labor" for that hardworking couple I'd like to know what you'd call it.

Yes, my friends, there is abundant "free labor" in this country. That is if you accept this definition of freedom. And in order to be understood by some of our high and mighty economists you must use this definition! Free, indeed! Free to be robbed of your labor by a merciless corporation, or to be driven as helplessly about by circumstances as the stick of driftwood is driven by the Columbia.

Is a stick that is the sport of the waves, driven before the wind, and swept oceanward by the resistless current of the river, any less free than the man who must drift about from town to town looking for a boss, for some one to employ him in such manner that they will get a lot of his labor—or the result of his labor—free?

How long, my fellow sufferers, will you continue to vote and otherwise uphold the conditions that make this kind of "free labor?" Whenever you give your support to government in any form you help to sustain these conditions. Why do it any more?

HENRY ADDIS.

CONUNDRUMS.

Armstrong's Autonomist promulgates a conundrum to the "modern infidel." He supposes that if a man sat down and wrote page after page, day after day, only to tear them up, he would be insane, because "laboring without a sensible purpose." Then he reasons by analogy that the "modern infidel" who lives out the supposed seventy years of life without any hope of immortality is equally insane. "Sanity is, therefore," he concludes, "not possible except on the basis of immortality. The soul must survive the 'wreck of matter and ruin of worlds,' or we are the monomaniacs of time. If life ends in death, and death is nothingness, then life is a cause without an effect."

And while conundrums are under consideration, it may not be improper to give Mr. Armstrong one or two. He should first know what insanity is before he undertakes to discuss it. Insanity is simply abnormality. Now it remains to decide whether the life of the "modern infidel" is normal or not. By comparison we do not find any striking dissimilarity from other lives. But in the case of writing-mania he cites, there is a decided abnormality. Hence his analogy does not hold good. But if the prospect (for he admits that it is only a conjecture and unprovable) of immortality gives purpose and sanity to earthly existence, and makes it worth living, why does not the prospect of living next year do the same for today's existence? And if, failing immortality, we are "the monomaniacs of time," with immortality why are we not the monomaniacs of eternity? Again, if death renders life of non-effect, how does immortality render it effective, and what is the effect? Give it to us in homeopathic doses!

Mr. Armstrong says in another place that "FREE SOCIETY argues the abolition of religion." There is a very fine-pointed mistake here. FREE SOCIETY advocates only the abolition of those means of power by which religion is or may be authoritatively established. To abolish religion itself would be to forcibly invade the realm of ideas, which it is the purpose of FREE SOCIETY to prevent by the abolition which it does advocate. Religion itself will disappear in the process of evolution.

"It is religion alone that makes civilization possible," he continues, "and nothing but its utmost development can realize the free society which is the dream of the Anarchist-Communist. It rests upon the love of man for man, and what is all love, but ecstasy of sentiment, which has no material basis whatever? * * The earth can do nothing, save fill the stomach and clothe the back; it cannot satisfy the soul, or whatever that is which moves the Anarchist-Communist to cry for freedom." It is certainly no material part of him, else his liver might secrete justice instead of bile."

But Anarchist-Communism is not based upon any "ecstasy of sentiment." On the contrary, it is a very

material part of him that "moves the Anarchist-Communist to cry for freedom." The "love of man for man" is largely pretense, and if that is the basis of religion I do not wonder that its leading characteristics are hypocrisy and injustice. It is true that we have more or less sympathy with a fellow in distress, but love is a physiological fact, and therefore certainly has a material basis as well as a particular object. We do not love the man with whom we have never come in contact. It is only our sense of pain, our capacity for enjoyment, both based on the material, that give the words freedom and slavery any meaning to us. We are, therefore, moved to cry for freedom not only by purely material, but purely selfish motives. If I were a being free from the conditions of humanity, I could have no possible sympathy with its aspirations for freedom. Mr. Armstrong might as well call the secretion of the liver "justice" as to write the rubbish he does about the "soul," or "immaterial" part of man.

"Hard and bitter experience seems necessary to teach us how to treat ourselves and each other. If we can only profit by our experience, thus avoiding the mistakes of the past, happy are we."

"It is a mistake to think that we are constantly seeking happiness."—H. A.

Hence—what? Try to batter down a stone wall occasionally with your head? True, happiness is intermittent, as we succeed or fail in BEING and DOING. To test the truth of the statement that the aim of all existence is happiness, it is only necessary to put it this way: one of the aims of existence is misery. H. A.'s statement that he has seen some people who "delighted" (that is, were happy) in misery (that is, in unhappiness), is a "corker"! J. H. M.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Subscribers in New York City, who find it inconvenient to send the money direct to FREE SOCIETY, will please pay for their subscriptions to A. Levin, 340 Cherry St. or if they notify him about their intention to pay he will call and collect the amount.

The International Group, of Chicago, Ill., has made arrangements for a concert and ball, at 12th St. Turner Hall, Saturday, April 9, for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY and the "Berkman Fund." Comrade Emma Goldman has been invited to deliver an address on that occasion.

It is unnecessary to emphasize, for the comrades well know, that FREE SOCIETY as well as the "Berkman Fund" could very well stand this benefit. The success of the affair will depend upon the efforts of the different groups and individual comrades, and in as much as the expenses will very likely be pretty heavy it is to be hoped that all the comrades will put their shoulders to the wheel and assist the efforts of the International Group.

Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre writes us stating that she has in preparation and nearly completed a translation of comrade M. Jean Grave's La "Societe" morante et l'Anarchie" (Moribund Society and Anarchy) into the English language and anticipates having it published soon. It is to be hoped that this valuable contribution to anarchistic literature will soon make its appearance and assist the propaganda in the English tongue. Those interested may correspond with comrade Voltairine de Cleyre who may be reached by addressing 242 N. Second St., Philadelphia, Pa.

"A Physician in the House" is the title and \$2.75 the price of an illustrated, elegantly printed and bound book of 800 pages sent to this office by Dr. J. H. Greer of Chicago, Ill. The author is a progressive man and has been a reader and supporter of The Firebrand.

Lack of time prevents an extended review of the book in this issue of FREE SOCIETY, but we are inclined to think from a cursory glance at it, that it is a decided improvement upon the productions of the orthodox medical school. We shall attempt to give a thorough review of the book in one of our later issues.

Our attorney, Isaac Swett, reports the following news from Portland, Oregon:

"Much to my regret I must inform you that A. J. Pope was yesterday (March, 1.) sentenced to four months in the county jail.

I was entirely ignorant of the Court's intent to so sentence him, and was exceedingly surprised when told of his sentence by an attorney. I immediately

went to see Pope reproaching him for not asking the Judge that his attorney (myself) be given an opportunity to be present. Pope, however, said he was satisfied and really wanted no attorney.

"I do not know if I could have been of any practical benefit, yet I wish I had been present and pleaded for him."

This, and the letter reprinted from the S. F. Star, are ample proof that there are still lawyers in this country who sympathize with the poor and down-trodden, and they ought to be patronized by all liberal minded people.

A. I.

A public meeting of The Universal Equity Club took place Monday, February 28. The program was a discussion of the question, "Is Woman a Frivolous Creature?" It is to be exceedingly regretted that during this discussion the club lowered its hitherto established record as an association of people thirsting and searching earnestly for knowledge and truth upon questions of the utmost importance to the human race. From this lofty position the club threatened to degenerate into a regular opera bouffe by the frivolous, flippant and insincere manner in which the debaters treated the subject. Instead of showing, as one of the last speakers attempted to, that the faults and follies of the present generation of women, as well as those of men, were the natural outcome of the perverted foundation of society and that with the disappearance of the tottering present social system and its replacement by more rational conditions these faults and follies of both men and women would be a thing of the past, and give place to saner and more rational conduct the principal speaker only dwelt upon details of an unelevating, uninteresting and unprofitable nature to the thinker and student.

To crown and harmonize, as it were, this unprecedented procedure in the brief history of this club one of the debaters, an avowed governmental Socialist who is always ready to oppose Anarchism as simply appealing to "the lower instincts of man," became guilty of invasion by pouncing upon and physically assaulting a speaker who followed him and whose statement he did not appreciate. The degrading influence of governmentalism and politics was vividly shown when this Governmentalist light brazenly sought to justify his brutal act by the remark that "such things as these"—meaning his brutal assault upon an inoffensive individual—were nothing uncommon; that they had occurred in the English Parliament, in the French Chamber of Deputies, in the Austrian Reichsrath and in other legislative bodies. A superb argument indeed for the superiority of governmentalism for a would-be advanced man!

THE FIREBRAND CASE.

On the 25th of February the motion for a new trial in the Firebrand case reached a hearing. The district attorney, following up his scheme of persecution, did his utmost to prevent the court from granting a new trial. In the discussion of the matter he even went so far as to offer the court to drop further proceedings against Comrade Isaak if the court would grant him a new trial, but sentence me.

Isaac Swett, a young lawyer, a student of Herbert Spencer, appeared for the defendants, and presented a strong plea for a new trial. He is now at work on the case preparing to make as strong a defense as he can, and in the event of the jury convicting us he will carry it up to the supreme court and make a test case of it.

I am doing, and will continue to do what I can to make the case notorious and create public sentiment in favor of free press. I intend to send an appeal, and a copy of the Firebrand, to every paper in this state, requesting them to notice our case, condemning the action of the district attorney and upholding the cause of free press, and to do much other such work.

The time for the new trial has not been set and I cannot guess at when it will occur. One thing is sure, however, and that is the coming trial will be conducted entirely different from the way the other trial was conducted.

Let the comrades everywhere agitate the question all they can. If you feel like writing a letter to some one jump onto John H. Hall, United States District Attorney, Portland, Ore., just as hard as you please, but remember that the judge has been fair with us, and we are fortunate in being tried before such a man. He is to be complimented.

A good plan is to get a mention of the case in your local paper if possible. If it be a democratic or popu-

list paper let it make all the capital against McKinley's administration it can out of it.

The Union comrades should see to it that their trade journals mention the case and point out the threatening danger to free press, and thereby to Trades Unionism.

The right of free press must be maintained, and the Firebrand case is, just now, the bone of contention between the upholders of free press and those who would destroy it. For this reason all advocates of free press should do what they can to awaken opposition to all interference with the freedom of the press by attracting attention to the Firebrand case.

We hope for victory, of course, but it behooves us to do all in our power to make that victory sure, and to make it as overwhelming as possible. Let us put our shoulder to the wheel and do all we can.

HENRY ADDIS.

THINGS AND THOUGHTS.

Is it not downright madness that, when there is abundance of everything people need, when warehouses and stores are overstocked with all the imaginable necessities of life, the majority of us have to suffer privation and misery, and have to struggle with diseases and crime caused by poverty? Is there not madness in the established facts that millions and millions in factories and on land produce commodities with the greatest strain that embitters and shorten their lives, not for their own benefit, but for a few individuals in whose hands those products become the means for oppression and corruption?

One would suppose that the insanity in this so-called "order" ought to be apparent to every child; that every sane person ought to be anxious to remove such perverted conditions which cannot be logically defended; and the close observer must come to the conclusion that such conditions are due to a furious God who intended to hurl his creatures maliciously into inconsolable misery. And still there are thousands and millions of ignorant slaves who worship such a cruel God and his representatives on earth.

"I should never advise martyrdom to either man or woman," says Clinton Loveridge. Why not try to cultivate the spirit of independence? If people find gratification in defying laws, customs and ostracism; in exercising self-sovereignty in their social relations; and if they prefer prosecution and death rather than hypocrisy, cowardice and submission, they are assuredly happier than those of a cowardly disposition. People with courage and firm convictions are happier than those who creep, submit and act contrary to their convictions; happier than those who would rather suffer misery than defy laws and customs. To say, "I would never advise martyrdom," is to say we ought never advise people to learn the truth, but rather cultivate hypocrisy and submission. I admire those who have individuality enough to defy everything that interferes with their desires and longings. If it were not for these latter, Friend Loveridge would not see the world progressing; it is the uncompromising individual who designs the course of evolution and who revolutionizes the world.

There are yet many Anarchists who are ever willing to share a good meal and other enjoyments, but never willing to assist in preparing the meal and enjoyments. Still, they will ridicule the idea of the reformer who is afflicted with the delusion that he can revolutionize our conditions through the ballot box. Both are equally useless in the transformation of social conditions. Individual action is the prime factor in the course of evolution, and as long as the individual submits to the established laws and complies with customs he does not progress, and if the individual does not make any advancement, it is evident that mankind as a whole will not advance either.

It is, of course, an entirely erroneous attitude

when radical papers confine themselves to one particular phase of social relations, but still Lucifer is accomplishing very much in clearing the road to freedom. When some of our readers tell us that we ought to confine ourselves exclusively to the economic question, I cannot share their opinion, nor can I see that we would ever realize a free condition; neither can I agree with the editor of Lucifer that we can have free motherhood without having free bread.

The change of conditions will alter the conduct of the multitude, but the conditions will not be revolutionized until the people change their minds. The solution of the social question embraces all phases of human relations, and therefore people must be equally clear on all questions before they are capable of reconstructing society more rationally. Let us cultivate our minds in every direction, discuss all questions relating to social phenomena, and we will then be ready to remove all obstacles which check the natural development of the individual.

A. I.

WOMAN IN POLITICS.

A paper read before the Universal Equity Club.

Industrial and political slavery is supposed to be the only form of slavery which at present demands our attention, and the abolition of these it is claimed will abolish all the ills that humanity is heir to. But when it is remembered that the origin of slavery is the worship of divine authority, the reverence of kings and priests who derive their authority from "God," then it will be seen that just so long as Church and State are recognized there will be religious, domestic, social and sexual slavery growing out of false religious teachings and invasive law, which the Church and State support, notwithstanding our industrial and political "independence." And with this point in view it will be seen that there are many forms of slavery in addition to political and industrial slavery.

Industrial and political freedom alone will never make woman free. For just so long as she believes that she is duty-bound to obey her husband, just so long will she remain a slave. And this idea of obedience does not originate in our industrial or political environments, but in religious barbarism, perpetuated by the churches down to this 19th century hour.

One of the most perplexing problems which confronts the woman who desires to vote is "how are women going to vote and escape domestic strife in case of partisan differences between the husband and wife?"

And most assuredly that is a very important question. But a more important one than that is to rid ourselves of the superstition that the man owns the woman as the master owns the slave. Next in order comes the freedom of speech and the abolition of bigotry and intolerance. Every man and woman ought to understand this question, says the Chronicle to whom the question was put, but the masses are not permitted to express their opinion freely, and those who do are persecuted, maligned, and ostracised, and even incarcerated in prison cells with hardened criminals for expressing honest opinions. These are the questions to be considered first, and are of greater importance than political differences in voting; for how are we to solve this question and come to anything like an understanding while it is an utter impossibility for the various classes to be heard, impartially and without religious or political prejudice?

Even many of the most enthusiastic suffragists are themselves so intensely prejudiced by their fossilized religious notions that every fact acquired by either experience or observation, if presented by those who have outgrown their mummified gods of barbarism, is rejected with contempt or exclamations of horrified reverence felt for Pagan relics.

Now if the truth can make us free, why is it rejected? We must first settle that before discussing other questions. If the most important question is "How can woman be independent?" then she must first desire to be free from every form of slavish dogmatism whether of men, gods or devils. Of what will she be disenslaved so long as she adheres to the superstitions which have made her the slave she is? Will the ballot make her free while she chooses to be sexually, religiously and socially enslaved? Will she become independent while adhering to the social and religious follies of the by-gone days of barbarism?

Can she ever outgrow the superstitions of the past if she blindly shuts her eyes to a possibly unpleasant truth? Can she ever see a better way while she cherishes prejudices which prevent the truth from being known? Can she ever advance in anything so long as she is willing to submissively follow in the footsteps of the blind leaders of the blind? These are the questions that will probably affect the rising generations more than how to cast a ballot that is likely to displease her husband or her brother.

Men have always claimed the undisputed privileges of authority and leadership without considering woman's welfare, and when at last she is inquiring how it happens that the privileges of authority belong exclusively to man, and from whence it was derived, she is treated as a rebel. And for the simple reason that the laws and customs of society which man has been the author of were designed for the sexual enslavement of the woman to the man. And this is more especially true in all religious and christian countries. For the more religion a person has the stronger is the tendency to criminality and loss of moral character.

The man or woman who relies upon a "savior" every moment of their life will be sure to "fall," if that savior leaves them for a moment.

Had Mrs. Durrant understood the prenatal transmission of character and observed its laws, instead of relying on religion or adhering to the mock-morality which taboos and ignores a knowledge of creative life, she would never have seen her son executed on the gallows. But a belief in the "free moral agency" of man has become such a curse that people are compelled to murder its hopeless victims in countless numbers to erase the fatal results.

The "holy bible" says that a wife shall be submissive to her husband, and that he shall rule over her. But glory to the spirit of rebellion; some of them are rebels and defy "God's" authority. The good christian woman will of course be submissive, but she will also be the mother of the cowardly crying slave who dares not call his soul his own. He sweats and toils to earn a living and then allows the parasites who live in idleness and ease to rob him of the products of his toil.

Her daughters will be the women who never dare to entertain an honest independent thought, but whenever questioned upon any important subject, will refer to their husbands, saying: "Oh I believe just as John does. Go and ask him about it."

Now, I never think of such a pitiable condition of enslaved womanhood without wondering how much longer it will be until woman realizes that to think and act just as "John does" on all occasions will eventually prove disastrous to mankind.

Men have always represented women in political and social matters, and the fruits of their wisdom can be seen cropping out all around us in the poverty and moral degradation of the whole human race.

Men and women drown their sorrows in debauching revelries and scenes which the Devil would shrink in horror from, and resort to self-destruction to escape their wretchedness and sorrow in our christian lands of plenty. Industrious men and women are charged with vagrancy and pauperism, arrested and sent to prison because it is impossible for them to find employment in the land protected by the "glorious stars and stripes." Men who make the laws which they command us to respect, deprive us of the means of living, and then imprison us for being poor. Men who say to us, "thou shalt not steal," would long ago have starved to death had they obeyed their own command.

The spirit of robbery, desperation, jealousy and wrongful murder has grown to such an alarming extent that peaceable citizens are no longer safe in any place from the murderous attacks of raving maniacs, wild fanatics, and blood-thirsty desperadoes. And all of these deplorable evils are the ripened fruits of man's wisdom, laws and regulations, none of which woman can be directly held responsible for. They are the thistles sown by man while ignoring the fact that one half of mother earth's children cannot be happy and contented, to say nothing of morals and justice, while the other half are slaves and ruled by tyrants and masters.

You may talk of the men representing woman at the polls, but it sounds about as plausible as claiming that the men could perform all the household duties of the home for woman as to claim that they can do her thinking or voting. Men and women can not always think in herds, and the time has come at last

when all must recognize the rights of others to individual independence. You may talk of woman's freedom destroying the home, but man in perpetuating woman's slavery is the real destroying angel, though he fails to see the point. And if woman trusts to man for liberty from social and religious slavery, she will die a slave long before the message comes. It is only through rebellion that she will ever gain her freedom. And her duty to herself and the rising generation is to bid defiance to "the powers that be," whether human or divine, and persist in her rebellion till her freedom has been acknowledged by every power throughout the land.

It is the mother who forms the character of the race that is to come, and if she is cowardly and timid, all her children are disposed to inherit a similar disposition.

Freedom might perhaps be appropriately termed the life of the nation, and if such is the case, every wife and mother who desires to do her part in making the home a true foundation of a just and moral state of society, should learn without delay that nothing but a free and independent motherhood will preserve the nation from decay.

In conclusion let me again impress upon your minds that man's objection to woman's freedom rests upon his position in society, and by making her dependent upon him for all material wants, he is thereby assured of her submission. He knows that almost everything will be surrendered for the preservation of life, and like the highwayman who says "your money or your life," he demands of woman her submission or starvation. And just so long as mothers will neglect to train their daughters to maintain themselves, industrially and morally, without relying upon man, just so long must woman live a life of sexual slavery.

J. A. Gillie.

POTPOURRI.

"Who did it" is the main(e) question now.

"Repetition is the mother of studies" says a Latin proverb; but the reader of a radical paper would prefer to study a trifle less and find as few repetitions as possible in one article.

The would-be poet is the worst affliction of the radical press and the worst infliction upon the radical reader. He has no consideration for the nervous system of the editor or the reader; his effusions with few exceptions are of the style the German so admirably calls: Reim' dich, oder ich fress' dich!—Get thee into rhyme or I'll swallow thee!

There are some women who are enlightened enough to practice free love and varietism, but very few who have attained to that lofty degree of independence which would encourage them into taking the initiative; they almost invariably have enough of the slave-spirit left to wait for the man to propose.

The "dignity of labor" is the favorite catch phrase of scheming politicians and of many other good but unthinking people. Labor is a condition of activity imposed upon us by our physical and mental wants and is in itself no more dignified or undignified than eating, drinking, sleeping, walking, etc.

Temperance is recognized to be beneficial in all things; but it is of extreme importance in the use of the sex functions. Sex force is the creative force, life force; a waste of sex force therefore means a waste of life force. To the ignorance of and indifference to this fact are due millions of physical and mental wrecks and untold woe and suffering.

"There is no such thing as an individual; society is the only factor in civilization!" argues the governmental. Yet if some one approached him with a club and gently tapped his skull in order to shake up his sophisticated brains, he would not recognize society as the malefactor but would instantaneously proceed against that individual. Consistency, thou art a jewel!

Semi-radicals of different denominations prominent among which is the Governmental Socialist, have long been vying with each other in the attempt to claim Jesus Christ as their apostle. The latest converts to this phenomenon are some of our own friends—Anarchists.

Now, to be exact, Christ cannot be claimed by any one school of social science. A careful reading of his utterances will disclose the fact that he was inconsistent; he was in turn an evolutionist and a revolutionist; a non-resistant, a passive resistant and an active resistant. All honor to his intentions! he was a good and noble man, and far ahead of his time, but he was by no means clear as to the principles upon which society, in order to become society, that is a harmonious voluntary association of individuals, must rest. The best that can be said of him is that he keenly felt and opposed to the best of his ability the injustice of his time. Nevertheless, had he even been an Anarchist, his personality should play no greater part in our propaganda than that of any other comrade. If there is anything Anarchists proclaim and emphasize above any other thing it is freedom from authority, mental as well as physical; they appeal to pure reason and principles independent of persons. S. D.

* * * * *

THE MARCH OF CIVILIZATION.

Occasionally it is suggested that perhaps, many of the much-vaunted blessings of civilization are not, after all, such great improvements upon what we are pleased to call barbarism. A German philosopher, writing in an English magazine, puts a suppositious case thus. It has a lesson for us all.

A large, strong man dressed in a uniform and armed to the teeth knocked at the door of a hut on the coast of Africa.

"Who are you and what do you want?" asked a voice from the inside.

"In the name of civilization open your door or I'll break it down for you and fill you full of lead."

"But what do you want here?"

"My name is Christian Civilization. Don't talk like a fool, you black brute. What do you suppose I want here but to civilize you and make a reasonable human being out of you, if it is possible."

"What are you going to do?"

"In the first place you must dress yourself like a white man. It's a shame and disgrace the way you go about. From now on you must wear underclothing, a pair of pants, vest, coat, plug hat, and a pair of yellow gloves. I will furnish them to you at a reasonable price."

"What shall I do with them?"

"Wear them, of course. You didn't expect to eat them, did you? The first step of civilization is to wear proper clothes."

"But it is too hot to wear such garments. I'm not used to them, I'll perish from the heat. Do you want to murder me?"

"Well, if you die you will have the satisfaction of being a martyr to civilization."

"You are very kind."

"Don't mention it. What do you do for a living, anyhow?"

"When I am hungry I eat a banana. I eat, drink, or sleep just as I feel like it."

"What horrible barbarity. You must settle down to some occupation, my friend. If you don't I'll have to lock you up as a vagrant."

"If I've got to follow up some occupation I think I'll start a coffee-house. I've got a good deal of coffee and sugar on hand."

"Oh, you have, have you? Why, you are not such a hopeless case as I thought you were. In the first place, you want to pay me \$50."

"What for?"

"An occupation tax, you innocent heathen. Do you expect to get all the blessings of civilization for nothing?"

"But I haven't got any money."

"That makes no difference. I'll take it out in sugar and coffee. If you don't pay I'll put you in jail."

"What is a jail?"

"Jail is a progressive word. You must be prepared to make sacrifices for civilization, you know."

"What a great thing civilization is!"

"You cannot possibly realize the benefits, but you will before I get through with you."

The unfortunate native took to the woods and has not been seen since.

* * * * *

OBSERVATIONS.

In "Lucifer," No. 698, there is a good article by N. C. Mathers, which the editor admits has "much of good sense." I think it has—frankly, much more good sense than the editor is given to writing. How-

ever, he spoils his qualified approval and spills it over wholly in the last paragraph of his comment; here it is:

"First, then, free woman from sex slavery and all other freedoms must soon follow, such as free land, free exchange, or free circulating medium, free speech, free press, free mails, and free males; that is, men free from the control of bosses, rules—of all kinds and sorts—which means Anarchy!"

Whether or not his enumeration of that "which means Anarchy" be correct, it is absolutely certain and apparent to sane minds, not meandering over a hobby and wandering over "psychic planes," that sexual freedom for woman will never usher in free land, free exchange, etc., etc., but that all the freedoms he mentions may, and probably will, usher in sexual freedom, or self-sovereignty for both man and woman. Economic freedom, industrial independence, is absolutely necessary to the emancipation of both man and woman: neither can win freedom alone, nor can one or the other be free while industrial slavery reigns supreme and is, in reality, voted for by the working people of this country at every election, national or state. Think of it!—free speech, free press, free mails, to follow sexual freedom!

That there are here and there, now and again, men and women of commanding personalities, firm convictions and rare courage, who are able to ignore custom and exercise self-sovereignty in their social relations; defy ostracism in so far as general public sentiment goes, and find a fair share of happiness in so living, is quite true. But that it would mean unhappiness today to most women, is, I think, equally true. I should never advise martyrdom to either man or woman. Those who are born martyrs will find martyrdom and in so finding will win their goal. Those blindly taking the same road will win—not freedom but wretchedness and a blasted life.

I have no wish to be unfair. Harman suffered imprisonment for publishing a letter that (in my opinion) it was well to make public, and I honor him for that. He is doubtless sincere in believing sexual freedom the first freedom to be won. He is mistaken. He does not put the cart before the horse, only by reason of the fact that he has neither cart nor horse to post. He believes—he does not think. I take it for granted he will continue to iterate and reiterate the error, and that is why I take the trouble to flatly contradict him.

* * * * *

My friend E. C. Walker bemoans, in "Lucifer" the inactivity of the fool-killer. But is the 'killer wholly at fault? Is it not difficult, very much so, for the fool-killer to obtain a hearing? Are not his would-be victims mostly surrounded by well armed defenders clad in the impregnable armor of ignorance? Is it not, at best, rather a one-sided battle? Little to marvel at that the fool-killer is weary at times and takes a vacation. Why, I remember when more than one fool-killer was shut out of "Lucifer's" columns, and one of them pretty well berated for speaking his mind elsewhere.

CLINTON LOVERIDGE.

* * * * *

HERE AND THERE.

"To be, or not to be—that is the question." Shall FREE SOCIETY devote a part of its space to the discussion of the sex question, or shall it confine itself exclusively to the philosophy of Anarchism? For my part I see no reason why the sex question should be excluded. Can anything be of more importance to the welfare of humanity than the question, How shall men and women regulate their lives so as to be happy and to produce good children? The sex question is in itself as pure as is any other question, and if Anthony Comstock and Mrs. Grundy will not allow us to discuss it in plain language, does it follow that it must not be discussed at all? Let us not be prudish; let us understand that men and women can talk about sex and the uses of the sex organs, and yet be gentlemen and ladies in the best sense of these terms.

* * * * *

In a recent issue of FREE SOCIETY, Comrade Lucy Parsons said that some of The Firebrand articles were of a dirty nature, or words to that effect. Mrs. Parsons is entitled to her opinion, but I do not think that many radicals will agree with her. Speaking for myself I will say that I did not like some of the articles that had appeared in The Firebrand, but it had never occurred to me that there was anything "dirty" about them. Not being a varietist myself, I cannot indorse those writers who look upon variety as a desirable

thing, but I have no right to consider myself infallible and to claim that all those who disagree with me are "dirty" wretches.

* * *

Can a man love more than one woman at a time? I think this is not impossible. Now, if a man loves several women and is loved by them, has he a right to enjoy them in a physical way? I think he has. But what the nature of the enjoyment shall be is a difficult question. Personally I would advise no one to indulge in the sex act, unless he is ready to meet the consequences. It is certainly wrong to do anything which may injure another person, but can it be said that sex intercourse can be enjoyed with safety? I do not want to be dogmatic and to lay down a rule for all men, but it seems to me that men and women can enjoy each other greatly without indulging in the sex act; that they can be happy themselves and have no fear of harming any more.

CYRUS W. COOLIDGE.

* * * * *

LUST.

Many people who have long outgrown the popular conservatism regarding everything pertaining to the question of sex, and who recognize the theory of free love and varietism, still cling to the prejudice against what they in common with their more orthodox friends are pleased to term "lust." In the endeavor of an approach to complete sex freedom it therefore becomes necessary to annihilate this last rampart of conservatism, this last barrier to the full enjoyment of our faculties.

"What is love, and what is its so much derided and inhibited competitor lust?" is the question. The popular definition of the former—love—would be: a sexual attraction ornamented and embellished and refined by the simultaneous attraction of the mind and heart, commonly termed soul. Lust, on the other hand is an unembellished, unrefined attraction as it were, an attraction of the body alone, a simple physical attraction. Now the next question arises: Why should an unembellished or mere physical sex attraction be condemned any more than an unembellished house to live in, an unornamented garment to wear, or a plain meal to partake of? It is true, every lover of the beautiful and perfect in making his choice will prefer a house that presents a fine outward appearance decorated with fine wallpapers, etc., to a plain house whose exterior presents a rough appearance and whose walls are unadorned; he will prefer a tasteful pretty garment to a simple one, or a meal served upon a neat table in fancy dishes to one served on a plain table in simple style; but is that sufficient reason for the condemnation of a plain house, garment or meal? Most everybody loves ornamentation, embellishments, beauty and refinement, it is true, but the ulterior end in living in a house is to obtain shelter from the elements and to secure a place of abode; the principal aim in wearing clothes is to keep warm, and the only rational object in taking a meal is to repair our wasted energies and rebuild our exhausted system, and while the ornamentation and embellishment of these enumerated things will no doubt enhance the beneficial effect of their services to us, yet their absence—that is the lack of ornamentation—will by no means destroy their usefulness or obviate their imperative need to us. Thus exactly with what our prejudiced friends denounce as lust. While it is certainly true that the so-called soul-love constitutes the ideal attraction between the sexes, yet it is but an ornamented, an embellished or refined condition of so-called lust, and love itself, even the most idealistic kind of love—soul-love if you please, is but refined lust, that is, it is based upon physical attraction, all of the assertions of the unconscious, esthetical, superficial observer to the contrary notwithstanding. To prove the writer's assertion most positively it is but necessary to point to the impossibility of love between two persons of the same sex.

Just as rational as is the use of an unornamented house, an unembellished garment or a plainly served meal of victuals, just so rational—because of its being a constitutional demand—is the expression, the interchange of sex force even in its most unembellished and crude form, provided of course it be based upon mutual attraction.

The depreciation of so-called lust may be partially excusable in conservatives because of their thoughtlessness and ignorance, but it comes with bad grace from those who are in the van of progress in the consideration of all other important questions. S. D.

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H. R., Sturgeon, Pa.—We are always glad to hear from people who are making efforts to get rid of "bosses" by co-operation. We are intending to do the same in this city. It is an erroneous notion to believe that a few people can establish Communism in our present system of society, but they can help themselves a great deal by co-operation. Let us know how your combination is carried on.

M. F., Philadelphia, Pa.—The amounts were credited in No. 16 of FREE SOCIETY. The paper is sent regularly to R., 21st and Passyunk Aves. Your efforts will be much appreciated.

Ch. Y., Shebogan, Wis.—Anything you send is welcome; we dislike to set a price on papers which are ordered for free distribution.

J. A. S., Dodge Center, Minn.—It is rather difficult for us to read your letter, but we understand that you oppose violent resistance as being inconsistent with Anarchism, and that you advise us to love each other. Regarding violent resistance I would call your attention to the article "Evolution and Revolution" which appears on the first page of this issue. There may be people who can love the man by whom they are abused, but I have failed so far to see them. I myself shall always resist invasion by all means and still consider myself a consistent Anarchist. Hate and love will always exist, I suppose, no matter what condition of society we may attain; to hate will injure people very little, though, in a state of unrestricted social relations.

USE NO LASH.

Corporal punishment only aggravates combativeness, and if frequently resorted to until the child is full-grown it will in many cases drive him from home and make criminals of some who otherwise might make good citizens. Some children are hard to manage, but no matter how far you seem to fail, moral evasion is better than the lash.

A child chastised in the presence of others will feel itself lowered in the estimation of all who see it or hear of it and

may thereby lose the love of approbation, one of the strongest incentives of goodness. One of youthful age who has publicly met severe corporal punishment by parent or guardian will always harbor a feeling of resentment toward the afflicting person.—Lewis Kirk.

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