

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. 21.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, MARCH 3, 1898.

WHOLE NO. 187.

PROPAGANDA BY DEED.

Defense? Of course I have none;
Were I rich as he that's dead,
Perhaps I'd get a lifetime
Or insanity instead.

I confess I did the shooting,
And I'd do it o'er again,
If controlled by that mad passion,
And the circumstance the same.

My reasons for the killing
(Or murder you would say)?
Well, judge, they're very simple;
It happened just this way:

All were nice and happy,
But disaster came one day;
A sudden fall in business,
And my money flew away.

So I went and got a mortgage
And, that mortgage, well, it grew.
Though I paid it up in interest
As that there dead man knew.

The times kept growing worse, judge,
I had no work to do;
My babies, they were starving,
And the interest coming due.

The morn' I went to see him
One babe was lying dead,
And my wife was plainly dying
Just for the want of bread.

And when I begged him for relief
On my dead babe's behalf,
The only answer that he made
Was, judge,—a sneering laugh.

That laugh, your Honor, turned my head,
It fairly drove me wild:
I'm glad I shot the ruffian dead,
It will avenge my child.

I know that you will kill me
Just to avenge him, too,
But will you tell me, honestly,
Will anyone kill you?

For you will take my only life
To show that you are strong—
But he was rich and innocent,
While I was poor and "wrong."

Wellesley Hills, Mass.

P. A. BALLOU.

PATRIOTISM.

By W. S. BELL.

"Patriotism is the first delusion of fools and the last refuge of knaves."

A majority of those who enlist in the service in the army are young men, even boys. Of course they have no idea of the nature of soldier life or the horrors of war. Those who get up the war are the old knaves who stay at home and make money—one kind of money for themselves and another kind for the soldiers. Men who hold office under government, pile up the national debt which increases the taxes of the soldier when he returns home, or heaps them upon his children.

I read the other day an editorial in a popular paper of a great deed done; the deed was great because of the motive that prompted it, "he did it out of the highest sense of patriotism." It is assumed that patriotism is a duty. That is, we ought to be loyal, we ought to be true to our country, we ought to resent any insult offered the nation, we ought to spring into the front ranks to fight for our flag, we ought to enlist and hurry off to the battle field to teach these bloody foreigners a lesson.

The "knaves" have taught us that patriotism is a primary virtue, such as truth and honesty. The people of all nations have been bitten by the same snake. Woe betide him who shows any want of this madness. He is first treated with contempt and scorn, and afterwards with something worse.

In times of political excitement, he who refuses to hurrah for "old glory" is branded as a traitor, a copperhead, an abolitionist, or an Anarchist.

We have been taught from youth to love god and our country, though god and our country do not love us. The people are thoughtless and full of emotion, and the knaves play on their gullible natures and use them for voting bullet-stoppers.

"My country" and "fatherland" are confounding to the child. "Fatherland" and "my country" have sweet memories to the young, no matter how impoverished his life may have been.

"Heaven lies about us in our childhood" and we love to recall the early days and places. But the common mind does not discriminate between the country and the government, nor between society and government. Our fatherland may be a land of rich resources, of magnificent scenery and charming climate, while the government may be vile and despotic. But the ordinary voter thinks government and country one and the same.

Patriotism is cherished, honored and made sacred. Why? Because it is a political necessity. What could a country do in case of war without the flaming spirit of patriotism? The nation in peril needs hundreds of thousands of men to enlist to defend the flag, to defend our homes, to defend the honor, constitution and glory left us by our fathers who fought, bled and died for these glorious liberties.

What a coward and poltroon he is who will not fight for his own liberties and the liberties of his children—who will not buckle on his sword, shoulder a musket and start for the front, with the stars and stripes waving over his head. Hurrah for the flag! Hurrah for the Union! Down with the traitor and up with the Stars!

Tramp, tramp, tramp, the gulls are marching.

The rulers of every country strive in all ways possible to cultivate the superstition of patriotism. And it is easily kept alive. All superstitions are easily fed. In fact it is the very nature of one superstition to feed on another superstition. Knaves in office are sensitive on this question, so they are casting about for stimulants to keep the superstition in a robust and healthy condition. Formerly we had the Fourth of July as the great fire of inspiration. With it were a few old soldiers who kept camp stories going. Our national history did not fail to tell its readers that our forefathers were the greatest men that ever lived, and that George Washington was next to god in goodness and greatness. But these methods are not up-to-date. Now we have Memorial Day, when everybody turns out with great festivity to decorate soldiers' graves and afterwards listen to some priest or preacher tell what wonderful people our forefathers were.

What is the meaning of the Grand Army of the Republic? And the sons of Veterans? Why have we after 33 years of peace more pensions than in five years after the war? Why do we have the flag flying over the school-houses of the land? Why are we having more holidays to observe? All these institutions show that the knaves holding the reins of government know that there cannot be too much patriotism. If it were not for this first delusion of fools, government would crumble into dust.

Benjamin Harrison, the man who was president during Wanamaker's administration, has been firing off the American flag. Listen to the elo-

quence of him: "I not only believe that the American flag should be hoisted on the top of every school-house and on every public place, but it should be planted in the heart of every American citizen." How do you want it planted in the heart of every American citizen, Benjamin? Tied to a bayonet, I suppose. Don't you know that this American flag racket is dangerous? Don't you know that a flag is nothing but a bit of bunting? And don't you know that a man who waves it frantically in the face of the public is indulging in bunting buncombe? Flag patriotism, even when the flag is the symbol of a fairly noble cause, is practically obsolete among people of any culture; such are believers in defending honesty, fair play, justice (or something else tolerably noble)—not ralliers to the defense of bunting. Of late years there has been an immense amount of devotion to the flag from a class whose motives are so low and disgraceful as to be worthy of nothing but contempt of the most silent sort; but a Jingo presidential candidate can stoop (he doesn't have to stoop far) to get the votes of this class.

The flag has been insulted, and off rush the raw recruits. They go without knowing what they are going for, except it be to shoot at some persons they never saw—and people who never did them any harm, and who never wished to do so. But they must go to kill or be killed. After a short term of service they are ready to be mustered out, and not to be mustered in again. Army officers say the worst thing in the army is desertion. Men or rather boys, who went out hurrahing for "old glory" are ready to desert at all times. The number of desertions is wonderful, if you bear in mind that those who desert are all patriots. If they continue in the ranks and serve out their time, they have good prospects in getting home again to their families and securing a pension, but if they desert and are captured, death or prison is their fate. Why do thousands desert? Were they not patriots when they entered? Yes, and fools also; now they have learned some sense and do not care to be shot at any longer. Oh, patriotism is a wonderful thing; but the knaves in office don't drink out of that bottle. The knaves dedicate cemeteries, they vote medals, build monuments, they celebrate anniversaries of great battles, they pronounce eulogies upon the dead patriots, they repeat it over and over again, how greatly to be honored are these martyred dead. But the knaves don't hunger and thirst for any of that sort of honor for themselves. They are content to stay at home, enjoy peace and grow rich.

They teach us that our country is the best on earth, and that neighboring nations are our enemies. The Irishman's love for Ireland is not half as intense as his hatred of Great Britain. The Frenchman's love of France is not so unchangeable as his enmity of Germany. And so it is all the way around the globe.

In many countries military displays foster the flames of national hatred. Military parades, military camps, military bands. The military drill of school boys. Notwithstanding all this we hear the shout "Hurrah for our country." Why do you love your country? What has it done for you? It has never defended you. It has made no laws for your benefit. All laws, or nearly all, are made in the interest of the knaves and by the knaves. This same country can conscript you and confiscate your property when it sees fit, and you can

have no protection then. In fact the greatest protection you need is to be protected from your country, from the knaves who get up wars in which the poor deluded fools are killed. Yes, you need protection, but do not push your head in a lion's mouth and then pray for a kind providence to watch over you and care for you.

Col. Ingersoll says patriotically, "But when a man, a poor boy, sixteen years of age, goes upon the battle field to keep his flag in heaven, not knowing but that death ends all, not knowing but that when the shadow creeps over him the darkness will be eternal, there is heroism." But poetry and war do not rhyme. The boy of sixteen years of age who goes to war, knows but little and cares less as to what the flag means, or what the fortunes of war may be in his case. He goes into the army because he is a boy. To keep the flag in heaven is poppycock. There were ten thousand influences at work to get the boy to enlist, and it was not difficult to entice and ensnare him. Most boys went in spite of all warning from father and mother. And when once in the army it is foolishness to talk of the heroism displayed by his voluntarily going upon the battle field. When the battle is on he must go to the front whether he wants to or not. He has no will of his own. He is forced to the front to shoot and perhaps be shot. The sixteen years old boy has no heroism to boast of. He may have freely volunteered, but if he did, it was because he was sixteen, and if his father volunteered it was because he was a d—d fool.

Go to a recruiting station and take notice of the business going on. Why do men enlist in time of peace? Men enlist who are out of employment; some enlist because they do not like hard work, others because they wish to get away from a bad record they have made; others because they have an ambition to become noted, perhaps become a distinguished officer with big pay and great honor. There are many reasons why in times of peace men enter the army, without the prompting of heroism or patriotism. In time of war men enlist not because they wish to keep the flag in heaven, but because of the general excitement. The mills and factories have shut down, and they are constrained to do something, and no other way seems so wide open to them as that of entering the army. To keep the flag in heaven? No, but to keep himself from starving. Some from love of adventure, who have never been away from home, and have longed to see something of the world.

A young lad of my acquaintance in 1861 enlisted in spite of his mother's tears. The only excuse he could give was, "Mother, I want to see something of the world, I shall never see anything if I stay here all my life." After two years of eventful life he returned. I asked him, "Horace, did you see anything of the world while you were gone?" "Yes, I had not been mustered in two weeks before I saw more than I wanted to see; and now nothing could induce me to join the army again."

Great bounties had to be offered recruits towards the close of the war. The old flag was no longer "old glory." It had lost its glory. Twelve hundred dollars had to be added to the stars and stripes before men would budge an inch. The flag lost its charms on freemen. If loyalty was a genuine thing the flag would have staying qualities, but the longer the war continued the less magnetism the national banner had. The most certain staying powers were with those who staid at home.

Daniel Webster was capable of saying, to his everlasting disgrace be it said, "Our country, may she always be right; but our country right or wrong."

When the public teachers poison the minds of the people in this fashion it is no wonder that they should be ready to go to war, no matter what the provocation might be or the want of it.

"More men are slaughtered every year by their fellow-men through the control of government in wars than wild beasts have killed of their fellow-beasts in a thousand years. Governments have instigated wars more destructive of human life than

ever were destroyed by people without government." "Patriotism is the first delusion of fools and the last refuge of knaves."

"We want no flaunting flag,
For liberty to fight;
We want no blaze of murderous guns
To struggle for the right.

Our spears and swords are printed words,
The mind our battle plane;
We've won such victories before,
And so we shall again." —Charles Mackay.

A DISCLAIMER.

In FREE SOCIETY, March 6, Mrs. Waisbrooker says: "I am sorry that Comrade Loveridge considers me a fraud or a fool; I don't know which category he puts me in, as I am a Spiritualist."

I should be more sorry than Mrs. Waisbrooker is, if I placed her in either category, but I have never done so—never written a line or spoken a word against her. I do not and have never questioned her honesty or sanity, and feel all honor for the brave, noble woman "weary and world-worn." CLINTON LOVERIDGE.

FREE PRESS.

There is no subject of greater importance just now than that of free press. The reasons for this are numerous. Given the freedom of the press, and we have the most potent means of education. This reason alone is sufficient in itself to make absolute freedom of the press an imperative necessity.

Our enemies, the drones of society, who fear nothing more than a general diffusion of knowledge amongst the people, are striving in every manner that they have yet gained knowledge of to control the freedom of the press and thus check the tendency toward discussion and gaining of greater knowledge.

We see in the so-called civilized world today a conflict between progress and reaction; progress seeking to maintain and extend the domain of free press; reaction trying to crush it. No country in which the publication of books and periodicals has become quite general is entirely free from this struggle. In some, however, the forces of reaction are not so well entrenched or aggressive as in others, and one funny thing about it is, that in the "great republics" the reactionary tendency is greater than in the monarchies. I say "reactionary tendency" advisedly, for in Russia, for instance, free press has never been permitted since the establishment of the Empire, and it keeps the monarch and his minions busy preventing greater freedom of the press than has heretofore been known, while in our own "free" country the right of free press, a right which was recognized from the beginning of our nation's history, is sought to be denied, and restrictions are being placed upon publications that have existed for ages in Eastern Europe, and which it costs enormous energy and the lives of hundreds annually to maintain.

Comrades! Fellow-workers! Arouse yourselves to the danger that is threatened. Little by little, slowly and quietly, stealthily as the cat creeps upon its prey, the enemies of free press have, in the past, and are now, foisting this and that bill upon the national and state legislative bodies. First they come with a bill to restrict the "too public exposition and sale of lascivious pictures." Then the yellow covered novel was added to the list, under the plausible excuse that the young and inexperienced are liable to be injured by them before they have reached the age of discretion. When this much was done, they came forth with an anti-lottery bill, and in this instance every one was accused of inability to know what is best for him or her.

Thus the principle of interference was established, and once established, there is no limit to it but the endurance of the people. Once such restrictive laws are enacted, it is absurd to talk of their repeal. History shows that laws are not repealed, but outgrown, and as the people grow to a mental stature that they will no longer uphold or countenance them they become "dead-letters." Sometimes they are swept away by a violent revolution.

With these facts in view it seems that there is but one thing for all lovers of liberty to do: Discourage all interference with the freedom of the press, and in so doing both prevent further restrictive legislation and discourage the enforcement of present laws. There are many ways in which this can be done. You can talk to your neighbor and enlist his sympathy for

free press. By all means support the papers that demand the freedom of the press. Encourage every paper to demand and contend for freedom to express the thoughts of the editor and his correspondents, unrestrictedly. In case of interference by the officials bring all the influence, of any and every kind, that you can, to bear on the judge and attorney, and sustain and encourage those who are making the fight.

We can, each and every one of us, do something for the freedom of the press, and it matters not how little that may be, it is that much and adds to the sum total, and will eventually overcome the opposition by the power of aggregation. We can each of us do something, if it is only awaken a new thought in the mind of a neighbor.

With free press the new ideas, ideas of a free society, of true fraternity, equality of opportunities and all those conditions we desire so much, can be disseminated amongst thousands who can hardly be reached in any other manner.

Take the history of The Firebrand. It started without money, subscribers or outfit. Little by little it worked its way out amongst those who think, and soon many who have not till today seen any Anarchist—except when looking in the glass—nor heard an Anarchist speech, have not only learned what we aim to accomplish, but have also become propagandists, and are sowing the seeds all around them. Right here, while speaking of The Firebrand let me call attention to a remark by Comrade Isaak in FREE SOCIETY of the 6th of March. He says he and I are not defending free press, but seek acquittal on the grounds that we did not mail the papers as charged in the indictment. He may speak for himself, but has no authority to make such a statement for me. We had to use this fact—the fact of our technical innocence—in order to get a new trial, but my desire for a new trial was to be able to make as strong a fight as possible for free press. The fact of our "legal" innocence I count as of the least importance of any, but will not refuse to use it, any more than I would refuse fried pork if hungry and nothing else could be had, although I dislike hog meat. I have constantly told different parties here who wanted me to compromise, this way or that, that I would gladly take chances on a year in prison in order to defend free press in court.

It was not the indecency in the paper that the district attorney dwelt on most, but on the freedom of expression on all subjects, when prosecuting the case, thus showing that it was free press they were trying to exterminate, and not indecency.

Granted the right of free press, we will conquer the world for freedom, and those who dread freedom most, know it. Knowing this they are determined to crush the freedom of the press before their privileges are endangered. It therefore behooves every lover of liberty to do his utmost to maintain such freedom of the press as we have, and to extend that freedom, by any and all means, until the press will be untrammelled and unfettered. This is a question of the most vital interest just now. Our work of propaganda must be slow if we have no paper, and will be more rapid in proportion as greater freedom is allowed the press.

HENRY ADDIS.

SOME TIMELY QUESTIONS.

In No. 154 comrade Pfuetzner criticises comrade Bodendyke's "Call for Action," referring to the colonizing plan as an "erratic idea," and its advocacy as a symptom of disease. Perhaps the comrade is right, but I would like to ask him a few questions.

He says, "First, we have not the means to start with; second, we cannot live up to our ideal so long as the dominant system makes war upon us." Do you live anywhere near your ideal now? Would you be any further from it in a colony or in a cooperative effort in the city? Do you not have to work under this dominant system for a living, and, as well, for what you give to the propaganda? And, if there is any advantage in cooperative effort, would you not, as a worker in a community, have that much more to give to this propaganda? If you are a wage worker now, are you not governed just that much more than if you were financially independent?

Regarding the "means to start with," if the comrade has reference to dollars we haven't got them and don't need them. But, although natural resources may be pretty thoroughly monopolized in Chicago, is there not room elsewhere? "Where get your raw material to work upon, and to whom sell, if not to monopolists?" Why either buy or sell? Why be a

market slave? A group of one dozen workers, representing half a dozen different occupations, can, in this part of the world, produce very nearly every necessary of life and many luxuries, and be a center of propaganda beside. The same can be done elsewhere. But if buying and selling were desirable, it could be done direct with producer and consumer, and that today without the use of government money.

Industrial freedom can be attained now.* To wait until people become "educated" up to something, we know not what, (some ideal) is like waiting for the State Socialist's paradise which he expects to bring about by the same means. Ideals differ and no individual ideal will ever be fully realized in society.

Education does not make free. The mental and industrial slave of today is the result of education. The civilized freeman will be intelligent, not "educated."

Beside, while you may reason with a philosopher, the average human being requires a demonstration; he looks for the effect, not the cause.

Yes, "Go to work and do something," prove something. If Anarchist-Communism will be practicable in free society, it can be practiced in a measure now. And we certainly need the benefit of mutual assistance now much more than we will when freedom is attained.

Our evolution must be worked out, not talked out. We progress by degrees; and to expect the attainment of any ideal by a sudden jump is, to me, absurd. To stay in the deepest places in the mire of superstition because it cannot all be removed at once; to tamely submit to the oppression of laws and customs when most of it can be avoided, may do for some. If so I can offer no objection. But while these comrades are stirring up the mud and slime at the center, let some more of us gouge down in the shallower places, clear away a space to work from, and see what can be accomplished from this standpoint.

Fulton, Wash.

CHARLES HOPKINSON.

BIBLE TEACHING UP TO DATE.

"A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good: and an evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil: for of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh."

These are the words of the man who had just before upheld his group in breaking the law—"plucking the ears of corn," on the sabbath. He had also broken the law himself by restoring to health and vigor the withered right hand of a man, on the sabbath!! He was a non-resistant according to records, except on the one occasion of overthrowing the tables of the money-changers and whipping them, thus emphasizing the greatest curse then afflicting the poor and keeping them in that condition.

This man never established any church, or instituted the chief feature of churches—the collection, but went about doing good, stirring up the people to assert their rights. The Church and State were too much for him; they killed him; then as now accomplishing their ends with bribes—thirty pieces of silver. The bible should be revised just once more to put this part of the narrative on the gold basis. The fact is, if the church intends holding "themasses" down by means of fear, bred from bible history, it is high time that they entirely rewrite it; and just what they would leave out, would form a good text book for us who desire "the absence of direct government of man by man—absolute individual liberty."

Then the good man, who desires to carry out the fundamental law of life, eating his bread in the sweat of his face, would bring forth that which is good. But if a man is allowed to sweat, and forced by law to sweat for others, all the treasure of his toil going to the evil man, the law-maker; robbed of all his goods, how can his heart bring forth what has by fraud been dragged out of it? The bible does not fit in with the times, or the times do not agree with the bible. Is it a parody, puzzle or conglomeration of errors, converted, edited, printed, and published by Church and State?

* This is a rather bold assertion. We can, no doubt, make our lot easier now through co-operative efforts, but this is far from being industrially free.

A. I.

England votes \$128,000,000, Russia \$65,000,000, America \$50,000,000 for warships—MURDERSHIPS; Labor has to provide the coin, and the target. Have the people any ill-feeling against each other? If it is not stirred up by government, no! A friendly party of twenty nationalities could be made up in this city any day, if men were allowed to live naturally, not converted into patriots, for the rise of the various governments; which are the good men, and which the evil? Presumably the good are those who make the evil men shell out the money, and arrange themselves as skittles to be knocked over.

According to the mysterious book in question which of two men engaged in the oil trade, would be the good man; the one who produces it at three, four or five cents a gallon, or he who sells it to the poor at twenty cents a gallon? If the latter gives to the church and endows an university for propagating economic errors, he is the good man, if the church be the judge, and the man who produces it at five cents a gallon, poor fool, of course is the evil man and brings forth that which is evil, and is only fit for oil, or brimstone as his final portion; the other fellow gets the gold, and all good is now reckoned by those who govern on the gold standard.

Good men desire to be free; they do not desire to govern others. Evil men desire to govern others, and by this very desire prove that they cannot control themselves.

The first necessity of social life is free exchange of Labor; here the evil men (law-makers) find their opportunity and have fettered exchange by making the most useless metal the standard of exchange, thus dethroning Labor, and exalting gold in its place, as the prime necessity of life. This is the degrading environment of all who desire to live pure, natural lives.

Christ's Sermon on the Mount did not save the Roman Empire; they would not abolish usury, and consequently usury destroyed them. America is rushing down the same old Roman road.

Prospects for the near future are exceedingly hopeful because of the rapidly increasing number who are feeling that no one has been created or elected to govern them. The I AM is the only governor of each individual. The I AM objects to coercion. Our American expression "I don't feel like it" speaks volumes, for in this, or rather the affirmative, "I feel like it," lies man's salvation. Just so soon as the Ego asserts its power, it will bid a long adieu to parsons, and the "good-bye" to land barons will not then be long delayed.

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

III.

Blows are good and blows are bad. It only depends upon who gives and who takes them. Government is good and government is bad. It also depends upon who governs and who is governed. The anti-corporation municipal ownership advocates are aware of this fact and their sole objection to blows and to government is that they are not giving the blows and that they are not governing others, namely they are taking the blows and they are being governed. It is a very disagreeable position, I am sure, but they are thieves and are making hay for another season, they are working for a chance to get hold of the other fellow's gold.

The same is also true of corporate wealth. It is a good thing when you have it, but you have to have it first. Mr. Flower and his friends, social democrats included, are now in a position to feel the heels of corporate wealth. They object to that system and want to get at the other end. They say: "Why, we are in the majority, can't we vote those fellows out?" That is just what they want. They want "to vote those fellows out." And they think they can do it too. Why, Karl Marx said so many years ago that the middle class is diminishing and the proletariat is growing. But this is not all, he also said that the middle class will become so insignificant that they will be no class at all.

Now there is authority for you that the labor party,

for that is what they call those who are being governed now, is outnumbering the very rich and the middle classes and we are bound to win in the end. All that is necessary then is to show the people the ballot; they will vote, and one fine morning we shall find B. O. Flower and his friends in and the other fellows out of office. So much to settle the trouble of being governed politically. How about economic emancipation? Why, municipal ownership is the thing. "When we get the government to own everything, then all we have to do is to get hold of the government, and we have hold of everything." This is a fair example of the reasoning of the municipal ownership advocates. Only in so far as government and corporate wealth affects them are they evils. When they shall have hold of both, though these evils might have to be borne by others, they at least would be satisfied. Hence they simply object to monopoly, because it is monopoly by the other fellows; had it been their own monopoly, all would be well with them. This is just how far their reasoning goes, and no farther. The peculiar part of it is that they realize how helpless the governed are against those who govern, and yet they only assure the other fellows that their government will be a fair one. The minority will be just as helpless, but the majority promises to be good.

It is absurd, but it is all they give us. It is silly, but that is all the assurance we get. "Take our word for it," is all they say. But how if you invade our liberties? How if you shoot us down like dogs when we object to such invasion? "Well, well, then you can vote us out." But we are the minority. "Then what do you want? Do you want the minority to govern the majority?" And thus they think the point is settled. After we have succeeded in pushing them to the wall, they admit that their form of government leaves some other fellows helplessly enslaved, that is to say that the evil will still remain, that there will only be a change of hands.

Those who may happen to be enslaved under their regime are of no consequence to them. It is only a question of kicking while they are being kicked in order that they might get into a position to kick others.

That the exclusive ownership of the means of life, whether enjoyed by one or by a thousand, makes all others dependent upon the owners, matters little to our reformers. That monopoly reserves the unlimited option to the monopolist and makes the rest of us their obedient and helpless slaves with no will of our own, is not important to our kind-hearted municipal ownership advocates. That ownership, no matter who has it, is the very essence of master and slave, tyrant and subject, robber and robbed, is entirely overlooked by Mr. Flower and his friends. Mr. Flower complains only of the injustice which results from monopoly to the propertyless and wants us to make another monopoly to rectify the first. But Mr. Flower either fails or refuses to see that self-apparent truth that there is no such thing as bad monopoly, but that it is monopoly itself that is bad.

That is why his remedy is a superficial one. That is why he contradicts himself. That is why he makes the unpardonable mistake of suggesting the most unspeakable tyranny, as a remedy for tyranny, the most dangerous monopoly as a remedy for a monopoly less complete and therefore less dangerous.

When the thing we all need is the property of a few, say their exclusive property, and we are either unable to reproduce that thing, or we are forbidden by government to reproduce it, the owners thereof may press their iron heel upon our brow, and we must patiently submit to them. Where property is monopolized it brings the highest price, for there the robber is the master and the robbed one is the helpless slave.

DALLAN DOYLE.

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FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

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50 CENTS A YEAR.Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to **FREE SOCIETY, 15 Oak Grove Ave., San Francisco, Cal.****Anarchy.**—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

"It is the object of law," said a leader of the dominant party, "to make the rich secure and the poor content." In other words, it is the object of law to shoot the poor down when they become rebellious against the outrages of the rich.

Rev. Oglesby of Chicago seems to know our ruling class better than so many State Socialists who tell us that the social question can be settled smoothly at the ballot-box. He says: "We may as well dismiss at once and forever the idea that the plutocrats will let go their control of the government peaceably if we carry the election. There is no patriotism about them. They know no country except to rule it. They have no conscience. Their God is the dollar." Correct!

We are told that our comrades of New York are publishing Solidarity again, as a semi-monthly, but much to our regret they have failed to send us a copy.

Some of our comrades of New York have cooperated on the Labor Exchange plan in order to better their economical condition, and they ought to be patronized by all comrades and friends of labor. See particulars on page 8 of this paper.

Two policemen were sent out in this city to rob a poor man of his home to which, it is said, he had not a proper title. But this man evidently believed in resisting invasion, for it finally took thirty "bluecoats" to accomplish their object, and the "brave" lieutenant was sent to heaven.

Thirty-nine men were deliberately murdered a week ago by some rich scoundrels, but the "strong arm of law and justice" will not be applied to these murderers because the dollar is the best safeguard for all sorts of criminals in this country. These "enterprising" rascals dug up an old bark which was totally unfit to encounter the sea, being condemned twenty years ago, and twenty-seven men were induced to pay \$65.00 a month for passage to the Copper River, Alaska. The vessel capsized soon after it had left the bay of this city, and thirty-nine men perished. "The masts, yard and hold were so rotten that the wood could be dug out with the fingers," says the Star.

"The land is the free gift of nature to all her children," says the Single Tax World, and yet these single taxers advocate paying rent for this "free gift." It matters not whether you pay double or single tax—either is robbery.

The ministers of this country begin to realize that there is as much money to be made in politics as in preaching the gospel. In Wellsville, Ohio, they have formed a league for the purpose of taking an active part in the spring elections. They will find out how each candidate stands on the local option question, and if he is not in favor of it they will denounce him from the pulpit.

A new machine for making bread from raw wheat will soon be put in operation in the large cities, which will be most revolutionary in its effects on several industries. The wheat is poured into the machine, soaked in water, converted into pulp, and after the refuse is removed, it is formed into loaves and conveyed by rollers into an oven and baked. A few ordinary workmen operating the machine will make bread enough for a large city, and according to experts the bread is purer and more wholesome than that baked by the present process; it is said that bread can be produced as cheap as flour today.

This is another benefactor to society, provided it will soon dawn upon the brains of the producers that

such labor-saving devices must be appropriated and utilized for all mankind. The monopolization of all such inventions will inevitably result in abject slavery of the workers.

Emperor Billie of Germany is as determined to suppress all opposition to existing disorder as the Russian idiot on the throne. He has brought a bill before the Prussian Diet authorizing the Minister of Education to cancel the licenses of professors lecturing before German universities, if he does not approve of the social doctrines advocated by them. The army officers are instructed not to let any socialistic literature circulate among the soldiers. This deluded fool could do nothing better to awaken the scholars of Germany from their lethargy and arouse their opposition to State interference in colleges and universities. Billie is digging his own grave.

The Federationist managed by Gompers, says: "The working people are not behind other people in patriotism but are perhaps somewhat ahead of them." We hope not. Why should the working people be such strong patriots? Because they have the pleasure of being oppressed and exploited by the powers that be? The country of a Mark Hanna or a Frick is certainly not the working people's country. This country is the country of the privileged robber and if it is thrown into war, such would only be in the interest of the privileged class, the moneybags, and the oppressed working people have no business to protect them and sacrifice their lives for them.

The Morgan-Syndicate, one of the largest financial concerns in the world, is Spain's creditor, and that is the reason why there will be no war between the United States and Spain. Spain owes the syndicate about 300 million dollars, the interest of which has been guaranteed by Cuban duties. If Cuba gained her independence, this little game would be stopped, for everything else Spain had to pawn has been seized by Rothschild long ago. Hence there will be no war with Spain. The above mentioned syndicate, Hanna's relationship, will not permit it.

The "patriotic enthusiasm" dished up in the "great dailies" is simply common, nonsensical twaddle mixed with sensation-mongery speculating upon the prejudices and ignorance of the masses.

Proletarian Internationalism is denounced by our opponents and considered a conspiracy against patriotism. However, there is not the least objection to the internationalism of the money-bag. The fact that all modern nations are at the mercy of international financial firms who combined with the express villainous object to co-operatively rob all the peoples of the earth by land and sea is accepted as a matter of course. It is also accepted as a matter of course that Rockefeller taxes the oil in the lamp of not only the New York but the London and Berlin poor seamstresses. It is equally a matter of course that the manufacturers of arms palm off the poorest material upon their own countries at the highest prices while they are liberal and lenient toward other countries.

It is easily perceived that internationalism is by no means objectionable to our patriotic opponents. It is only the internationalism, the solidarity of labor that is objectionable. And well it may be because the rise of the one will some day be the death knell to the other.—Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung.

VICTIMS OF PROFITMONGERY AND MILITARISM.

A horrible occurrence took place last week in Germany. An explosion at the mine "Vereinigte Karolinen-glück" killed about 130 miners.

The struggle for existence, the battle for the morsel of bread that constitutes the food of the working proletariat, forces people into this dangerous occupation of raising treasures from away below the earth's surface.

For whom? They themselves have hardly enough to support their families. The profit goes into the pockets of the coalbarons. Their gratitude consists in the horrible fact that they do not even take proper precaution to secure the lives of their poor drudges.

During the years of 1861 to 1862 twenty two explosions occurred in this mine. The "Rheinisch Westfälische Arbeiter Zeitung" upon information received

by an old experienced miner thus describes the dangerous work of rescue:

"The air was filled with hot soot that cramped one's chest and caused nausea. A coal dust explosion must have followed the fire damp explosion, which is so much more likely as the coal is very dry there and creates much dust. One involuntarily inquires about the water supply. The miners who are asked regarding it shrug their shoulders significantly. They will not talk, they seem to fear the loss of their jobs in case they should be obliged to testify before court. Nor are they inclined to talk about the ventilation of the mine.—We wonder what the investigation of the mining police will unearth in this matter."

The press calls for increased state supervision. Their intentions may be good. Yet he who is a worker himself and thus knows by his own experience the manner in which the profit-hungry entrepreneurs know to evade the inspections of really honest officials who are conscious of their high responsibilities, will agree with us in saying: As long as the worker is the slave of an exploiter; as long as others enjoy the benefits of his labor, there is no sufficient guarantee for his security and wellbeing. Not until the one who produces and the one who enjoys constitute one person; not until the worker is himself the owner of the mines as a means of production, will there be a sufficient security for his life.

Occurrences like this mine disaster ought to be a vivid illustration to the workers of the importance of the free group system for productive purposes as we Anarchists advocate. It but depends upon the ambition and energy of the workers to lead the industrial development into this redeeming channel.—Der Arme Konrad.

PREDICTS BLOODSHED.

"The street car companies of this city intend soon to ask the council for an extension of franchises," said Chairman Philpot. "They will ask that body to give them the use of the streets, for which they will give nothing in return. Certain aldermen say it will be impossible to prevent the passage of this measure, but I say I will take a hand in it. On the night on which that ordinance comes up I intend to call a mass meeting and gather about the city hall 20,000 people, and if the corrupt aldermen dare to vote for it we will kill them. They will not dare to do it.

"There are no such things as honest legislative bodies, neither in the cities or states. The National Congress is corrupt, and if the conditions are not soon remedied, we will all go to perdition together. Corporations are being sandbagged everywhere, and the people cannot and will not stand this eternal taxation. I wonder that there is not more murder done, and I would not blame any one for doing it. With a few exceptions, they are all thieves, and there is only one way to remedy the matter, and that is by getting the bosses out of power. All the primary laws that could be passed would not remedy it, when it is impossible to seat a delegation in convention unless its views accord with those of the bosses. There is a gang in control of each party in Chicago, and it is their heads we must get.

"Out of every \$1,000 paid into the city for street paving purposes, \$900 is stolen, absolutely stolen, from the people. Consequently our streets are the worst paved of any city in the country, while we have paid in for that specific purpose four times as much as any capital in Europe. The business of the city is in the hands of a gang of thieves, and we must get them out. Our property is taxed out of existence—simply confiscated. There are no longer any first mortgages in the city. The first mortgages are the city taxes. The people will not stand this much longer, and I predict that there will be an uprising ending in bloodshed unless immediate steps are taken to bring about a change.

"The modern reforms proposed will not bring about the result desired. The single tax and initiative and referendum will be of no avail, unless these leaders, who propose candidates and laws, and force their passage, are dethroned. These bosses are in the employ of corporations, and anything that they want can be had for a price. You and I have nothing to say; we simply have to submit to the pilfering of our property and rights. Our government is not one of the people, for the people, or by the people. What the outcome will be is horrible to contemplate. We must act, and a good start will be to elect honest councilmen, and by

this means we will be able to down these robbers."—Chicago Inter Ocean.

If it were not for the last sentence—the hope for saviors in electing honest councilmen—one would suppose the above expressions to have been made by a "crazy Anarchist" and not by a capitalist who usually condemns everybody who does not worship the stars and stripes. Yes, we must act; we must abolish the present system of robbery, a system which of necessity must breed corruption and end disastrously. Should the citizens of Chicago ever be able to elect honest councilmen, they might be sold to a museum as curiosities.

It is neither the ballot nor bloodshed that will remedy the evils of society if people are not intelligent enough to bid defiance to laws, customs and all authority in every form.

A. I.

LAW IS BARBARISM.

When a protest is made against some atrocity, like hanging some unfortunate degenerate, turning a poor family out of doors, separating a mother from her children etc., those who feel it to be wrong, but know it to be legal, reply "The sanctity of Law must be maintained." Now, what is this sanctity of Law? What is Law? "Law is a rule of action imposed by a superior power." What is that superior power which imposes on the present generation rules of action such as the humanity of the present generation disapproves? That superior power which imposes on the present generation rules of action contrary to its own instincts is the past. What is the character of the past as compared with the present? The past compared to the present, is barbarous. Therefore, Law is barbarism.

It has been remarked concerning the laws of the Australian savages, that they seem to have been framed on the express principle of perpetuating savagery. Of course they were. All Law, through the very nature of Law, is framed upon the principle of making it difficult for those who live under the same to get further out of savagery than they are already. That they may correct any abuse, they must be wrought up to the point of repealing a law. Why not work ourselves up at once to the point of repealing all laws?

C. L. JAMES.

DON'T BE SIDETRACKED.

There is so much push in semi-reform circles about the "great blessings" derived in Switzerland from the Initiative and Referendum that the following cry of distress of a builder and citizen of Bern, Switzerland, copied from the Zurich "Voice of Labor" will no doubt be read with interest:

"Almost in every city we read the sign in various places: 'Protect the animals!' 'Remember the birds!' But I never yet discovered a sign with the inscription: 'Remember the workers!' And yet such a sign is badly needed, particularly for the workers in the building trades. In the summer and toward fall work is plentiful, but as soon as the snow and cold weather sets in, work ceases for two or three months. The workers might then put up a sign, reading: 'Remember the employers who leave you in the cold in the winter.' Formerly the married men were given a chance to do some little work on stock during the winter season. The single men would then go tramping; thus the work was somewhat divided and both employers and employees were satisfied. Even in the cold winters of 1879—1890 I had a steady job. But things have taken a mighty change since, and I am now out of work every winter."

Here is the moral of this letter: The exploitation and consequent impoverishment of the masses, the greatest crime of our times, will never be disturbed by any political reforms, not even by the Initiative and Referendum as the social conditions of Switzerland plainly prove. Nay, these superficial political reforms even have a detrimental effect, for they tend to fill the workers with illusions regarding the improvement of their condition which sidetrack them from the genuine principles of social progress.—Chicagoer Arbeiter Zeitung.

In connection with the above I will repeat some statements which I made under a pseudonym in the first issue of The Firebrand regarding the so much praised reform measure:

All so-called reform papers will never fail to point out that since Switzerland has adopted the Initiative and Referendum, this little republic has reached the

acme of economical happiness. These would-be reformers seem never to inquire why so many Swiss emigrate to other countries in order to better their conditions.

"The population of Switzerland was in 1884, 2,846,102, including the foreigners; of these 234,045 live in foreign countries, leaving in Switzerland a total of 2,612,057. This small population has from tourists a yearly income of 52,800,000 francs through hotels alone, not including private houses, restaurants, etc. Add to this the income which steamship, railroad and other transportation companies must necessarily derive from the same source, and the sum must be more than doubled.

In spite of this exceedingly rich source of revenue, which, if distributed properly should insure a comfortable living to the masses, eleven hours constitutes a legal working day; and when last year the laborers of Zurich went on strike for shorter hours and better pay, they were brutally maltreated and clubbed while parading the streets. Last year an election was held on the issue, "The right to work." The proposition was rejected. How is that for a beneficial result of the Initiative and Referendum?

The following is a quotation from an eminent Swiss historian, from whom I took the above figures:

"The arts and sciences are flourishing. The state, indeed, has done very little, so far, but much is accomplished by voluntary association."

Again he says:

"After all Switzerland, in consequence of the stoppage of several branches of industry and the over-indebtedness of the agricultural classes, finds herself at present, occasionally, in a rather oppressed condition, which manifests itself most clearly in the extraordinary large emigration."

In 1884 the number of emigrants was 9608.

The Sun of the 30th of December, last year, brought news of twenty-one suicides during one week in the city of Geneva, nearly all of which left notes stating that they sought death on account of starvation.

All these things show clearly that you may theorize at will about this or that way of social reform, but the fact remains that where there is legal ownership there is exploitation; where there is exploitation there is government; and where there is government there are rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed.

One fact, therefore, stands out clearly above all others: First free yourselves from prejudices handed down by tradition. Do not regard a written title higher than the natural right to exercise your abilities. Make the land, and the tools wherewith to work it, the property of none, their use the right of all. Then, and not until then, will people have the liberty to strive for comforts and happiness at will. Then will authority tumble from its pedestal, be relegated to the collection of past ideas. Then nothing will be regarded higher than individual freedom, and only to yourself will you look for authority to control your actions.

A. I.

VACCINATION.

Under this title a pamphlet is published at 1328 North Twelfth St., Terre Haute, Ind. by Frank D. Blue, Secretary of the Terre Haute Anti-Vaccination League. Subscription 25 cents a year.

This brave little paper deserves the support of every right thinking and justice loving person. It forcibly attacks the mania of vaccination which has long since received the stamp of idiocy by rational people, both scientists and laymen.

The idea of inoculating human beings—in the majority of cases healthy human beings—with a poisonous matter gathered from diseased animals for the purpose of "preventing" disease, thus proposing to improve upon the plan of nature as it were in the construction of human beings, is so horrifying and revolting to common sense, that the writer of these lines lacks suitable language for the expression of his severe condemnation.

But while this plan in itself to tamper with the natural constitution of the human body is nauseating enough, it would do comparatively little harm and would die of its defects and idiocy if the people had an alternative in the matter of employing it like any other quackery or fraud. But unfortunately the monster robbing and murdering machine, the government, brutally forces this idiotic plan upon the people and compels parents to have their innocent babes murdered or poisoned for life with this filthy matter. Not only that but grown people are forced to undergo this same filth-inoculating process in some states.

Shame and disgrace upon a country that brags about its liberty and compels people to have filth and poison inoculated into themselves and their innocent offspring! Fi!

Subscribe for the brave little paper by all means, and assist it in carrying on its grand educational work—its crusade against brazen ignorance and shameless tyranny.

S. D.

PROPAGANDA IN CLEVELAND.

Last Sunday Comrade Emma Goldman made her second appearance in this city and in propagation of rational thought and action.

The announcement of her coming like the heralding of an erratic comet caused quite a commotion in various Cleveland circles.

Many curious people of various faiths were attracted to her lectures which excited comment throughout the community. Her departure was followed by a train of popular reflection, engaged in by all the papers of the city from the Cleveland Leader down to the Citizen, reverberations of which are noticeable in all the ramifications of Cleveland society.

Emma is bright and versatile, and makes a good impression; for notwithstanding a somewhat defiant mien and intrepidity of action she still retains those feminine characteristics which lend charm and grace to woman and are appreciable by both sexes.

The only expression of condemnation that even republican dailies dare give utterance to is that she is crazy and her doctrines maniacal ravings.

While here she delivered three lectures: On Sunday afternoon, and Monday and Tuesday evenings respectively.

The first, the subject of which was: "The Basis of Morality," was delivered in the Franklin Club, the hall being crowded to the door with an approving audience, Anarchists and authoritarians joining in hearty laughter at her brilliant witticisms, and loud applause at her eloquent declamation.

The second and third lectures were also well attended by equally appreciative audiences. The first of these, the subject of which was "Charity," was delivered in German at Giesens's Hall, and the latter was delivered in the Franklin Club Hall, the subject being "The New Woman."

Though a few of our fair lecturer's auditors were horribly shocked at times, many of the timid were induced to look boldly on the horrifying spectacle of a truth. And many an inquisitive mind has received an added impetus to its inquisitive propensity.

We may well give all the support that we can to Comrade Goldman, for to paraphrase the lines of Pope:

Truth is a monster
Of such hideous mien,
That to be hated
Needs but to be seen,
But seen too oft,
Familiar with his face,
We first endure,
Then wonder and embrace.

Cleveland, Ohio.

JOS. LEE.

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. Pfuetzner, 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. Reinhearth, 53 S. Halsted St.
The "New Time" Office.

THE INTERNATIONAL GROUP.

ANARCHIST MORALITY.

—BY—

PETER KROPOTKIN.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK.)

CHAPTER VIII. (Continued).

We renounce the idea of mutilating the individual in the name of any ideal whatsoever. All we reserve to ourselves is the frank expression of our sympathies and antipathies toward what seems to us good or bad. Such a man deceives his friends. It is his bent, his character to do so. Very well, it is our character, our bent to despise liars. And as this is our character, let us be frank. Do not let us rush and press him to our bosom or cordially shake hands with him, as is sometimes done today. Let us vigorously oppose our active passion to his.

This is all we have the right to do, this is all the duty we have to perform to keep up the principle of equality in society. It is the principle of equality in practice.

But what of the murderer, the man who debauches children? The murderer who kills from sheer thirst of blood is excessively rare. He is a madman to be cured or avoided. As for the debauchee, let us first of all look to it that society does not pervert our children's feelings, then we shall have little to fear from rakes.

All this, it must be understood, is not completely applicable until the great sources of moral depravity—capitalism, religion, justice, government—shall have ceased to exist. But the greater part of it may be put in practice from this day forth. It is in practice already.

And yet, if societies knew only this principle of equality; if each man practiced merely the equity of a trader, taking care all day long not to give others anything more than he was receiving from them, society would die of it. The very principle of equality itself would disappear from our relations; for, if it is to be maintained, something grander, more lovely, more vigorous than mere equity must perpetually find a place in life.

And this greater than justice is here.

Until now humanity has never been without large natures overflowing with tenderness, with intelligence, with will, and using their feeling, their intellect, their active force in the service of the human race without asking anything in return.

This fertility of mind, of feeling or of will takes all possible forms. It is in the passionate seeker after truth, who renounces all other pleasures to throw his energy into the search for what he believes true and right, contrary to the affirmations of the ignoramuses around him. It is in the inventor, who lives from day to day forgetting even his food, scarcely touching the bread with which perhaps some woman devoted to him feeds him like a child, whilst he follows out the intention he thinks destined to change the face of the world. It is in the ardent revolutionist, to whom the joys of art, of science, even of family life seem bitter, so long as they cannot be shared by all, and who works, despite misery and persecution, for the regeneration of the world. It is in the youth, who, hearing of the atrocities of invasion, and taking literally the heroic legends of patriotism, inscribes himself in a volunteer corps, and marches bravely through snow and hunger until he falls beneath the bullets. It was in the Paris street arab, with his quick intelligence, and bright choice of aversions and sympathies, who ran to the ramparts with his little brother, stood steady amid the rain of shells, and died murmuring: "Hurrah for the Commune!" It is in the man who is revolted at the sight of a wrong, without waiting to ask what will be its result to himself, and when all backs are bent, stands up to unmask the iniquity, and brand the exploiter, the petty despot of a factory or great tyrant of an empire. Finally, it is in all those numberless acts of devotion, less striking and therefore unknown and almost always misprized, which may be continually observed, especially among women, if we will take the trouble to open our eyes and notice what lies at the very foundation of human life, and enables it to enfold itself one way or another, in spite of the exploitation and oppression it undergoes.

Such men and women as these, some in obscurity, some within a large arena, create the progress of mankind. And mankind is aware of it. This is why it encompasses such lives with reverence, with myths. It adorns them, makes them the subject of its stories, songs, romances. It adores in them the courage, goodness, love and devotion which are lacking in most of us. It transmits their memory to the young. It recalls even those who have acted only in the narrow circle of home and friends, and reveres their memory in family tradition.

Such men and women as these make true morality, the only morality worthy the name; all the rest is merely equality in relations. Without their courage, their devotion, humanity would remain besotted in the mire of petty calculations. It is such men and women as these who prepare the morality of the future, that which will come when our children have ceased to reckon, and grown up to the idea that the best use for all energy, courage, love, everything, is to expend it where the need of such a force is most strongly felt.

Such courage, such devotion has existed in every age. It is to be met with among sociable animals. It is to be found among men, even during the most degraded epochs.

And religions have always sought to appropriate it, to turn it into current coin for their own benefit. In fact, if religions are still alive, it is because—ignorance apart—they have always appealed to this very devotion and courage. And it is to this that revolutionists appeal, especially Socialists.

To explain it, moralists of various schools have fallen into errors, which we have previously pointed out. It is the young philosopher Guyau, an unconsciously Anarchist thinker, who has indicated the true origin of such courage and devotion, independent alike of all mystic force and all those commercial calculations so quaintly imagined by the English utilitarian school. Where Kantian, Positivist and Evolutionary philosophy have failed, Anarchist philosophy has found the way.

The origin of such qualities, says Guyau, is the feeling of one's own force. It

is overflowing life which seeks to spread. "To feel within oneself that one is capable of acting, is at the same time to become conscious of what it is one's duty to do."

The moral sentiment of duty, which each man has felt in his life, and which it has been attempted to explain by every sort of mysticism, "duty is nothing but a superabundance of life, which demands to be exercised, to give itself; at the same time, it is the consciousness of a power."

All accumulated force creates a pressure upon the obstacles placed before it. Power to act is duty to act. And all this moral "obligation," of which so much has been said or written, thus stripped of all mysticism, is reduced to the conception: the condition of the maintenance of life is its expansion.

"The plant cannot prevent itself from flowering. Sometimes, to flower means to die. Never mind, the sap mounts all the same," concludes the young Anarchist philosopher.

It is the same with the human being, when he is full of force and energy. Force accumulates in him. He expands his life. He gives without calculation, otherwise he could not live. If he must die, like the flower when it blooms, never mind. The sap rises, if sap there be.

Be strong. Overflow with emotional and intellectual energy, and you will spread your intelligence, your love, your energy of action broadcast among others! This is what all moral teaching comes to stripped of the hypocrites of oriental asceticism.

CHAPTER IX.

That which mankind admires in a truly moral man is his energy, the exuberance of life which urges him to give his intelligence, his feeling, his action, asking nothing in return.

The strong thinker, the man overflowing with intellectual life, naturally seeks to diffuse his ideas. There is no pleasure in thinking unless the thought is communicated to others. It is only the mentally poverty-stricken man, who, after he has painfully hunted up some idea, carefully hides it that later on he may label it with his own name. The man of powerful intellect runs over with ideas; he scatters them by the handful. He is wretched if he cannot share them with others, cannot scatter them to the four winds, for in this is his life.

The same with regard to feeling. "We are not enough for ourselves: we have more tears than our own sufferings claim, more capacity for joy than our own existence can justify," says Guyau, thus summing up the whole question of morality in a few admirable lines, caught from nature. The solitary being is wretched, restless, because he cannot share his thoughts and feelings with others. When we feel some great pleasure, we wish to let others know that we exist, we feel, we love, we live, we struggle, we fight.

At the same time we feel the need to exercise our will, our active energy. To act, to work, has become a need for the vast majority of mankind; so much so, that when absurd conditions divorce a man or woman from useful work, they invent something to do, some futile and senseless obligations whereby to open out a field for their active energy. They invent never mind what—a theory, a religion, a "social duty"—to persuade themselves that they are doing something useful. When they dance it is for a charity; when they ruin themselves with expensive dresses, it is to keep up the position of the aristocracy; when they do nothing, it is on principle.

"We need to help our fellows, to lend a hand to the coach laboriously dragged along by humanity; in any case, we buzz around it," says Guyau. This need of lending a hand is so great that it is found among all sociable animals, however low in the scale. What is all the enormous amount of activity spent uselessly in politics every day but an expression of the need to lend a hand to the coach of humanity, or at least to buzz round it?

Of course, this "fecundity of will," this thirst for action, when accompanied by poverty of feeling and an intellect incapable of creation, will produce nothing but a Napoleon I. or a Bismarck; wileacres who try to force the world to progress backward. Whilst, on the other hand, mental fertility, destitute of well developed sensibility, will bring forth such barren fruits as literary and scientific pedants, who only hinder the advance of knowledge. Finally, sensibility unguided by large intelligence will produce such persons as the women ready to sacrifice everything for some brute of a man, upon whom they pour forth all their love.

If life is to be really fruitful, it must be so at once in intelligence, in feeling and in will. This fertility in every direction is life; the only thing worthy the name. For one moment of this life, those who have obtained a glimpse of it give years of vegetative existence. Without this overflowing life, a man is old before his time, an impotent being, a plant that withers before it has ever flowered.

"Let us leave to latter-day corruption this life that is no life," cries youth, the true youth full of sap that longs to live and scatter life around. Every time a society falls into decay, a thrust from such youth as this shatters ancient economic, political and moral forms to make room for the up-springing new life. What matter if one or another fall in the struggle! Still the sap rises. For youth to live is to blossom, whatever the consequences! It does not regret them.

But without speaking of the heroic periods of mankind, taking every day existence, is it life to live in disagreement with one's ideal?

Now-a-days it is often said that men scoff at the ideal. And it is easy to understand why. Buddhist or Christian mutilation has so often been confounded with the ideal; the word has so often been used to cheat the simple hearted that a reaction is inevitable and healthy. We too should like to replace the word "ideal," so often blotted and stained, by a new word in more conformity with new ideas.

But whatever the word, the fact remains: every human being has his ideal. Bismarck had his—however strange—i. e., a government of blood and iron. Every philistine has his ideal, if it be but Gambetta's silver bath and cook Trompette, with plenty of slaves to pay for Trompette and the bath without a troublesome amount of coercion.

But besides these there is the human being who has conceived a loftier ideal. The life of a beast cannot satisfy him. Servility, lying, bad faith, intrigue, inequality in human relations fill him with loathing. How can he in his turn become servile, be a liar, an intriguer, lord it over others? He catches a glimpse of how

lovely life might be if better relations existed among men, he feels in himself the power to succeed in establishing these better relations with those he may meet on his way. He conceives what is called an ideal.

Whence comes this ideal? How is it fashioned by heridity on one side and the impressions of life on the other? We know not. At most we could tell the story of it, more or less truly in our own biographies. But it is an actual fact—variable, progressive, open to outside influences, but always living. It is a largely unconscious feeling of what would give us the greatest amount of vitality, of the joy of life.

Well, life is vigorous, fertile, rich in sensation only on condition of answering to this feeling of the ideal. Act against this feeling, and you feel your life bent back on itself; it is no longer at one, it loses his vigor. Be untrue often to your ideal, and you will end by paralyzing your will, your active energy. Soon you will no longer regain the vigor, the spontaneity of decision you formerly knew. You are a broken man.

Nothing mysterious in all this, once you look upon a human being as a compound of nervous and cerebral centers acting independently. Waver between the various feelings striving within you, and you will soon end by breaking the harmony of the organism; you will be a sick person without will. The intensity of your life will decrease. In vain will you seek for compromises. Never more will you be the complete, strong, vigorous being you were when your acts were in accordance with the ideal conceptions of your brain.

CHAPTER X.

And now before we close let us say a word concerning those two terms, altruism and egoism, outcomes of the English school, which continually grate upon our ears.

Until now we have not even mentioned them, for the simple reason that we cannot see the distinction between them which the English moralists have striven to establish.

When we say "Do unto others as we would they should do unto us" do we advocate altruism or egoism? Rather we take a higher standpoint and say "The happiness of each is closely bound up with the happiness of all about him. Perhaps a few years of comparative happiness are possible in a society based upon the misfortune of others; but such happiness is built upon sand. It cannot last, the least thing is enough to wreck it; and it is miserably petty compared with the happiness possible to a community of equals. So whenever you aim at the general good, you will act well"—when we say this, are we preaching altruism or egoism? We simply state a fact.

And let us add a paraphrase of Guyau's words: "Be strong; be great in your every action: develop your life in every direction; be as rich as possible in energy, and to this end be the most social and sociable of beings, if you desire to enjoy a full, perfect and fruitful life. Always guided by a fully developed intelligence, struggle, venture into danger—for danger has its own great pleasures—throw your strength without taking count of it, throw all you have, into everything that you feel to be great and good—then will you enjoy the maximum of happiness. Be one with the masses; then, whatever may happen to you in life, you will feel that the hearts of those you honor are beating in unison with yours; while those of the men you despise are at variance with you." When we say this, are we teaching altruism or egoism?

To struggle, to look danger in the face, to jump into the water that we may save, not a human being only, but even a cat; to live on dry bread in order to put an end to inequities that revolt us; to feel ourselves in harmony with such as are worthy of love; to feel ourselves loved by them, this for a weak philosopher perhaps means self-sacrifice. But for the man or woman filled with energy, force, vigor and youth it is the conscious joy of life. Is this egoism? Is it altruism?

As a rule the moralists who have built up their systems on a supposed opposition between the altruistic and the egoistic sentiment, have gone astray. If this opposition were real, if the interests of the individual man were really opposed to those of society, the human race could never have come into being; no animal species could have attained to its present development. If it were not an immense pleasure to all the ants to work for the well-being of the colony, the colony could never have existed, and the ant would not be what it is—the most highly developed creature among insects; a creature whose brain, which can be with difficulty seen under the magnifying glass, is almost as powerful as the average brain of man. Were birds not to find an intense pleasure in their migrations, in the care they take to rear their brood, in common action to defend their communities from birds of prey, the bird would never have arrived at the state of development to which it has attained. In place of progressing the bird-type would have retrograded.

So when Spencer looks forward to a time when the welfare of the individual member will be merged in the welfare of the species, he forgets one little thing, that if the two had not been for all ages identical, the evolution, even of the animal kingdom, could never have been worked out.

There has ever been, there always is, in the animal kingdom and in the human species, an enormous number of individual beings who do not understand that the welfare of the individual member and that of the species are in reality identical. They do not understand that, while to live an intense life is the aim of each individual member, the greatest intensity of life is to be found in the greatest sociableness, in the most complete identification of oneself with others. But this is only a lack of intelligence, a lack of understanding. At all times there have been men of limited intelligence; at all times there have been fools. But never at any epoch, historical or even geological, have individual interests been in opposition to those of society. From all time they have remained identical, and those who have been understood this have always enjoyed the completest life.

The distinction, therefore, between egoism and altruism is absurd in our eyes. That why we have said nothing of the compromises that man, if we are to believe the utilitarians, is always making between his egoistic and altruistic sentiments. Such compromise can have no existence for the man who knows his own mind. What really takes place in the present condition of life, if we seek to live in conformity with our principles of equality, is that at every step we feel them outraged.

However modest may be our food and our bed, we are very Rothschilds in comparison with him who sleeps on bridges and is often in need of a piece of dry bread. In however small a degree we may give ourselves up to intellectual and artistic enjoyment, we are still Rothschilds in comparison with the millions who come home stupefied by manual toil, who can take no delight in art or science, and will die without having ever known these higher pleasures.

We feel that we have not worked out the principle of equality to its conclusion. But we will have no compromise with these conditions. We revolt against them; they weigh heavily on us. They make us revolutionists. We have no commerce with what revolts our feelings. We repudiate every compromise, even every armistice, and we are pledged to struggle to the death against such conditions.

In this there can be no compromise; the man who is convinced does not wish to be allowed to go to sleep quietly, in the hope of everything changing of its own accord.

We have now reached the end of our subject. There are epochs we have said, in which the moral conception changes entirely. A man perceives that what he had considered moral is the deepest immorality. In some instances, it is a custom, a venerated tradition, that is fundamentally immoral; in others, we find a moral system framed in the interests of a single class. We cast them overboard and raise the cry "Down with morality!" It becomes a duty to act "immorally."

Let us welcome such epochs, for they are epochs of criticism, they are an infallible sign that thought is working in society. A higher morality has begun to be wrought out.

What this morality will be we have sought to formulate, taking as our basis the study of man and animal.

We have seen the kind of morality which is even now shaping itself in the ideas of the masses and of the thinkers. This morality will issue no commands. It will refuse once and for all to model individuals according to an abstract idea, as it will refuse to mutilate them by religion, law or government. It will leave to the individual man full and perfect liberty. It will be but a simple record of facts, a science. And this science will say to man: "If you are not conscious of strength within you, if your energies are only just sufficient to maintain a colorless, monotonous life, without strong impressions, without deep joys, but also without deep sorrows, well then, keep to the simple principles of a just equality. In relations of equality you will find probably the maximum of happiness possible to your feeble energies."

"But if you feel within you the strength of youth, if you wish to live, if you wish to enjoy a perfect, full and overflowing life—that is, know the highest pleasure which a living being can desire—be strong, be great, be vigorous in all you do."

"Now life around you. Take heed that if you deceive, lie, intrigue, cheat, you thereby demean yourself, belittle yourself, confess your own weakness beforehand, play the part of the slave of the harem, who feels himself the inferior of his master. Do this, if it so pleases you, but know betimes that humanity will regard you as petty, contemptible and feeble, and will treat you as such. Having no evidence of your strength, it will act toward you as one worthy of pity—and pity only. Do not blame humanity if of your own accord you thus paralyze your energies. Be strong, on the other hand, and once you have seen unrighteousness and recognized it as such—inequity in life, a lie in science, or suffering inflicted by another—rise in revolt against the iniquity, the lie or the injustice."

"Struggle! To struggle is to live, and the fiercer the struggle, the intenser the life. Then you will have lived, and lived a life, and a few hours of such life are worth years spent vegetating in the swamp's corruption."

"Struggle! So that all may live this rich, overflowing life; and be sure that in this struggle you will find a joy greater than anything else can give."

This is all that the science of morality can tell you; yours be the choice.
(THE END).

MAN'S WILLINGNESS TO WORK.

What a fortunate thing it is that men want to work and like to work! Suppose for a moment that the out-of-work, hungry, unlucky creatures, numbering one hundred thousand in New York City, should suddenly change their characters. It is a harmless supposition, as it implies that a great body of good though unlucky, men should be metamorphosed. But suppose, for instance, that one hundred thousand men should have a meeting and say:

"The State provides food, lodging and good care for every thief. It does not provide anything for us. Let us therefore accept the situation like philosophers and become thieves."

Suppose the one hundred thousand men thereupon, very quietly, without any show of violence, should each proceed to steal something, and then announce the intention to accept the consequence by pleading guilty. It would embarrass the State and the reigning powers, would it not?

What could society do with a hundred thousand self-confessed thieves to take care of? It could not lock them up. It could not let them go. It could not nominally sentence them and have the governor pardon them, because the hundred thousand would then proceed to steal something else.

What could be done? Nothing. There is no punishment for theft save imprisonment, and the wholesale thieves would ask for and demand imprisonment with the usual rations.

We think society is well-balanced, and that everything is ingeniously provided for. So it is, but everything hinges upon the extraordinary fact that the hungry, thin, common, shiftless, luckless man at the very bottom is still a man. He will not be a thief, and he will die of hunger and cold, as poor fellows do almost every day, rather than take the food that society guarantees to the thief.

We attribute much to our own wisdom and the wisdom of our laws. But we owe almost everything to the instinct of self-preservation, and to that second, very peculiar instinct called pride.—New York Evening Journal.

Which is simply a confession from a law-and-order advocate that government is a fraud and an imposition, and that while it is the source of all confusion, to the "hungry, thin, common, shiftless, luckless man" we are indebted for such order as we have. It is certainly not intended to be such a confession, and calls these starving people "luckless," instead of "robbed"; but any one at all given to reflection will read it between the lines. It shows how incapable the government is to care for the criminals it may produce, and how its very existence depends, not upon its own potentiality, but upon the mental lethargy and thoughtlessness of its victims. The "manhood" of this slavish submission to injustice and robbery is emphasized and applauded, but what can be said of the manhood of that class who knowingly uphold such inequity?

J. H. M.

157

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To force a man to do right, is to put force in the place of conscience. Men must be forced to respect rights but beyond this force cannot rightfully go.

Competition is an ogre of the very ugliest kind. It is a maleficent being whose essence is the exact opposite of that of co-operation. It is a thing which lives only in strife, in which the weakest must go to the wall. Let there be no mistake about it—competition and co-operation are deadly opposites. One means strife and the other harmony. Competition must die before co-operation can truly live—Benjamin Hoare, Melbourne.

The fact is that the revolution can never really be conquered, and, being providential and absolutely fatal, it constantly reappears. If you wish to understand what revolution is, call it progress; and if you wish to understand what progress is, call it to-morrow. To-morrow ever does its work irresistibly, and does it to-day, and it ever attains its object. Such is the progress of progress, and that workman has no bad tools. It fits to its divine work the man who bestrode the Alps and the old tottering patient of the Pere Elysee. The sabers have finished and the turn of the thinkers arrives.—Victor Hugo in "Les Miserables."

HE DON'T LIKE TO STAY WITH GOD.

A mother was putting her young son to bed, and the little fellow objected seriously to staying upstairs alone.

"But dear, you must not mind the dark. Remember, God is here, and stays with you, even when you go to sleep."

Slightly comforted, he allowed his mother to leave him. A thunderstorm was raging, and, after a short time, there came a pitter-patter on the stairs, and Mr. Five-year-old appeared. Mamma took him back again, trying once more to comfort him with the thought of God's presence. Scarcely had she taken up her work again when there came a loud clap of thunder. As the noise rolled away, there came a wee voice from above: "Mamma, mamma, if you come up here and stay with God, I'll come down with papa."

TOO IGNORANT.

Executive—"I would appoint your man, but he's too ignorant for the police force."

Heeler—"Den put him on the school board."—New York Herald.

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