

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. 20.

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WHOLE NO. 156.

THE HOPE OF THE AGES.

TUNE: RED, WHITE, AND BLUE.

If you dam up the river of Progress—
At your peril and cost let it be!
That river must seawards despite you—
'Twill break down your dams and be free!
And we heed not the pitiful barriers
That you in its way have downcast;
For your efforts but add to the torrent,
Whose flood must o'erwhelm you at last!

CHORUS:—

For our banner is raised and unfurled;
At your head our defiance is hurled;
Our cry is the cry of the Ages,
Our hope is the hope of the World!

We laugh in the face of the forces
That strengthen the flood they oppose!
For the harder oppression, the fiercer
The current will be when it flows.
We shall win, and the tyrants' battalions
Will be scattered like chaff in the fight,
From which the true soldiers of freedom
Shall gather new courage and might!

CHORUS:—

Whether leading the van of the fighters
In the bitterest stress of the strife,
Or patiently bearing the burden
Of changelessly common-place life,
One hope we have ever before us,
One aim to attain and fulfill,
One watchword we cherish to mark us
One kindred and brotherhood still!

CHORUS:—

What matter if failure on failure
Crowd closely upon us and press?
When a hundred have bravely been beaten,
The hundred-and-first wins success!
Our watchword is "Freedom"—new soldiers
Flock each day where her flag is unfurled;
Our cry is the cry of the Ages,
Our hope is the hope of the World!

CHORUS:—

—E. Nesbitt.

THE PARIS COMMUNE.

It might be well to point out a few facts concerning the Commune and see if we have learned enough to avoid the fatal mistakes they made. The first memorable, all important event was the taking of Paris by the unorganized, undisciplined workmen, clearly demonstrating that unity of purpose and action are not the result of organization, and that with a definite purpose in view the people can accomplish anything without leaders, bosses, commanders, etc. United action comes from a definite purpose on the part of the actors. When a number move together by command, their will being subordinated to the will of another, it is a purely mechanical, not united, action.

There must be a union of wills in order for the action to be truly united action, and upon union depends, as it always has, the emancipation of the masses from their dependent and helpless condition.

Another lesson to be learned is with regard to the sacredness of property. The communards set a guard around the treasury of the Rothschilds and National Treasury instead of bursting them open and destroying their contents. From these vaults has come forth a monster that is draining, not only the life-blood of the French people, but the blood of the producers of every nation in Christendom. Had they destroyed every vestige of "security" and "title," and melted all the gold, or thrown it into the river, to sink forever into the mire, a master blow at the foundation of all our miseries would have been struck.

Let us not make this mistake in the coming

revolution. Every evidence of indebtedness, whether it be stocks, bonds, mortgages or notes; every scrap of title to property of every sort, should be utterly and completely destroyed.

The debts of the world can never be paid. It is an absolute impossibility, and their existence simply means constant slavery. Titles to the earth means the enslavement of those who till the soil and develop natural resources. Burn them up and don't forget to put in the fire with them all the maps, those arbitrary marking out of the earth's surface, when the day of reckoning comes. The next revolution will clearly be a struggle between the privileged few and the disinherited many for the possession of the earth. The few are entrenched behind titles, maps, abstracts, etc. and long ages of abuses and serfdom of the many, that they might live in luxury. It will be a part of the coming revolution to sweep away this form of slavery.

Should the "treasury," i. e. securities and titles, of the privileged class be left to them; it would not matter what form of social arrangement took the place of the present, it would only be a question of time, and a comparatively short time, until the slavery of which we now complain, would be in full operation again, producing its crop of misery and degradation.

Another very important lesson is this: As long as the communards worked unitedly, they held the city, but the day following the delegation of authority to the National Assembly, the cause was lost. Authority implies not only subordination, but also that no action can be taken without the consent of those in authority.

As long as the workmen retained the initiative among themselves they were always on hand when needed. When they had to wait for orders they got there too late and the cause was lost.

In the present revolution, a mental revolution chiefly, we must learn the value of individual initiative, and in the oncoming violent revolution we must be sure to keep authority out of our ranks. Personal initiative must always be the spring back of all action. The united individual effort of the workmen will gain our freedom.—[Henry Addis in The Firebrand, March 24, 1895.]

A PEN PICTURE OF SPRING VALLEY, ILL.

SLAVE PEN NO. 1 OF ILLINOIS, MISMAMED "SPRING VALLEY."

After a two weeks' stay in this nature-endowed, but man-accursed town I find myself impelled by a strange fascination to reveal my impression of some of Nature's gifts and much of "man's inhumanity to man."

The town is built on the top and on the slopes of one of those series of small mountains so plentiful in Central Illinois, and derives its name from the location of its first coal mine down in the valley.

The first mine worked here was superintended, or managed, by one Charles Devlin, an Irishman and member of the Roman Catholic Church, who, upon finding himself industrial master, proceeded to establish his right to religious and political dictatorship over his employees.

His fellow countrymen were sought for and employed as competent miners and those of them who were members of the Roman Church were regarded as the most suitable and expert workmen. In those early days of the village, I am told, the toilers were making a fair wage and lived reason-

ably well, and so it was agreed by a few of the interested to introduce a priest and build a church. A square was secured on what may be called the summit of the hill and the temple of worship was raised, and when completed was unquestionably the most imposing building within many miles. Did you ever notice that the church and the jail are the first imposing buildings that are put up in those primitive towns?

Of course, the usurer had to have his share of the spoils and so a mortgage was left after the church was put in sound worshiping order, and this mortgage has turned out to be the last straw on the camel's back, for even the ever patient Irish Roman tired a little of delving continually beneath the earth to give Shylock his pound of flesh, and he is at present in revolt against usurer and priest; not as much as his fellow workers are, it is true, yet, kicking hard enough to shake the temple of superstition and reduce the pride of the haughty priest.

The first change in this condition was noticed when the Irish miners of the place took an active part in the general trades union movement of 10 or 12 years ago, and the son of Erin in charge, who was on the most intimate terms with the priest, saw the necessity of introducing cheaper and less turbulent labor, and by degrees the Italian, Frenchman and Pole found their way to the slave pen beneath this gigantic hill, and competed for an existence with the older miners.

But the relationship of priest, boss and usurer continued, and so did the scheme of deducting from two to five dollars from each miner every payday to pay the debt on the church.

The "pit boss" was usually the instrument of this pious robbery and he made a pretense of getting voluntary contributions—it seems that neither the lord nor his minister can get along without these things—but whether the slaves protested or not, the deductions were religiously made and the workman had to return to his family with a diminished purse and give as his best excuse that the rest was taken for the fattening of priest, money-lender and glory of God. The Italian, the Frenchman, the Pole and even the Irishman in many cases protested that they were no longer orthodox and should be exempt from such taxation, but the understanding was "give or tramp" and they gave, or rather permitted it to be taken from them.

In those days the priest was all-powerful, he dominating the mine superintendent and the latter in turn holding the wage lash over the heads of the toilers. A change came when the stock-holders concluded to substitute a Protestant superintendent for the servile priestly tool, and to that change is owing the discontinuation of the system of robbery so long practiced upon the miners and their families; but independent of this, the situation is practically unchanged. The industrial master is still religious and the political dictator and Irish Protestant preacher is as closely wedded to the Irish Protestant boss as the Irish Roman priest was to the Irish Roman boss.

The new master, in order to secure his power, has gradually cashiered the Catholic miners and has replaced them with Protestants from Ireland, Scotland, England, Wales and Lithuania; the latter he orders to the polls and votes like so many sheep. This religious and political feud permeates every adult member of this population (except the An-

archists). The parasitical priest, minister and boss encourage the simple and foolish contestants to continue the struggle with the hope that from an exhaustion of their energies and senses will spring the opportunity to continue the plunder of these poor beasts of burden. Every struggle of this kind must end in the weakening of the workers and the corresponding fattening of the parasites; yet they will not see it in this light.

But notwithstanding this war for the glory of God and the boss, Spring Valley redeems herself in the eyes of progress by the united front she presents to the monopolistic enemy when the forces of oppression array themselves on one side and invite a conflict. She is first to enter the fight and last to quit the field. Many attempts have been made to break her spirit, but all have failed. She has furnished her share of the martyrs demanded by a dying shop-trading and stock-gambling civilization, for only four years ago, during the great strike, two of her sons while sitting on one of her hillsides were shot down like beasts by our modern Hessians, and the dogs of war, plutocracy and despotism have never been asked to give an accounting of their crime—'twas only workmen that were murdered, and at present their lives count for nothing.

I stood on the spot made sacred by the blood of the two Italian Martyrs and as I watched the budding green grassy leaves fertilized by their life's fluid, I could not still a voice within me that calls for a day of retribution—a day that will hold in its hands an even handed justice—a day that will witness the annihilation of the murderous millionaires—a day that shall restore to the plundered toilers of the earth and sea the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—a day that shall witness Nature's children, masters in Nature's garden—this planet of ours, and living out their own lives amid perfumes of innocence and ease without fear of a corporation's lash, a king's pretensions or a pope's curse.

"Then let us pray that come it may
As come it will for a' that
When man to man the world o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that."

T. P. QUINN.

POTPOURRI.

How many Anarchists are going to celebrate the Fourth of July?

Have you rooted out all hero-worship? Hero-worship and Anarchy are strangers!

The Loud Bill was killed in the House, by laying it on the table by a vote of 164 to 119. Comrade Isaak, in a late issue of FREE SOCIETY, said of course the Loud Bill will become a law, but it did not become a law by a long jump.*

The same postal rules will continue, for a while at least, and the deficit will pile up on account of the franking privilege, so it behooves the propagandists to make use of the mails, to distribute literature while yet they may.

Printer's Ink is deserving of much credit for its tireless and persistent war on the Loud Bill. Now let the comrades, all who are in position to do so, do what they can to get Printer's Ink in line in opposition to the growing interference with free press on the plea of obscenity.

The rush for Alaska is appalling. Surely the fool-killer has been asleep or drunk for some time when tens of thousands of men will face the rigor of arctic winters, and squander thousands of tons of good provisions, in an effort to dig up a yellow metal that is of less use than any other metal known.

* Wait, comrade; the papers say Mr. Loud will have the bill before the House again.

The Canadian Mounted Police brought two men to Skaguay, frozen to death, who had made their pile. One of them had \$90,000 in gold dust and nuggets, the other \$60,000, but of what use was it to them? A cold wind struck them and they froze to death, leaving no clue to their identity. The \$150,000 worth of gold will be a nice little pile for the officials to squabble over.

H. A.

PEASANTS' INSURRECTION IN HUNGARY.

Events are shaping in Hungary that are attracting attention all over Europe. The peasants and farm-workers are revolting against the capitalistic magnates and their bodyguards, the gendarmes and military, and are concentrating their forces in order to carry out the socialistic ideas which have taken possession of them more strongly than of any other European body of workers. The military preventing the peaceful inauguration of their ideas, they are now preparing to resist such invasion.

This is not the first time Hungary has been the scene of such operations. After several episodes in the past few years had indicated the shape affairs are taking in this fertile country which is the granary of Europe, one of the last insurrections two years ago heralded the approach of a thorough revolution.

Whether present events will decide this battle in the sense of the socialistic population; whether the government will remain victorious in its defense of the old property idea by the resort to bullets and cannons; who could tell today? The former is possible, but the experience of past events of a similar nature hardly justifies such a conclusion, for the victory of the military has heretofore been the usual unhappy termination of such struggles. However, if such be the outcome, it will at least be a prelude to the great events to come in Hungary.

The farm laborers and peasants who are the slaves of the large landed proprietors demand a socialistic arrangement of property relations. Here, where according to popular notions, the community is not yet entirely smothered by the monopolistic state; where, as in Russia, the community still preserves the features of a communal society, in contradistinction to that of Western Europe where in reality it is naught but an executive instrument of the State; here still lives the natural sense for Socialism in its freshness and simplicity, influenced and strengthened by the modern socialistic agitation that has never yet abated there.

The government is, of course, the first opponent of this movement against whose wrath the people are obliged to contend. At the first symptoms of the impending revolution it commenced searches of private dwellings and made arrests of the intrepid agitators. That, of course, only intensified the indignation of the latter. The papers contain the following reports:

"The workmen of Karasz in the Szabolcs Komitat attempted to liberate their comrades from prison. The gendarmes who had been kept in readiness in the expectation of these events, requested the people to keep quiet; the people advanced upon them so that they used their bayonets. A woman tried to take away the bayonet from a gendarme and he drove it into her breast so that she instantly fell dead. Then the people dispersed. So far fifteen arrests have been made. A company of infantry was dispatched from Ungvar to Kivarda. The soldiers, however, having been recruited from the Szabolcs Komitat, it is feared the troops will fraternize with the Socialists."

This fraternization shows which way the wind blows. Further news received from the seat of the insurrection shows that it is daily assuming larger proportions and that the peasants are rising in all directions. Soldiers are being drafted continually. Powder, lead and cannons, the last arguments of the possessing class, are the replies to the peasants' and farm laborers' demand for the economic reconstruction which would secure life and comforts to all.

Let us see what the future has in store.

Anent the Hungarian riots of the peasantry and farm laborers, further reports received from Budapest claim that the situation is growing constantly more serious; on the one hand the Socialist agitation is spreading; peasants and laborers are holding moonlight meetings and are organizing and arming themselves with pitchforks, axes and scythes; on the other hand the military are resorting to excesses and provoking the people, which results in continuous skirmishes. Whole villages are under insurrection and effecting larger combinations continually.—Der arme Konrad, Berlin, Germany.

PROPAGANDA IN PITTSBURG.

Emma Goldman understood it well to make friends in Pittsburg and vicinity, during the three weeks she spent in the smoky town. Wherever she has been once, she is always welcome again; this at least is the unanimous opinion of the comrades of Pittsburg and Allegheny as well as of the coal miners of Western Pennsylvania.

Notwithstanding the many Germans who live in this part of the state, the Committee on Agitation for Western Pennsylvania is well aware of the fact, that the agitation must be carried on in English and therefore most of the meetings for Emma Goldman were arranged for the English speaking population.

At the meetings a thousand copies of FREE SOCIETY and another thousand copies of Sturm und Freiheit were distributed, also many books and pamphlets sold.

For the first meeting the hall proved to be too small for the crowd. A second meeting was equally well attended. A third meeting arranged by the American Flint Glass Workers' Union in Monaca was also a great success. Said Union had sent a carriage to the Railroad station for Emma Goldman and placed a room in a first class hotel at her disposal, while the German Turners of Monaca, always boasting of Liberty, carrying it on their banner and in their constitution, had assembled in the beer cellar of their hall, drowning their anger in beer. Two more meetings in Pittsburg can also be reported as successful.

In Allegheny it was again the "freethinking and liberal minded Turners" who refused to let Emma Goldman speak in their hall which had been rented for this purpose three weeks previous. Fearing that she might disgrace their hall, the poor fellows cannot comprehend that they have disgraced themselves in the eyes of unprejudiced and impartial people. A few days afterward the very same Turner Society was raided by the Allegheny Police for selling beer. Now the Turners are complaining bitterly about the impertinence of the police and the continuous restriction of liberty (their beer-liberty), yet of the liberty preached by Emma Goldman they refused to take cognizance.

Comrade Goldman perhaps enjoyed the greatest satisfaction while speaking to the coal miners of Western Pennsylvania, who surpass the working men in the cities in eagerness and good will as well as in radicalism.

The meetings held in these forlorn and obscure coal mining towns were largest and most successful. The enthusiasm was simply limitless. These men are hungry for radical ideas, for they have heard long enough the lullaby speeches of politicians in and out of labor organizations.

In Roscoe, (Washington County, Pa.) for instance, 800 miners were packed in a hall hardly large enough for 600. There Comrade Goldman had to speak in English and German, and cries from rough coalminers' throats like: "That's a good girl!" "Right you are!" "Come again!" etc., etc., must have been sweet music in our brave comrade's ears. The same can be said of meetings in McKeesport, West Newton, Homestead, etc., etc.

With the celebration of the 27th anniversary of the Paris Commune, which was a great and splendid affair, Emma Goldman's agitation in Pittsburg and vicinity came to a highly successful termination. This last meeting surpassed all similar meetings previously held here. The audience—for the greatest part Americans—was entertained with concert music, songs, recitations and speeches, in French, Jewish, German and English. When Comrade Goldman took the floor as the English orator of the evening, she was greeted with tremendous applause, and her speech, one of the best the writer of these lines has ever heard, brought forth applause after applause.

The capitalistic papers of Pittsburg treated our comrade exceptionally well and the reports of her lectures were given pretty faithfully. He who has not heard her speak for several years must certainly admit that she has progressed considerably in every way. Her lectures are well composed and form a strong chain of sound arguments. Her language in English as well as in German is plain, fluent and pleasant. What she preaches is not that dogmatic and orthodox Anarchism of yore; it is Anarchism as a progressive idea still developing more and more.

May the comrades everywhere show their good will and help to pave the road which indeed is still rough enough for our brave and courageous comrade Emma Goldman.

CARL NOLD.

ANARCHIST MORALITY.

-BY-

PETER KROPOTKIN.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK.)

CHAPTER IV.

Mosaic, Buddhist, Christian and Mussulman theologians have had recourse to divine inspiration to distinguish between good and evil. They have seen that man, be he savage or civilized, ignorant or learned, perverse or kindly and honest always knows if he is acting well or ill, especially always knows if he is acting ill; and as they have found no explanation for this general fact, they have put it down to divine inspiration. Metaphysical philosophers, on their side, have told us of conscious, of a mystic "imperative," and, after all, have changed nothing but the phrases.

But neither have known how to estimate the very simple and very striking fact that animals living in societies are also able to distinguish between good and evil, just as man does. Moreover, their conceptions of good and evil are of the same nature as those of man. Amongst the best developed representatives of each separate class: fish, insects, birds, mammals, they are even identical.

The thinkers of the XVIII. century noticed this, but it has been forgotten again, and it is for us now to bring forward the full significance of the fact.

Forel, that inimitable observer of ants, has shown by a mass of observations and facts that, when an ant who has her crop well filled with honey meets other ants with empty stomachs, the latter immediately ask her for food. And amongst these little insects it is the duty of the satisfied ant to disgorge the honey, that her hungry friends may also be satisfied. Ask the ants, if it would be right to refuse food to other ants of the same ant-hill, when one has had one's share. They will answer, by actions impossible to mistake, that it would be extremely wrong. So selfish an ant would be more harshly treated than enemies of another species. If such a thing happened during a battle between two different species, the ants would stop fighting to fall upon their selfish comrade. This fact has been proved by experiments which exclude all doubt.

Or again, ask the sparrows living in your garden, if it is right not to give notice to all the little society, when some crumbs are thrown out, so that all may come and share in the meal. Ask them, if that hedge sparrow has done right in stealing from his neighbor's nest those straws he had picked up, straws which the thief was too lazy to go and collect for himself. The sparrows will answer that he is very wrong, by flying at the robber and pecking him.

Or ask the marmots, if it is right for one to refuse access to his underground storehouse to other marmots of the same colony. They will answer that it is very wrong, by quarreling in all sorts of ways with the miser.

Finally, ask primitive man, a Tchoukche for instance, if it is right to take food in the tent of a member of the tribe during his absence. He will answer that, if the man could get his food for himself, it was very wrong. On the other hand, if he was weary or in want, he ought to take food where he finds it; but, in such a case, he will do well to leave his cap or his knife, or even a bit of knotted string, so that the absent hunter may know on his return that a friend has been there, not a robber. Such a precaution will save him the anxiety caused by the possible presence of a marauder near his tent.

Thousands of similar facts might be quoted; whole books might be written, to show how identical are the conceptions of good and evil amongst men and other animals.

The ant, the bird, the marmot, the Tchoukche savage have read neither Kant nor the Fathers of the Church nor even Moses. And yet all have the same idea of good and evil. And if you reflect for a moment on what lies at the bottom of this idea, you will see directly that what is considered as good amongst ants, marmots, and Christian or Atheist moralists is that which is useful for the preservation of the race; and that which is considered evil is that which is hurtful for race preservation. Not for the individual, as Bentham and Mill put it, but fair and good for the whole race.

The idea of good and evil has thus nothing to do with religion or a mystic conscience; it is a natural need of animal races. And when founders of religions, philosophers, and moralists tell us of divine or metaphysical entities, they are only recasting what each ant, each sparrow practices in its little society.

Is this useful to society? Then it is good. Is this hurtful? Then it is bad.

This idea may be extremely restricted amongst the inferior animals, it may be enlarged amongst the more advanced animals; but its essence always remains the same.

Amongst ants it does not extend beyond the ant-hill. All sociable customs, all rules of good behavior are applicable only to the individuals in that one ant-hill, not to any others. One ant-hill will not consider another as belonging to the same family, unless under some exceptional circumstances, such as common distress falling upon both. In the same way the sparrows in the Luxemburg Gardens in Paris, though they will mutually aid one another in a striking manner, will fight to the death with another sparrow from the Monge Square who may dare to venture into the Luxemburg. And the Tchoukche will look upon a Tchoukche of another tribe as a person to whom the usages of his own tribe do not apply. It is even allowable to sell to him, and to sell is always to rob the buyer more or less; buyer or seller, one or other is always "sold." A Tchoukche would think it a crime to sell to the members of his tribe: to them he gives without any reckoning. And civilized man, when at last he understands the relations between himself and the simplest Papuan, close relations, though imperceptible at the first glance, will extend his principles of solidarity to the whole human race, and even to the animals. The idea enlarges, but its foundation remains the same.

On the other hand, the conception of good or evil varies according to the degree of intelligence or of knowledge acquired. There is nothing unchangeable about it.

Primitive man may have thought it very right, i. e., useful to the race, to eat his aged parents, when they became a charge upon the community—a very heavy charge in the main. He may have also thought it right, i. e., useful to the community as before, to kill his new born children, and only keep two or three in each family, so that the mother could suckle them until they were three years old and lavish more of her tenderness upon them.

In our days ideas have changed, but the means of subsistence are no longer what they were in the Stone Age. Civilized man is not in the position of the savage family who have to choose between two evils: either to eat the aged parents or else all to get insufficient nourishment and soon find themselves unable to feed both the aged parents and the young children. We must transport ourselves into those ages, which we can scarcely call up in our mind, before we can understand that, in the circumstances then existing, half-savage man may have reasoned rightly enough. In fact, do we not see the peoples of Oceania a prey to the ravages of scurvy, since the missionaries have brought them to give up eating their aged kinsfolk and their enemies? *

Ways of thinking may change. The estimate of what is useful or hurtful to the race changes, but the foundation remains the same. And if we wished to sum up the whole philosophy of the animal kingdom in a single phrase, we should see that ants, birds, marmots, and men are agreed on one point.

Christians have said: "Do not to others what thou wouldst not they should do thee." And they have added: "Else, thou wilt be sent to hell."

The morality which emerges from the observation of the whole animal kingdom far surpasses this, and may be summed up in the words: "Do to others what you would have them do to you under the same circumstances."

And it adds: "Take note that this is merely a piece of advice; but this advice is the fruit of the long experience of animals in society. And amongst the great mass of social animals, man included, it has become habitual to act on this principle. Indeed, without this, no society could exist, no race could have vanquished the natural obstacles against which it must struggle."

Is it really this very simple principle which emerges from the observation of social animals and human societies? Is it applicable? And how does this principle pass into a habit and continually develop? This is what we are now going to see.

CHAPTER V.

The idea of good and evil exists within humanity itself. Man, whatever degree of intellectual development he may have attained, however his ideas may be obscured by prejudices and personal interest, considers in general as good that which is useful to the society wherein he lives, and as evil that which is hurtful to it.

But whence comes this conception, often so vague that it can scarcely be distinguished from a feeling? There are millions and millions of human beings who have never reflected about the human race. They know, for the most part, only the clan or family, rarely the nation, still more rarely mankind, how can it be that they should consider what is useful for the human race as good, or even attain a feeling of solidarity with their clan, in spite of all their narrow, selfish interests?

This fact has greatly occupied thinkers at all times, and it continues to occupy them still. Not a year passes but whole libraries are written on the subject. We are going, in our turn, to give our view of the matter; but let us remark in passing that, though the explanation of the fact may vary, the fact itself remains none the less incontestable; and should our explanation not be the true one, or should it be incomplete, the fact, with its consequences to humanity, will still remain. We may not be fully able to explain the origin of the planets revolving round the sun, but the planets revolve none the less, and one of them carries us with it in space.

We have already spoken of the religious explanation. If man distinguishes between good and evil, say theologians, it is God who has inspired him with this idea. Useful or hurtful is not for him to inquire; he must merely obey the fiat of his creator. We will not stop at this explanation, fruit of the ignorance and terrors of the savage. We pass on.

Others (Hobbs for instance) have tried to explain the fact by law. It must have been law that developed in man the sense of just and unjust, right and wrong. Our readers may judge of this explanation for themselves. They know that law has merely utilized the social feelings of man, to slip in, amongst the moral precepts he accepts, various mandates, useful to an exploiting minority, to which his nature refuses obedience. Law has perverted the feeling of justice, instead of developing it. Again, let us pass on.

Neither let us pause at the explanation of the Utilitarians. They will have it that man acts morally from self-interest, and they forget his feelings of solidarity with the whole race, which exist, whatever be their origin. There is some truth in the Utilitarian explanation. But it is not the whole truth. Therefore, let us go further.

It is again to the thinkers of the XVIII. century that we are indebted for having guessed, in part at all events, the origin of the moral sentiment.

In a fine word, left to slumber in silence by religious prejudice, and indeed but little known even amongst anti-religious thinkers, Adam Smith has laid his finger on the true origin of the moral sentiment. He does not seek it in mystic religious feelings; he finds it simply in the feeling of sympathy.

You see a man beat a child. You know that the beaten child suffers. Your imagination causes you yourself to suffer the pain inflicted upon the child; or perhaps its tears, its little suffering face tells you. And, if you are not a coward, you rush at the brute who is beating it and rescue it from him.

This example by itself explains almost all the moral sentiments. The more powerful your imagination, the better you can picture to yourself what any being feels when it is made to suffer, and the more intense and delicate will your moral

* Miklukho-Mac ay has stated this, and his observations are known to be trustworthy.

† Putting in negative form the positive command of their Master: "Whatever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."—Matt. vii. 12.

1 "The Theory of Moral Sentiments," v. "Works and Life of Adam Smith" Vols. 4 & 5.

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

THINGS AND THOUGHTS.

It is not so much what the Anarchist advocates that he is condemned for, as for what people think he advocates.

What a wise, beneficent thing a government can be on occasions! Take the Klondike relief expedition for example. In mid-winter, when criticism of a do-nothing congress was beginning to be rather loud, an appropriation was made for the "relief" of a lot of adventurers who had rushed off to the northern gold-fields, it was supposed, without taking sufficient provision to last them through the winter. The government spent thousands of dollars in provisions and means of transportation, including reindeer from Norway. Now the undertaking is to be abandoned. Because the distress is too great for the government to cope with? No, because there is no need of the expedition! Now that months have been spent in red-tape business, and the winter has slipped away, it is discovered that the whole thing was a wild goose chase. A common fool would have ascertained the facts in the case before making such an outlay; but a government representing the "combined wisdom of all the people" hadn't time for that. It only has time for red-tape and salary-drawing. Now the supplies of the "relief" (of the tax-payers' over-burdened pocket-book) expedition are to be sold, and of course they will be given to somebody who has a pull, and the dear, gullible public can whistle.

When this relief measure was pending in congress, some very humanitarian speeches were made in its support. It was declared that suffering should be relieved, no matter what the cause or by whom endured (referring to nationality or citizenship). This sentiment was heartily seconded, and it was pointed out by what is known as the reform press that men, women and children were starving and freezing in the very shadow of the building where these humanitarian speeches were being made. One would not have to look far to find those who will be called upon to make good this reckless expenditure who are themselves in need, and only by additional denial, more hunger, more shivering for lack of clothing and fuel, that they will be able to pay into the treasury their assessment. So it is seen that although congress has "done something," not only has suffering not been in any measure relieved, but has instead been increased.

Even if suffering had actually existed in the Klondike country, and if the government expedition had succeeded in relieving it, it is plain that the method is wrong and a failure, and that in relieving distress on one hand it is guilty of oppression on the other. To compel by taxation a person who is himself in need to contribute to the relief of another, is a glaring injustice. It must be admitted that in a case of this kind the individual should be free to first consider his own needs and then to contribute what his sympathies call forth for the relief of others.

The Summary is an Anarchist-Communist journal, published at Manchester, England. It is unique in that it is written, instead of being printed from types, by some manifold process. The leading article in the number (5) which has fallen into my hand is by A. Barton, and appears to breathe the sentiment of the minority-consent movement which a year or more since broke out among the English comrades, and whose manifesto was at the time published in The Firebrand. This movement is essentially community-ist, as distinguished from Communism, and Barton's article has much to say concerning the community as the unit of social organization. Thus these people start, not with the individual, but with a collection of individuals, just as the State Socialists do. They, however, admit the right of the minority and the individual to secede, and depend upon this to prevent the

exercise of tyranny. But "the majority cannot be blamed," we find in another article in the same number of the Summary, "for having their way." Since this recognition of the right of the majority to have its way can be based upon nothing but superiority of numbers—i. e., that might makes right—I must regard it as the spirit of tyranny, and the disregarding of the rights of the minority to the extent of compelling them to secede is certainly an act of tyranny.

But if the right of might be denied, I must point out that then the right of the majority cannot exceed that of the minority, and it is as much the place of the former to "secede"—i. e., get out—as of the latter. If secession is the only right of the minority, it is also the only right of the majority, if the majority have not the right of might, because might alone can make the rights of two men superior to the right of one man. A man gains no additional rights because he combines with other men, though he may gain advantages.

And this brings us to the real point of difference. The Anarchist must rid himself of the idea of "social organization" in any form. Communism knows no "unit of social organization," because it contemplates no organization. It proposes free, voluntary association instead. That is, an association depending on the mutual pleasure of the individuals concerned, and which does not imply an agreement either to consent to every demand of the majority or get out. Individual action is no more the business of majorities than of minorities. In short, Communism is based upon the denial of the right of might, while all social organization must of necessity rest on its recognition.

J. H. M.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

II.

We have seen, in our former article, that B. O. Flower, whom I take to be a pretty fair type of an anti-trust municipal ownership advocate, realizing the damage of individual or private trusts, and knowing that trusts are the makers of our government, nevertheless suggests municipal ownership, or rather State ownership as a remedy of the evil. That there is no difference between a trust owned by corporations and a trust owned by agents of corporations, except that there is perhaps a danger of so enriching these agents as to make them members of the corporations, is too plain to be elaborated. But granting that the worst (according to Flower the best) has come. Granting that these agents who are elected into office by a corruption fund—for no other man can get into office according to the latest experiments of the most modern political manager Marcus Hanna—granting that these dupes refuse to obey orders and begin to do business on their own hook. Granting they no longer wish to enrich their masters, and begin to operate railroads, telegraphs, telephones, the gas and electric lights for themselves, or as Flower calls it, for the people.

What is the use of waiting till that theory takes the form of a reality; let us grant it. It has already been voted into existence. Now, who would be the gainer? Why, of course, the State. And who in the devil is the State anyhow? Why, the people. Well, then how is it that the government sends soldiers, sheriffs and deputies to shoot the people? How is it that the people are starving and the government has money to burn? How is it that the people are driven to madness and desperation, while every government official makes thousands of dollars? How is it that the people are working for less and less and the government officials for more and more? How is it that no laboring man has been able to save one thousand dollars during Cleveland's administration, and Mr. Cleveland made almost ten million dollars? I'll tell you why. The people are the people, and the government, the State, the municipality, call it what you will, is the government, the State, the municipality, or whatever else you may call it. The government and the people are two distinct and different things, and those who say that the government is of the people, for the people and by the people, are simply repeating, consciously or unconsciously, one of "the conventional lies of our civilization."

Now let us go a little further. Mr. B. O. Flower in his article "Corporations vs. the People," furnishes us with numerous instances which justify the conclusion that "property is robbery." He shows us plainly how millions are accumulated under the protection of law, in the most undeserving manner. These are facts which appeal to the duldest imagination, showing the

heartless battle in which a few men are plundering nations, and the millions are powerless to resist. The cases of monopoly in the natural resources, such as coal, land, etc., are only mentioned by the way. He particularly dwells upon the monopoly of street cars, gas light, electric light, etc. He shows us the crooked ways of corporate wealth. The accumulations of great fortunes by drawing dividends on money which was never invested, the almost unthinkable profits upon monopolized production, and the flagrant methods in which the government lends a hand to the corporations to better facilitate the plundering of the masses. All these facts are so lucidly described that one only wonders how man could ever really believe in the municipal government scheme. And yet, having no means to examine his mind except by what he writes, we are to conclude that he is a firm believer in municipal ownership. Inconsistent as this belief of his may seem, when compared with the knowledge he possesses of corporations and trusts, we take it that he is sincere for all that.

Let us now quote a passage from his own article: "Under existing conditions corporations control franchises of fabulous value to society; and through the possession of these public or quasi-public utilities they are levying tributes incomparably greater than all the burdens of direct taxation, tributes which go to enrich the few who are already enormously wealthy, to increase the power of corporate greed, to further enslave the millions, etc." To abolish this evil he would go all the way to the formation of a government monopoly, the effect of which, so far as the people are concerned, would be just as bad as that of private monopoly. This sounds like making laws to prevent evils; and when the laws are not enforced, make new laws to enforce the old laws; and when the new ones are not enforced make laws again to force the enforcement; and when that finally fails, go back again and commence at the beginning. Absurd as such suggestions may seem, they are constantly being propagated and it would seem that Mr. Flower himself knows of no other remedy to cure evils except by the increase of laws.

DALLAN DOYLE.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Owing to all our type being used up in the publishing of Kropotkin's "Anarchist Morality," we are compelled to fill out the paper with same this week.

Comrade L. E. Parsons is on a propaganda tour at present, and has so far lectured in Buffalo, Rochester and Philadelphia. About April 2nd, she will go to New York City where meetings are being arranged. She will also speak in Brooklyn, Newark, Providence, Boston and possibly in Pittsburg, Cleveland, Toledo, Cincinnati and Detroit.

The group "Proletariat" of New York has lately sent us \$15.00 for pamphlets which shows how much a few energetic individuals can do in the line of propaganda, thereby assisting FREE SOCIETY. If all groups and comrades did as much toward the promulgation of Anarchism, the Anarchist periodicals would be able to turn out a great many more pamphlets and furnish them much cheaper.

Comrade W. S. Bell of Oakland is obliged and offers to sell his complete Encyclopedia Britannica, consisting of 14 volumes, for \$14.00. The original price of this work is \$6.00 a volume or \$84.00. It is in good condition, and we should not hesitate to procure this excellent work for FREE SOCIETY if we could spare the money.

Anyone desiring to procure the Encyclopedia will please address: W. S. Bell, Box 366, Oakland, Cal.

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

John Jacob Astor has gone to Honduras to look over his property there, he being the principal figure in the syndicate which recently acquired possession of the country and its government. Before leaving, Mr. Astor expressed the opinion that the papers of the United States do not give enough attention to Central America. He thinks that "there are chances there for ambitious and hard working men to make themselves independent in a half a dozen years." Of

course there are "chances" in Honduras! But they are mostly in favor of Astor and his pals. Having obtained possession of the country, all they want now is a number of "ambitious and hard working men" to go down there and earn them a profit on their investment. "Ambitious and hard-working men" are pie for such men as Astor.—Social Democrat.

One of the greatest troubles in the treatment of the so-called social question is the mistaking of effects for causes. Thus for instance is drunkenness considered one of the principal causes of the filth, misery and degradation of the lowest strata of the people.

In reality, however, drunkenness is only an effect of conditions. It is the desire to deaden the senses to the intolerable wretchedness and poverty imposed upon the poor by present conditions that leads to the glass. In such cases a good beefsteak would be of incalculably greater benefit and accomplish better results than moralizing.

The same thing with prostitution. Every body notices its terrible effects upon society and all sorts of movements and crusades are carried on against it; everybody pounds upon the poor women for their "lasciviousness," "sensuality," "carnal desire," etc., and nobody considers that these poor creatures are simply the necessary outcome of their environments and are in most cases forced into their positions by poverty and misery. Not only are such proceedings of these would-be virtuous hypocrites who are engaged in the various "reform" movements irrational but they are an insult to the poor unfortunate women who are victims of social conditions.

Prostitution like drunkenness is but an effect and not a cause; it is the natural result of the insane system of so-called society and civilization under which we are living, and until there is a basic change, in fact until there is an entire abolition of that system, and civilization is civilized, there is no help for these evils.—Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung.

The people will not know what real freedom is until they elect every officer by direct vote, until by ballot they accept or reject the laws offered for them to live under, until by imperative mandate they can discharge any unsatisfactory official. At the present day the United States has no such thing as "a government of, by and for the people." A party that is not unmistakably in favor of the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate is a party not worth voting for.—The Socialist.

The people will not be able to gain any more freedom by the imperative mandate than by the Declaration of Independence. The imperative mandate and officials invested with power are incompatible with freedom. "A government of, by and for the people" has been the allurement of the cunning politician and the sincere but ignorant reformer for many years, but the intelligent student of sociology realizes the fact that any form of government is detrimental to society and the greatest stumbling block of progress.

WHAT IS AMERICAN?

Hear Emerson as to what is the American idea: "We stick at the technical difficulties. I think there never was a people so choked and stultified by forms. We adore the forms of law, instead of making them vehicles of wisdom and justice. I like the primary assembly. I own I have little esteem for governments. I esteem them only good in the moment when they are established. I set the private man first. He only who is able to stand alone is qualified to be a citizen. Next to the private man I value the primary assembly, met to watch the government and correct it. That is the theory of the American State, that it exists to execute the will of the citizens, is always responsible to them, and is always to be changed when it does not. First, the private citizen, then the primary assembly, and the government last!" So much for Ralph Waldo Emerson. Who need be ashamed to follow where he leads?

Let us then throw aside all the shackles sought to be imposed on our reason and judgment by the use of artificial appeals to right sentiments in behalf of fraud, falsehood and tyranny. "When we suffer or are exposed to the same miseries by a government which we might expect in a country without government, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer," says Tom Paine, in his "Common Sense." And what more arbitrary, tyrannical, oppressive and humiliating infliction could be anti-

pated in a country without government, than the invasion of peaceable assemblies by armed and disciplined ruffians, acting entirely on their own determination to silence expressions which are displeasing to them?

There are crises in physical diseases in which the administering of virulent poisons is deemed necessary to set up a reaction, by arousing the vital powers to expel them from the system. The symptoms of social disorder may indicate such treatment at this time. With clear discernment of the essential conditions of free government Thomas Jefferson wrote: "If the people remain quiet," under certain conditions, "it is a lethargy, the forerunner of death to public liberty. What country can preserve its liberties if its rulers are not warned from time to time that the people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms. The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and of tyrants."

Unless the determination to maintain by any means that may be necessary the rights on which the structure of political freedom rests is aroused to its fullest extent, and that very soon, all is lost. In the presence of events of infinitely less peril to the people at large Emerson declared: "If such a damnable outrage can be committed on the person of a citizen with impunity, let the governor break the broad seal of the State; he bears the sword in vain. The governor of Massachusetts is a trifle; the state-house in Boston is a play house; the general court is a dishonored body; the rich men may walk in State street, but they walk without honor; and the farmers may brag their democracy in the country, but they are disgraced men."

In the face of all these appeals, and sustained by such an array of authority, who can listen to the craven traitor who would say, "Yield in peace, and appeal to the courts?" Down with such counsel! Yield not a step to ruffian on the sacred temple of free speech. Strike down the assailant by any means, and let him appeal to the courts if he will. The doctrine of non-resistance is for slaves of superstition, and it is only superstition to do reverence to the name of law that is no law for freemen. If assault is threatened go prepared—for what other reason is the right to bear arms constitutionally preserved?

Are the glorious privileges that we have been accustomed to boast the birthright of the people, or are we only tenants at will of the master we still pretend to choose? I believe it is not so; that there is yet a spirit of resistance in the hearts of my countrymen; that they value life not by its conveniences, but by the independence and dignity of their condition; and that this appeal will not be passed by, by those who have closely observed the course of recent events.

A. S. H.

MURDERERS ACQUITTED.

Many reform papers seem to be surprised that the murderers Sheriff Martin and his accomplices have been acquitted, and act as though it were an unheard of or unexpected occurrence in this "glorious" country. Why, is there a precedent where justice was not outraged when capital and labor were in the courts? Have the courts in this country ever been anything else but protective institutions of the money power and the bigoted class? There is not a country in the so-called civilized world, even including Russia, in which the ruling classes execute "justice" more scornfully—with greater contempt and impunity than in "free America."

The dollar is the most sacred thing in the land of the stars and stripes, and the life of a workman is not as valuable as a loaf of bread or a sack of flour. Every day we read in the newspapers that starving men have been sentenced to one, two, or even five years imprisonment for stealing some trifles to appease their hunger, but the mine and factory owners may shoot down their slaves by the wholesale with impunity. The acquittal of these murderers is even considered "a conquest of civilization," as the New York Sun shamelessly puts it.

Steal a loaf of bread and you will be imprisoned, but in the Lattimer case the attorneys for the defense boldly contended that "the sheriff could do no wrong," and that "he was answerable only to God for any act he might commit while performing the duties of his office." There we have a precedent for future occasions: the officers may in the interest of capitalism butcher and slaughter those that create all wealth of which they are robbed and be "answerable only to God." But when a poor workman becomes rebellious

and kills his oppressor—the thief who robs him of nearly all he produces—the law cannot be applied severely enough; he must be hung or imprisoned for life. Comrade Berkman only made an attempt to kill Frick and he is buried in the penitentiary for 22 years. Sheriff Martin and his band of murderers assassinated 22 and wounded 35 unarmed men and these bloodhounds are glorified as heroes.

When President Carnot of France, who had never been anything but a parasite, was killed, the mouthpieces of plutocracy in this country expressed their christian sentiments thus:

"This babbling mob of Paris, which miscalls itself the people of France, is impatient of civil order; it shall have a military despotism. It cannot endure the rule of the majority; it shall have the tyranny of one. It wishes to abolish the presidency; it shall have a military despotism. It wishes to govern without law; it shall be governed without law. Its nice stomach rejects the decrees of the courts; it shall digest shrapnel and bayonets and protest it likes them. Its independent spirit revolts against the restraints of the police; it shall cower under the knout and bastinado, and fawn upon their wielder. It will not keep its mouth shut—will gabble and chatter and grimace in the face of authority, it shall have its bawling throat opened with the sword and shall gurgie inarticulate praise of the butcher through the bloody slit. Wait till its master shall arrive. He is gestating somewhere in the vast and obscure womb of time."

Such was the language of those who howl for "law and order;" the language of those entrenched behind customs, sword and statutes when retribution threatened to rise.

The time is approaching when the slaves will break the unbearable chains, and "the day of judgement" will be dreadful. This seems to dawn upon the editor of the New York Evening Journal when it says in reference to the Lattimer butcheries: "The man who knows that he can be safely murdered is not a pleasant man to deal with when in trouble. The gentlemen on Fifth Avenue who have built high steel railings around their houses know how foolish it is to make workmen feel the hopelessness of an appeal to law against money."

The Evening Journal predicts that the workers will avenge themselves at the ballot box. I hope that this frightful occurrence will have taught the workers a better lesson. They will probably learn that it is not safe to walk unarmed on a highway of this country, and that the parasites must be swept aside before they can obtain the products of their labor, and that they must free all natural opportunities and utilize the wealth they produce for the good of all; that freedom is the only safeguard in all social relations.

"Give me liberty or give me death," must be the war cry of the workers.

A. I.

For San Francisco.

The International Labor Association will give a ball, March 26, at the Vorwärts Turner Hall, 310 O'Farrell St., at 8 o'clock p. m., for the benefit of the radical press. Admission 25 cents, Ladies free. All in favor of a radical press are cordially invited.

For St. Louis.

Emma Goldman will lecture in English at the Light Stone Hall: April 6th, on "Patriotism," April 7th, on "Authority vs. Liberty" at 8 o'clock P. M. On April 8th, she will lecture in the same hall in German on "Die Basis der Moral" (The Basis of Morality) at 8 P. M. On April 9th she will lecture in English on "The absurdity of Non-resistance," and on the 10th on "Charity."

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. Tickets in Advance only 15 cents, at Box Office 25 cents. Tickets to be had now at:

C. Puetzner, 469 Wabash Ave.

Warmbold, (Photographer) 1771 Milwaukee Ave.

Economic Educational Club, 15th Ward.

"Lucifer" Office, 1394 W. Congress St.

M. Raznich, 400 S. Halsted St.

German "Arbeiter Zeitung," 45 N. Clark St.

M. Reinhardt, 53 S. Halsted St.

The "New Time" Office.

THE INTERNATIONAL GROUP.

* This article was written about the time our comrades were murdered in Chicago.

ANARCHIST MORALITY CONTINUED.

sense be. The more you are drawn to put yourself in the place of the other person, the more you feel the pain inflicted upon him, the insult offered him, the injustice of which he is a victim, the more will you be urged to act so that you may prevent the pain, insult, or injustice. And the more you are accustomed by circumstances, by those surrounding you, or by the intensity of your own thought and your own imagination, to act as your thought and imagination urge, the more will the moral sentiment grow in you, the more will it become habitual.

This is what Adam Smith develops with a wealth of examples. He was young when he wrote this book, which is far superior to the work of his old age upon Political Economy. Free from religious prejudice, he sought the explanation of morality in a physical fact of human nature, and this is why official and non-official theological prejudice has put the treatise on the Black List for a century.

Adam Smith's only mistake was not to have understood that this same feeling of sympathy, in its habitual stage, exists amongst animals as well as amongst men.

Pace the popularizers of Darwin, who ignore him in all he did not borrow from Malthus, the feeling of solidarity is the leading characteristic of all animals living in society. The eagle devours the sparrow; the wolf devours the marmot; but the eagles and the wolves respectively aid each other in hunting, the sparrow and the marmot unite amongst themselves against the beasts and birds of prey so effectually that only the very clumsy ones are caught. In all animal societies, solidarity is a natural law of far greater importance than that struggle for existence, the virtue whereof is sung by the ruling classes in every strain that may best serve to stultify us.

When we study the animal world and try to explain to ourselves that struggle for existence maintained by each living being against adverse circumstances and against its enemies, we realize that the more the principles of solidarity and equality are developed in an animal society, and have become habitual to it, the more chance has it of surviving and coming triumphantly out of the struggle against hardships and foes. The more thoroughly each member of the society feels his solidarity with each other member of the society, the more completely are developed in all of them those two qualities which are the main factors of all progress: courage, on the one hand, and, on the other, free individual initiative. And, on the contrary, the more any animal society, or little group of animals, loses this feeling of solidarity—which may chance as the result of exceptional scarcity or else of exceptional plenty—the more do the two other factors of progress, courage and individual initiative, diminish; in the end they disappear, and the society falls into decay and sinks before its foes. Without mutual confidence no struggle is possible; there is no courage, no initiative, no solidarity—and no victory! Defeat is certain.

Some day we will return to this subject. We can prove with a wealth of examples how, in the animal and human worlds, the law of mutual aid is the law of progress, and how mutual aid, with the courage and individual initiative which follow from it, secures victory to the species most capable of practicing it. For the present it is enough to state the fact. The reader will be able to estimate for himself its importance in the question with which we are occupied.

Now, let us again imagine this feeling of solidarity acting during the millions of ages which have succeeded one another since the first beginning of animal life appeared upon the globe. Let us imagine how this feeling little by little became a habit, and was transmitted by heredity from the simplest microscopic organism to its descendants, insects, birds, reptiles, mammals, man, and we shall comprehend the origin of the moral sentiment, which is a necessity to the animal, like food or the organ for digesting it.

Here, without going further back, and speaking of complex animals springing from colonies of extremely simple little beings, here is the origin of the moral sentiment. We have been obliged to be extremely brief, in order to compress this great question within the limits of a few pages, but enough has been already said to show that there is nothing mysterious or sentimental about it. Without this solidarity of the individual with the species, the animal kingdom would never have developed or reached its present perfection. The most advanced being upon earth would still be one of those tiny specks swimming in the water and scarcely perceptible under a microscope. Would even this exist? For are not the earliest aggregations of cells themselves an instance of association in the struggle?

CHAPTER VI.

Thus by an unprejudiced observation of the animal kingdom, we reach the conclusion that, wherever society exists at all, this principle may be found: Treat others as you would like them to treat you under similar circumstances.

And when we study closely the evolution of the animal world, we, like the zoologist Kessler, and the economist Tchernyshevsky, discover that the aforesaid principle, translated by the one word solidarity, has played an infinitely larger part in the development of the animal kingdom than all the adaptations that have resulted from a struggle between individuals to acquire personal advantages.

It is evident that in human societies a still greater degree of solidarity is to be met with. Even the societies of monkeys highest in the animal scale offer a striking example of practical solidarity, and man has taken a step further in the same direction. This, and this alone, has enabled him to preserve his puny race amid the obstacles cast by nature in his way, and to develop his intelligence.

A careful observation of those primitive societies still remaining at the level of the Stone Age, shows to what a great extent the members of the same community practice solidarity amongst themselves.

This is the reason why practical solidarity never ceases; no, not during the worst periods of history. Even when temporary circumstances of domination, servitude, exploitation, cause the principle to be disowned, it still lives deep in the thoughts of the many, ready to bring about a strong recoil against evil institutions, a revolution. If it were otherwise, society would perish.

For the vast majority of animals and men, this feeling remains, and must remain, an acquired habit, a principle always present to the mind, even when it is continually ignored in action.

It is the whole evolution of the animal kingdom speaking in us. And this evolution has lasted long, very long; it counts by hundreds of millions of years.

Even if we wished to get rid of it, we could not. It would be easier for a man to accustom himself to walk on all fours, than to get rid of the moral sentiment. It is anterior, in animal evolution, to the upright posture of man.

The moral sense is a natural faculty in us, like the sense of smell or of touch.

As for Law and Religion, which also have preached this principle, they have simply flinged it to cloak their own wares, their injunctions for the benefit of the conqueror, the exploiter, the priest. Without this principle of solidarity, the justice of which is so generally recognized, how could they have laid hold on men's minds?

Each of them covered themselves with it as with a garment; like Authority, which made good its position by posing as the protector of the weak against the strong.

By flinging overboard Law, Religion and Authority, mankind regain possession of the moral principle which has been taken from them. Regain, that they may criticise it, and purge it from the adulterations wherewith priest, judge and ruler have poisoned it and are poisoning it yet.

But to deny the moral principle because Church and Law have exploited it, would be as unreasonable as to declare that one would never wash oneself, would eat meaty pork, and would object to communal possession of land, because the Koran inculcates daily bathing, because the hygienist Moses forbade swine's flesh to the Hebrews, or because the Shariat (supplement to the Koran) requires that all land lying untilled for three years shall return to the community.

Besides, this principle of treating others as one wishes to be treated oneself, what is it but the very same principle as equality, the fundamental principle of Anarchism? And how can any one manage to believe himself an Anarchist unless he practices it?

We do not wish to be ruled. And, by this very fact, do we not declare that we ourselves wish to rule nobody? We do not wish to be deceived, we wish always to be told nothing but the truth. And, by this very fact, do we not declare that we ourselves do not wish to deceive anybody, that we promise to always tell the truth, nothing but the truth, the whole truth? We do not wish to have the fruits of our labor stolen from us. And, by that very fact, do we not declare that we respect the fruits of others' labor?

By what right, indeed, can we demand that we should be treated in one fashion, reserving it to ourselves to treat others in a fashion entirely different? Are we, perchance, the "white bone" of the Kirghiz, who may treat the rest just as he likes? Our sense of equality revolts at such an idea.

Equality in mutual relations, with the solidarity arising from it, this is the most powerful weapon of the animal world in the struggle for existence. And equality is equity.

By proclaiming ourselves Anarchists, we proclaim beforehand that we disavow any way of treating others in which we should not like them to treat us; that we will no longer tolerate the inequality that has allowed some amongst us to use their strength, their cunning or their ability after a fashion in which it would annoy us to have such qualities used against ourselves. Equality in all things, the synonym of equity, this is Anarchism in very deed. To the devil with the "white bone," who takes upon himself a right to deceive other folks' simplicity! We do not desire him, and, if need be, we will suppress him. It is not only against the abstract trinity of Law, Religion, and Authority that we declare war. By becoming Anarchists, we declare war against all this wave of deceit, cunning, exploitation, depravity, vice—in a word, inequality—which they have poured into all our hearts. We declare war against their way of acting, against their way of thinking. The governed, the deceived, the exploited, the prostitute wound above all else our sense of equality. It is in the name of equality that we are determined to have no more prostituted, exploited, deceived and governed men and women.

Perhaps it may be said—it has been said sometimes—"But if you think you must always treat others as you would be treated yourself, what right have you to use force under any circumstances whatsoever? What right have you to level a cannon at any barbarous or civilized invaders of your country? What right have you to dispossess the exploiter? What right to kill not only a tyrant, but a mere viper?"

What right? What do you mean by that singular word, borrowed from the Law? Do you wish to know if I shall feel conscious of having acted well in doing this? If those I esteem will think I have done well? Is this what you ask? If so, the answer is simple.

Yes, certainly! Because we, we ourselves, should ask to be killed, like venomous beasts, if we went to invade Burmese or Zulus, who have done us no harm. We should say to our son or our friend; "Kill me, if I ever take part in the invasion!"

Yes, certainly! Because we, we ourselves, should ask to be dispossessed, if, giving the lie to our principles, we seized upon an inheritance, did it fall from on high, to use it for the exploitation of others.

Yes, certainly! Because any man with a heart asks beforehand that he may be slain, if ever he becomes venomous; that a dagger may be plunged into his heart, if ever he should take the place of a dethroned tyrant.

Ninety-nine men out of a hundred, who have a wife and children, would try to commit suicide, for fear they should do harm to those they love, if they felt themselves going mad, i. e., losing cerebral control of their actions. Whenever a good-hearted man feels himself becoming dangerous to those he loves, he wishes to die before he is so.

One day, at Irkutsk, a Polish doctor and a photographer were bitten by a mad dog. The photographer seared his wound with red hot iron, the doctor simply applied caustic to his. He was young, handsome, overflowing with life. He had just left the convict prison, to which the government had condemned him for devotion to the people's cause. Strong in learning and above all in intelligence, he affected marvellous cures; the sick worshipped him.

Six weeks later, he noticed that the bitten arm began to swell. He, being a

doctor, could not mistake what this meant; the madness of hydrophobia would follow. He hurried a friend, a doctor and exile like himself: "Some strychnine! Quick, I entreat you. You see this arm; do you know what it is? In an hour or less the madness will seize me, I shall try to bite you, you and my other friends. Lose no time! Some strychnine! I must die."

He felt himself becoming dangerous: he asked to be killed.

The friend hesitated; he wished to try some treatment for rabies. With the help of a brave woman, he began—but two hours later the young doctor flew at them, foaming, and tried to bite them; then he became himself once more, and again asked for strychnine, but the rabid fit returned. He died in terrible convulsions.

How many facts of a like nature could we not cite from our own experience! The man of heart would rather die than become a cause of evil to others. And this is why he will feel conscious of having done well, and why the approval of those he esteems will follow him, when he kills a viper or a tyrant.

Perovskaya and her comrades killed the Russian Czar. And all mankind, despite the repugnance to the spilling of blood, despite the sympathy for one who had allowed the serfs to be liberated, recognized their right to do as they did. Why? Not because the act was generally recognized as useful; two out of three still doubt if it was so; but because it was felt that not for all the gold in the world would Perovskaya and her comrades have consented to become tyrants themselves. Even those who know nothing of the drama are certain that it was no youthful bravado, no palace conspiracy, no attempt to gain power; it was hatred of tyranny, even to the scorn of self, even to the death.

"These men and women," it was said, "had conquered the right to kill"; as it was said of Louise Michel, "she had the right to rob"; or again, "they have the right to steal," in speaking of those terrorists who lived on dry bread, and stole a million or two of the Kishineff treasure, taking, at their own peril, all possible precautions to free the sentinel, who guarded the wealth with fixed bayonet, from all responsibility.

Mankind has never refused the right to use force to those who have conquered that right, be it exercised upon the barricades or in the shadow of a cross-way. But if such an act is to produce a deep impression upon men's minds, the right must be conquered. Without this, such an act, whether useful or no, will remain merely a brutal fact, of no importance in the progress of ideas. Folks will see in it nothing but a displacement of force, simply the substitution of one exploiter for another.

CHAPTER VII.

We have hitherto been speaking of the conscious, deliberate actions of man, those performed intentionally. But side by side with our conscious life we have an unconscious life, which is very much wider, and was formerly far too little recognized. Yet we have only to notice how we dress in the morning, trying to fasten a button that we know we lost last night, or stretching out our hand to take something that we ourselves have moved away, to obtain an idea of this unconscious life and realize the enormous part it plays in our existence.

It makes up three-fourths of our relations with others. Our ways of speaking, smiling, frowning, getting heated or keeping cool in a discussion, and so forth, are unintentional, the result of habits, inherited from our human or prehuman ancestors (only notice the likeness in expression between an angry man and an angry beast), or else consciously or unconsciously acquired.

Our manner of acting toward others thus tends to become habitual. And the man who has acquired the most moral habits will certainly be superior to the good Christian who pretends that the devil drives him to do wrong, and he can only stop himself by recalling the pains of hell or the joys of heaven.

To treat others as he would wish to be treated himself becomes with man, and all social animals, simply a habit; so much so, that a person does not generally even ask himself how he must act under such and such circumstances. It is only when the circumstances are exceptional, in some complex case or under the impulse of strong passion, that he hesitates, and a struggle takes place between the various portions of his brain; for the brain is a very complex organ, the various portions of which act to a certain degree independently. When this happens, the man substitutes himself in imagination for the person opposed to him; he asks himself if he would like to be treated in such a way, and the better he has identified himself with the person whose dignity or interests he has been on the point of injuring, the more moral will his decision be. Or maybe a friend steps in and says to him: "Fancy yourself in his place; should you have suffered from being treated by him as he has been treated by you?" And this is enough.

Thus we only appeal to the principle of equality in moments of hesitation, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred act morally from habit.

It must have been obvious that, in all we have hitherto said, we have not attempted to enjoin anything. We have simply set forth the manner in which things happen in the animal world and amongst mankind.

Formerly, the church threatened men with hell to moralize them, and she succeeded in demoralizing them instead. The judge threatened with imprisonment, flogging, the gibbet, in the name of those social principles he has filched from society; and he demoralizes it. And yet the very idea that the judge may disappear from the earth at the same time as the priest causes authoritarians of every shade to cry out about peril to society.

But we are not afraid to forego judges and their sentences. We forego, with Guyau, even sanctions of all kinds, even obligations to morality. We are not afraid to say: "Do what you will; act as you will"; because we are persuaded that the great majority of mankind, in proportion to their degree of enlightenment, and the completeness with which they free themselves from existing fetters, will behave and act always in a direction useful to society; just as we are persuaded beforehand that a child will one day walk on its two feet, and not on all fours, simply because it is born of parents belonging to the genus homo.

All we can do is to give advice; and again, whilst giving it, we add: "This advice will be valueless if your own experience and observation do not lead you to recognize that it is worth following."

When we see a youth stooping and so contracting his chest and lungs, we

advise him to straighten himself, hold up his head and open his chest. We advise him to fill his lungs and take long breaths, because this will be his best safeguard against consumption. But at the same time we teach him physiology that he may understand the functions of the lungs, and himself choose the posture he knows to be the best.

And this is all we can do in the case of morals. We have only a right to give advice, to which we add: "Follow it, if it seems good to you."

But whilst leaving to each the right to act as he thinks best; whilst utterly denying the right of society to punish any one, in any way, for any anti-social act he may have committed, we do not forego our own capacity to love what seems to us good and to hate what seems to us bad. Love and hate; for only those who know how to hate know how to love. We keep this capacity; and as this alone serves to maintain and develop the moral sentiments in every animal society, so much the more will it be enough for the human race.

We only ask one thing, i. e., to eliminate all that impedes the free development of these two feelings in the present society, all that perverts our judgement: the State, the Church, exploitation; judges, priests, governments, exploiters.

Today, when we see a Jack the Ripper murder, one after another, some of the poorest and most miserable of women, morally superior probably to numbers of wealthy ladies, our first feeling is one of hatred.

If we had met him the day when he murdered that woman who asked him to pay her three-pence for her slum lodging, we should have put a bullet through his head, without reflecting that the bullet might have been better bestowed in the brain of the owner of that wretched den.

But when we recall to mind all the infamies which have brought him to this; when we think of the darkness in which he prowls, haunted by images drawn from indecent books, or thoughts suggested by stupid books, our feeling is divided. And if some day we hear that Jack is in the hands of some judge, who has slain in cold blood a far greater number of men, women and children than all the Jacks together; if we see him in the hands of one of those deliberate maniacs, and such people as those who send a Borras into penal servitude, to show the middle classes how well they are protected, then all our hatred of Jack the Ripper will vanish. It will be transferred; transformed into hatred of a cowardly and hypocritical society and its recognized representatives. All the infamies of a Ripper disappear before that long series of infamies committed in the name of Law. It is these we hate.

At the present day our feelings are continually thus divided. We feel that all of us are more or less, voluntarily or involuntarily, abettors of this society. We do not dare to hate. Do we even dare to love? In a society based on exploitation and servitude human nature is degraded.

But as servitude disappears, we shall regain our rights. We shall feel within ourselves strength to hate and to love, even in such complicated cases as that we have just cited.

In our daily life, we do already give free scope to our feelings of sympathy or antipathy; we are doing so every moment. We all love moral strength; we all despise moral weakness and cowardice. Every moment, our words, looks, smiles, express our joy in seeing actions useful to the human race, those which we think good. Every moment, our looks and words show the repugnance we feel toward cowardice, deceit, intrigue, want of moral courage. We betray our disgust, even when, under the influence of a worldly, i. e. hypocritical, education, we try to hide our contempt beneath those lying appearances which will vanish as equal relations are established amongst us.

This alone is enough to keep the conception of good and ill at a certain level, and to communicate it to one another; it will be still more efficient when there is no longer judge or priest in society, when moral principles have lost their obligatory character and are considered merely as relations between equals.

Moreover, in proportion to the establishment of these relations, a loftier moral conception will arise in society. It is this conception which we are about to analyze.

CHAPTER VIII.

Thus far, our analysis has but set forth the simple principles of equality. We have revolted, and invited others to revolt, against those who assume the right to treat their fellows otherwise than they would be treated themselves; against those who, not themselves wishing to be deceived, exploited, prostituted or ill-used, yet behave thus to others. Lying, brutality and so forth are repulsive, we have said, not because they are disapproved by codes of morality—a fig for codes—but because such conduct revolts the sense of equality in every one to whom equality is not an empty word; and above all does it revolt him who is a true Anarchist in his way of thinking and acting.

If nothing but this simple, natural, obvious principle were generally applied in life, a very lofty morality would be the result; a morality comprising all that moralists have taught.

The principle of equality sums up the teachings of moralists. But it also contains something more. This something more is respect for the individual. By proclaiming our morality of equality or Anarchism, we refuse to assume a right which moralists have always taken upon themselves to claim, that of mutilating the individual in the name of some ideal. We do not recognize this right at all, for ourselves or anyone else.

We recognize the full and complete liberty of the individual; we desire for him plenitude of existence, the free development of all his faculties. We wish to impose nothing upon him; thus returning to the principle which Fourier placed in opposition to religious morality when he said: "Leave men absolutely free; do not mutilate them, as religions have done enough and to spare. Do not fear even their passions; in a free society these are not dangerous."

Provided that you yourself do not abdicate your freedom; provided that you yourself do not allow others to enslave you; and provided that to the violent and anti-social passions of this or that person you oppose your equally vigorous social passions, then you have nothing to fear from liberty.*

* Of all modern authors, the Norwegian Ibsen has best expressed these ideas in his dramas.

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