

# 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. 22.

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WHOLE NO. 158.

## MARSEILLAISE.

Ye sons of Toil, awake to glory;  
Hark! hark, what myriads bid you rise!  
Your children, wives and grandsires hoary—  
Behold their tears and hear their cries!  
Behold their tears and hear their cries!  
Shall hateful tyrants, mischief breeding,  
With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,  
Affright and desolate the land,  
While peace and liberty lie bleeding?

Chor.—

To arms, to arms, ye brave!  
The avenging sword unsheath!  
March on, march on, all hearts resolved,  
On liberty or death!

With luxury and pride surrounded,  
The vile, insatiate despots dare,  
The thirst of power and gold unbanded,  
To meet and vend the light and air,  
To meet and vend the light and air;  
Like beasts of burden would they load us,  
Like gods would bid their slaves adore;  
But man is man, and who is more?  
Then shall they longer lash and goad us?

Chor.—

Oh! Liberty, can man resign thee,  
Once having felt thy gen'rous flame?  
Can dungeons, bolts, or bars confine thee?  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?  
Too long the world has wept, bewailing  
That falsehood's dagger, tyrants wield;  
But freedom is our sword and shield,  
And all their hearts are unavailing.

Chor.—

## ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM.

In order that the entire population of any given section of country, nation or continent may live in peace and pursue happiness, three things are necessary: Liberty, security, abundance. How best to secure these three conditions, then, is the great problem of our time. All of those who come before the people with propositions concerning social readjustment, different industrial conditions, etc., are seeking to solve this problem, but all too few of them realize or even know that such a problem exists.

What does liberty mean? There is less question as to the meaning of the words security and abundance. The dictionary gives a number of definitions of liberty, the most intelligible of which is "power of choice; freedom from compulsion or restraint," and this will be my meaning when using the word liberty in what follows. By security I shall mean the absence of danger of want, of injury to person or fear of untimely death. By abundance I shall mean plenty of all things needful to comfort and enjoyment. Having defined my terms let us proceed to see what a condition of liberty, security and abundance would be like.

Liberty being a condition of freedom from compulsion or restraint would be a condition of no government, for all governments compel the payment of taxes and restrain the exercise of skill and energy in production. By so doing they build up an office holding class, a class that always becomes arrogant and wasteful. This class takes without rendering an equivalent, an act which is called by them robbery if committed by any one else. Government also assumes the prerogative of parceling off the surface of the earth, creating and sustaining land monopoly, thus denying some the right to use the land, and without the use of the land human life cannot continue. It undertakes the regulation of one thing after another until liberty of the individual is destroyed, the individual being reduced to

a mere automaton, and the government becoming the monster director of the life and actions of the individual. Today the government, general and local, attempts to control not only your acts toward your fellow men, but even your private correspondence by prohibiting any and all mail except the government mail, and then fixing what may or may not be sent through the mail under heavy penalties for violation of the postal laws. Some persons are foolish enough to want to extend this control until it includes all industries, thus putting it in the power of the government to enforce its decrees or starve those who do not obey. That would extinguish the last bit of liberty and make all individuals as cogs in one vast machine, hedged in on every side so closely that full action would be an absolute impossibility. All government is a restriction of liberty, and so to have liberty we must be rid of government.

In a condition of liberty mutual agreement will be the guide to intercourse, for, in order for any persons to get another to associate with them in any manner it will be necessary for them to make it desirable to the other. Association will then be voluntary and mutually desirable. Human beings are gregarious and social. They cannot, and do not desire to live alone. They must associate, and this fact necessitates fair treatment of one by another. Where there is government some make the law their measure of fairness, and use it to impose on others, but in a condition of freedom public sentiment would be the standard by which the fairness of conduct would be measured, and that which worked an injury would be discountenanced, and no one would long dare disregard a just public sentiment.

In referring to a condition of liberty those who have always looked upon laws as the thing which makes life and liberty secure always raise the question of security. They seem to think that restraint and fear of punishment are necessary in order to induce men to desist from all manner of cruelties and abnormities toward each other. They fail to see that men act as they do because of the conditions under which they live, and that they would act in accordance with their surroundings in a condition of liberty. Self-preservation is as much a part of our desires, as much a part of us, as any other desire or propensity. In order to secure our own preservation we willingly refrain from destroying, and gladly assist in repelling anybody or anything that threatens the destruction of another, for what destroys the other may also destroy us. Human interdependence is a fact, and as that fact dawns upon the intelligence of people they see the necessity of solidarity. They see that their own security can best be maintained by maintaining the security of all others. When no outside power, as the government, is looked to to maintain security and each one knows that his or her security depends upon his or her treatment of their fellows, there can be no question but that in a condition of liberty there would be far greater security than the world has ever known. Then, too, the abundance or scarcity of the necessities of life and their accessibility plays an important part in the security of the individual. When men are starving they are apt to lose their regard for the life of others, when by so doing they may maintain their own. Those same men would regard the life of others as sacred as their own if they had an abundance of the things necessary to preserve their own life in a fair degree of comfort.

A abundance contributes very largely to security, makes peace and happiness possible, and gives abundant opportunity for the development of the artistic, and all those finer qualities which are stifled and crushed by pinching want. Given a condition in which every one can use and consume all that he or she may desire, and where the question of tomorrow's meals or lodgings are to come from never troubles the mind, and all would unerringly turn their attention to such pursuits and occupations as they took the most enjoyment in, and would cultivate their love of and powers in art, music and all those things that appeal to the finer sensibilities and contribute to the higher enjoyments. In a condition of liberty, abundance such as has never been known would prevail. Think for a minute of the immense amount of waste labor made necessary by government; of the thousands of men engaged in making instruments of torture and destruction; the thousands of soldiers, trained only to murder; of the tens of thousands of revenue collectors, legislators and executives, and the hundreds of thousands of those who in one manner or another assist in the work of government. All of these are withdrawn from production, and must be maintained at the expense of those who are engaged in useful production. All this waste energy would be turned into productive activity in the absence of government. Then think of the almost innumerable swarms of parasites that live off the products of toil; the lawyers, politicians, capitalists, real estate sharks, money lenders, preachers, and the unnecessary merchants and small traders. They are legion, but they produce nothing useful—must be supplied with the necessities and comforts they consume with the products of others. In a condition of liberty these, too, would turn their energies into productive undertakings. Thus we see that when we are rid of government, with its concomitant evils, there would be such an abundance produced that value, as we know it today, would cease to exist in the minds of the people, and each and every one would be able to supply him or herself with everything they might desire. Having an abundance no one would have any incentive to take from another what he or she might have, and no one acts without an incentive. All having plenty and equal opportunities in every direction the distinctions that now exist and create envy, jealousy and discord could not then exist, and there being nothing to awake such passions they would not run rampant, as now, and disturb the peace and harmony of society.

Anarchist-Communism would be a condition of liberty, security and abundance. There being no organized government to compel and restrain, each and every individual would have the "power of choice;" would be on an equal footing with every other. Recognized solidarity would be ample security against invasion and all forms of aggression. There being no embargo on production, and no wasteful and destructive labor, there would be a superabundance of everything necessary to life, comfort, enjoyment and the highest possible development of the individual. Each and every individual would be free to exercise his faculties in such manner as would bring him the greatest happiness, and would find ample opportunity and abundant material at hand to do so.

With the introduction of liberty all organization and set forms of association would disappear and each and every meeting, gathering or transac-

tion would shape itself, and its details be determined by the circumstances and conditions under which it took place. One principle alone would be the guide to all association, i. e., solidarity—the recognized liberty and interdependence of each—and that would insure the constant stability and harmony of all social arrangements. It would guarantee security.

Weighing, measuring and account keeping being non-productive and wasteful, and an abundance for all being assured, individual appropriation beyond individual needs would be voluntarily discontinued and all products be held in common for the use of all as they might desire. Thus those now engaged in account keeping, in making sales and in numerous other occupations incidental to our present system of exaction, would turn their attention to production, thus increasing the total of available products and swelling the common abundance. In this manner the time expended in the supplying of physical necessities could be reduced to a minimum, and greater freedom to pursue the ideal, and to seek enjoyment in association, music, poetry, painting, sculpture and all the arts, sciences and philosophy be attained than by any other social arrangement applicable in the present development of the race.

Some may inquire how Anarchist-Communism is to be brought about. That I cannot say, any more than I can tell what the details will be in its social arrangements. The first thing is to get people to understand and want it. When a large number want it they will look about for means to attain it. They will cease to vote, or belong to the army, militia or sheriff's posse; to do jury duty or in any manner uphold government. Attempts will be made to form groups for productive, consumptive and social purposes, and every change in affairs will be taken advantage of that make approach to their ideal. When the present system breaks down by its own weight, or is destroyed by a violent revolution, they will endeavor to establish Anarchist-Communism by voluntary association and appeals to others to join them, and by steering clear of all efforts to re-establish government or to revive commercialism.—Henry Addis, in the *Cleveland Recorder*, Sept. 5, 1897.

## MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

### IV.

Mr. Flower draws our attention to the vast accumulations of wealth which are the result of that which belongs to all the people. He tells us of the enormous profits which the street railroad companies draw from the people. And he evidently hits the nail when he says: "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 which go to enrich the few almost beyond the imagination of man." But he misses the point as soon as he begins to draw upon his municipal ownership scheme as a remedy.

Though our kind-hearted reformers may be surprised at what rate the monopolists are filling their coffers with gold, we are not. What is there surprising about it? When that which is a necessity is monopolized, however low its actual value may be, it will rise according to the desire of the monopolist. In that case the profits which may be reaped have no limit. He who needs that which the other has, must pay for it whatever that other might ask for it. Not so, however, is it when there are many who have the same thing for sale and each one tries to get the trade that is to be had. Then the thing to be sold cannot stay long much above the cost of production including a reasonable profit thereon. Besides those who sell cannot tyrannize the purchaser, as is the case now with monopolists. If that which is limited comes into the possession of a few it enables them to dictate terms which the purchaser must comply with, however unjust the terms may be. The purchaser has no remedy. That which he needs cannot be reproduced, and that which is in existence, though it might be enough to supply the entire world for centuries, is the exclusive ownership of a few, hence he cannot but pay the tribute required of him in order to supply his wants.

There are so many coal mines in this country. These mines are the exclusive ownership of a few coal barons. We all need coal, but there is but one way to get it; namely, by applying to those who own it. Suppose they charge us ten times the cost of digging it, can we help it? If, however, they charge us more or less for the coal, it is not because we could help ourselves had they been charging us so much more than they do. It is simply their good will. They are in a position to dictate terms which we are obliged to satisfy in order to get what is a necessity to our daily existence. This is the result of what is called legitimate ownership. But ownership of that which we cannot reproduce is monopoly in that it enables the owners to control the price of it.

"Well then let us have municipal ownership," some one might say. Well, suppose we have it, where does the purchaser come in? "Why the municipality is not going to charge him so much for his coal or whatever it may be." I don't know about that. But suppose it does charge, do you have any remedy? "Why of course, we will vote for lower rates." Are you ever asked how much you shall be taxed? Did you have anything to say in the recent appropriation of fifty million dollars to bluff Spain? Did you grant Mr. Cleveland anything more than his mere salary (it is questionable whether you granted his salary, but we'll say you did) thrice the amount of which he spent while president? How does it happen that he is today the owner of over ten millions? Did you give it to him? Where did he get it? Did you vote for it?

Mark Hanna is a business man. He knows how to pay for digging a ton of coal while he actually gets one and a half. He knows how to sell nineteen-hundred pounds of coal for a ton. He is not in politics for glory. Is he in there to vote for your interest? Not by a long shot. He said so himself in a speech delivered in Ohio. By the way, do you know that there is not going to be any war with Spain? Do you know that this money is going to be used to increase the standing army so as to render the monopolists more secure in the possession of their spoil? You didn't know that, but you'll have to pay for it just the same. Mr. Hanna said, "You don't like me, but you'll have to vote for me." During the time of the presidential campaign he said: "We'll get there, even if we have to buy every vote in the country." In another interview he was reported as having said: "We will carry Illinois even if we have to spend six million dollars on election day." Mr. Hanna, as we have seen, is not doing such things for fun or for glory. There is method in that. But this is not all. Mr. Hanna was to be defeated according to the popular vote cast in Ohio. Was he defeated? Why was he not defeated? Because a few days before the election his defeat was not certain? No, not that. On the first caucus his defeat was made public. The newspapers had him defeated, put in a coffin and buried. But there was money in the game. "Ten thousand dollars for a vote," cried Hanna. "Ten thousand dollars for a vote and more if necessary," cried Hanna's manager. The result was Hanna's election. I don't say that those who voted him in got ten thousand dollars each, but "it's kind of queer." The two things came so simultaneously that one cannot help saying so. Now, my friends, who voted for Hanna? Who gave the money, Hanna or you? Who runs this government anyhow?

Who will make your rates in case of municipal ownership? Without municipal ownership there is hope for a quarrel among the thieves and a chance for breaking their agreement; a chance to have the seller once more pay attention to the buyer. But where the ownership is municipal, the monopoly is a hopeless one, so far as the people are concerned. There may be a change of hands, but robbery will never end. It is true that it costs now ten thousand dollars to get an office, paying a salary of five thousand a year, and he who pays ten thousand for a vote makes a decided hit, so to speak; but we shall see in the days of municipal ownership, that he who will pay ten thousand dollars will also give up his stipulated salary and make millions on theft only. Of course, it is easier to write history than to foretell the future, the historian having a record of what took place already, while the prophet has to predict events that are to come; but if by manipulations of the kind proposed by Mr. Flower, the people will have placed themselves in a still more hopeless position than they are in today, it is easy to foretell the result.

The monopoly of today is probably incomplete, but there shall be a complete and absolute monopoly after municipal ownership has become a reality.

DALLAN DOYLE.

## A FEW POINTERS.

### "A PENNY SAVED IS TWOPENCE WASTED."

The bourgeois economists say that people are poor because they do not save their money. Let us see if this be true. Suppose a shoemaker resolves that he will save his money; and, to begin at a good place, denies himself tobacco. For every penny he saves in this way, the producers of tobacco have a penny less. But for every penny less that the producers of tobacco have, they will spend a penny less on boots, shoes, food, clothes, books, and other products. Thus for every penny our shoemaker stows away, the producers of tobacco are a penny poorer, and the rest of the producers are also a penny poorer. Therefore a penny saved is twopence wasted.

It is true the one shoemaker may grow rich by this playing "trust" on a small scale and preventing just double that wealth he hogs from being produced. But he can do so only on condition that others are less miserly than himself. If they were not prodigal enough to buy his shoes he could not get rich in this way. If all the producers "saved" as much as possible, all would be as poor as possible. Therefore the bourgeois recommendation of "saving" as a remedy for poverty is a quack prescription whose inventors never rightly diagnosed the disease.

### "RICH MAN, POOR MAN, BEGGAR MAN, THIEF."

The bourgeois economists, who often say very good things if only they would apply them, tell us that if a "Communist mob" were to plunder our multi-millionaires they would get very little. A few hundred thousand dollars, mostly in forms they could not use—horses fit only for the carriage, a house adopted only to the wants of one luxurious family, furniture which would be ridiculous and wasteful in their humble homes, some wine which they would not like as well as whisky—this is about all they would gain by stripping a Gould or a Rockefeller of his feathers. There is much truth in all this; but what follows? If a man "worth" a hundred million dollars has less than a million which could be stolen, where are the other ninety-nine millions? They are in government bonds, in charters of railroads and other monopolies, in land,—until lately some would have been in slaves. To make a long story short, they are in privileges which enable the holder to take wealth produced by others as fast as it is produced beyond a certain amount. These privileges are granted by government, which thus divides us into "rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief." A rich man is not as the bourgeois pretend, one who stores up wealth, for he does no such thing. He is one who buys the (legal) right to take wealth from its creators.

C. L. JAMES.

## THE STATE, DUTY AND MODESTY.

H. C. B. Cowell, who is well and favorably known to the radical element of this community, lectured at the Turk St. Temple, March 30, to a crowded house. His subject was: "Man the Modifier of Nature." He showed what a radical change the conception of man's position to nature is undergoing. He said he had for some time past entertained decided and entirely new ideas upon that subject which he had not dared to give publicity, occupying an isolated position. He was therefore delighted and encouraged lately to find the greatest of modern scientists—Huxley—give utterance to views corresponding to his own. The belief in a deity had been abandoned by progressive people but there had been a tendency to elevate other idols into the vacated position. Nature "with a big N," and "Evolution" were the modern idols. The worshippers at the shrine of the modern idols had but changed their names; the substance had remained—an outside, an external power governing man's destinies. This conception was erroneous. So far from being mistress, nature is now becoming the servant of man; man is beginning to modify nature, so far at least as such modifications are not absolute physical impossibilities. Evolution was playing a prominent part in the progress and improvement of the race, but man had the shaping of the destinies of society by his will and mental power.

In answer to some questions the lecturer expressed as his ideal of society a condition in which every indi-



vidual had the opportunity to develop his faculties and to give full play to his activities, allowing his fellow-beings the same opportunities: non-interference with man's normal inclinations; non-invasion.

The lecture was one of the finest the writer had the privilege of listening to for some time and was thoroughly appreciated by most of his auditors as was attested by the liberal applause he received. Yet, there is no such thing as perfection; and the writer hopes it will not be considered an assumption nor lack of appreciation on his part for venturing criticism of a few points of the lecture in which, unless he was misunderstood by the writer, friend Cowell showed that even he himself with his mastermind had not yet entirely divested himself of all orthodox notions.

In course of his remarks Mr. Cowell said the province of the State was to educate the people into a condition of society under which they would need no external control—to prepare them for individual liberty.

Now, who or what is the State? A handful of corrupt and corruption-breeding individuals most of whom are too lazy and demoralized to perform useful labor and too ignorant, prejudiced and superstitious to properly attend to their own children's education, much less to that of other people's and adults at that. Does our Friend Cowell for instance think he—one of the people—can be educated by a Mark Hanna—one of the representatives of the State? This proposition is too preposterous to be entertained for a moment; it is simply a huge joke on the part of our Friend Cowell.

The State is an instrument of brutality reared in barbarism and fed and nurtured upon the blood and bones of the productive, useful element of society. The "province" of the state is to protect and foster monopoly that sucks the life-blood out of the nation, and to suppress every effort of the people at their liberation and at the improvement of society. The state will not only not prepare the people for freedom, but it is an absolute block in the way of their obtaining it and, as Thomas Paine shows in *The Rights of Man*, if society exists it exists in spite of the State. It is the industrial feature of society that calls it into being; the State is a political organization; it is an abscess on the industrial body which must be lanced if society is to live and thrive.

Now to some minor points. The lecturer during his address several times referred to the "duty" of human beings to society. "Duty" means obligation, debt. Now, man makes his debut upon the stage called life without his solicitation or volition and is therefore under no obligation or indebtedness whatsoever to anyone or to society as a whole; the "duty" spook is exploded.

Last but not least is "Modesty" to which the speaker sung praises lavishly during the evening. Modesty, if defined as meaning a disposition of abstaining from doing a thing which would be an offense against tact and good taste, is a misnomer, for under such conditions it would not be modesty but wisdom. If, however, construed into meaning a disposition to refrain from committing an act which common sense and inclination would prompt or dictate, and which would be hurtful to no-one, it is a cowardice and should be discouraged. And in a case like that of our Friend Cowell who hid his light under the bushel when it might have illuminated the mental horizon of so many human beings groping in the dark, modesty is an absolute injury to the human race. S. D.

## A LETTER ON LOVE.

In Love Land.

My Fair Friend:

Though perhaps I should call you unfair; for you reproach me with playing at "mock love" and that my feelings are seared because I refuse to swear there is no other woman for whom I can feel love.

But it is certain that I love you. Is there any mock in that? And how can my feelings be seared when my love proves that your loveliness touches them?

No, Araminta, I do not mock at love, but I want to discover what this love is that brings us such delightful emotions in which are however mingled so many thrills of pain.

Come, let us capture this Cupid, Whose bow through our hearts has just shot an arrow. What blies from the wound, to be sure; Yet they say it is followed by torture. Now quick, before he escapes us. Fast, let us hold the beautiful archer—Caressing his wings all the while,

That he know that we've no wish to harm him—

The poison he smears on his barb.

We'll rub all away with modern clear thinking.

Love, Araminta, briefly defined, is an emotion springing from the physical pleasure the sexes give to each other. Yes, this is the commencement of all love, and it is a pleasure which will always exist because without it there would be no inclination to propagation—and no men and women at all. It is thus a necessity of life—and the law of life transmits the desire for it to every new being and to every new generation.

Amongst our ancestors—savages—Araminta, this pleasure was the all of love—the attraction of the male and the female to each other to satisfy the desire for this.

You wish love, Araminta, to be your very own—forever and forever. In the savage state is found the origin of our institution of marriage, and our disposition for exclusive love.

The savage man likes to keep the female near him—he is sure of her then when he desires her for his pleasure. And the female kept by force becomes used to it. She loses some of the sense of personal freedom, the desire to roam; she comes to think that she belongs to a particular male, and that he belongs to her. Perhaps there was more than one female; the feeling was the same,—the feeling of ownership—that they had a right to each other.

This feeling grows along with the growth of the race into civilization, into our own society. And society declares it is right; it conserves this feeling by laws, and it formulates it in the marriage rite by which the couple bind themselves to each other. The man is thus put securely in possession of the person of a woman, and the woman has the certainty of a man to supply her wants.

And now, more fully, what is Love, this emotion which has developed from the simple longings for physical pleasure?

Love, in the growth of civilization, that is in the growth of the culture of the race, has become a highly refined sensitiveness in the man and woman to each other's personality and charm—and a thousand hopes, affections and enjoyments are added to the first simple desire for the sensations of coition.

It has become, amongst the highest characters, a beautiful and elevated sentiment, under the sway of which each wishes to give to each the choicest service, in the flow of the delighted pleasure each feels in the other's presence and intimacy.

Love, you declare, is natural; love is the sweetest and dearest of our emotions.

It is true. But why should this natural, sweet and precious emotion be held only between two?

When I love you, how do I feel toward you? I love your person; it has for me an inexpressible charm. Your presence by me, brings me happiness; you make gentler and purer my feelings at the same time that you give them strength; you make me wish to please you, and if I embrace you, all the most refined feelings of my nature are intensified and moved to ecstasy in your arms, from which I withdraw with the deepest gratitude, the tenderest affection. And if you love me, it is the same with you.

Yes, Araminta, a natural and beautiful feeling, embodying these enchanting sensations! Why should the expression of such a feeling as this be held wrong except it be confined exclusively to two?

Because of the idea of the savage—the idea of permanent, exclusive possession which has passed into the education and the literature of civilization, yes, and into its religion, and given to a purely animal habit based on expediency the sanction of a sacrament.

Love has developed in civilization; it has become a splendid passion, but the idea of the expression of it—whom we should love—has lagged in the rear; it remains savage.

Civilization, rationality, should carry us in this, as in other conceptions of life, beyond the habits of the savage. Cultivated men and women should feel free to love, to love without marriage, without bond of possession—free to desire each other and to enjoy each other.

It is love in itself that is so lovely; not exclusiveness, but love in itself—that is sensitiveness to the beauty of womanhood. This I desire; I wish to be worthy of it and enjoy it; and love makes me do it. This power is the social value of love.

Nevertheless, love, exalting, refining, purifying, delighting—a sentiment having wings with which it flies everywhere to the beautiful under the charm of

sex—this precious love has beyond a doubt been developed by exclusive relations. Had an absolutely animal promiscuity never changed into excluding intimacies, love would never have been born; but once born, once breathing, it spreads its wings in flight; it cannot be confined, it will not stay exclusively with two.

A thousand tales of infidelity in romantic literature show the truth of this—love constantly bursts its bonds—every bond. Yet the whole cult of this very literature, of poetry, of common talk, declares that this which is so common and so irresistible, is fearfully wrong.

Trouble comes from this—tears and bitter suffering. It is on love that life depends, and as a passion it is overmastering. This passion is dammed up by laws; men and women hold fast to each other because they cannot go to others, and the culture of exclusive love pricks them to the old acts of the savage: they think "she belongs to me"—"no one else must have her" or "have him." Jealousy tortures them, even if unfaithful themselves. We read columns in the papers of the quarrels of the married; bloody tragedies occur; the revolver and the knife are used to enforce the faithfulness of love.

It is the savage again, Araminta; the savage beast raging for his female. Intelligent persons should spurn these inherited savage feelings. There is something better—Freedom—the Free Woman, free of a husband; free of a lover—possessing herself, subject to no man.

I have told you the origin of love; how it has grown up out of animality and become a sentiment. And now as reasonable beings and of good information, we should set free this sentiment, confident that it will work no harm. As some one writes: "Out of the low came the high, and out of the high may well come the exalted. Only those who dream that love sprang fully developed from the heart of a deity can pretend to fully learn its lowly animal origin, or fear to acknowledge that our current sexual morality may appear in the future crude and repellent."

But I know you will advance a final protest: the Child. Well, that, with the information and resources of modern knowledge is the affair of the free woman. She will undoubtedly solve it to her own enlightened well-being; a privilege which under the savagery and the laws of exclusive love is not permitted to the honored wife of civilization. "How can I help having so many children?" exclaimed Ginx, "am I not a married woman?" And the poor mother was a married woman.

Love finally has two dangerous elements—an overmastering passion and a savage jealousy. And do not these two keep each other alive? Does not jealousy make the longing so violent, and then does not the violence of the longing make jealousy?

Take the savage out of love, temper it with reason—then all that is beautiful, enjoyable and stimulating to energy and purity will continue, but the madness of desire for exclusive possession will cease to make fools of us.

And now, Araminta, I would rather write to a woman about love in a different strain—of the tress of hair I found coiled for me in your letter and which was so fine and soft, and of a fair sunny hue. It seems indeed aglow when I touch it, so that my blood tingles. And I think Cupid might well twist a bow string from such a tress, that would shoot his bolt swift and sure and deep to the heart. And I do believe it was so—that that tress was indeed the string that shot his shaft and that it shot true. Because—because—I wish you were so close, Araminta, that I could tell you softly why I think so.

Not by the Bond, but by Love itself, your

FELIX.

## ATTENTION!

Comrade Emma Goldman is expected to arrive on the Pacific slope the 20th of this month, and to deliver Anarchist lectures in any locality desired.

The comrades of Oregon may enter into communication regarding meetings with Chas. Doering, Box 24, Station C, Portland, Ore.: of Washington with Mrs. M. Wilson, 1927 So. E. St., Tacoma. A. Willars, South Seattle, and with O. A. Verity, Lake Bay, Wash.; the comrades of California are requested to correspond with A. Klemencic, 15 Monroe, San Francisco, with a view of arrange meetings in their localities.

The following have contributed toward Emma Goldman's lecturing tour on the coast:

Italian Group, \$2.70; Un Anarcho, Graun, Krieger, Eichster, White, Kassel, Spahn, each \$1.00. Schwartz, 76c. Zanstal, Perretti, Zeno, each 25c. Bauer, Mahalak, Gabriele, Nylen, each 25c. Desordo, 10c.

# FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

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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.

## NOTE AND COMMENT.

Anyone who has noticed the receipts of the "Propaganda Fund" for several weeks past, will easily realize that we will soon have to suspend FREE SOCIETY on account of lacking the necessary means. There are more than one half of our subscribers in arrears, and if they consider the paper and the Library available in the propaganda, they ought to send in their subscription immediately. Many comrades seem to forget that it requires cash to buy paper and have presswork done. Five cents a month from every reader would enable us to widen the scope of our propaganda efforts, and there are very few who could not spare five cents a month. But through the indifference of the many the burden is left to a few individuals and finally becomes unbearable to them.

Comrade Alfred Kinghorn-Jones sends us a letter he received in reply to his suggestion for the formation of a new society, the "Labor Exchange Free Society," as published in one of our last issues. The letter is unfortunately too lengthy for publication. Its author is A. W. Green, of Diamond, Alameda Co., Calif., who offers to the society his whole property to the amount of three thousand dollars and some ready cash for defraying the expenses of checks and other printing matter. This is a most conspicuous beginning. If a few more people of the metal of Mr. Green could be found, the prospects for the proposed society would indeed be excellent and something more could be done besides talk. We should be glad to report further progress.

The entertainment given two weeks ago by the comrades of this city for the benefit of the Anarchist press, yielded a net profit of \$22.65 which was divided as follows: Free Society, \$8.00; La Question Sociale, \$5.00; L'Agitazione, \$5.00, and the rest will be sent to Les Temps Nouveaux and Libertaire. Comrade Gaffe collected also over three dollars for the families of the imprisoned comrades in France.

Liberty, equality and fraternity are impossible without justice. Justice would secure equality and the other two would follow as a matter of course. The Single tax, by opening natural opportunities to all on equal terms would give us justice.—Pittsburg Kansan.

The Kansan should have given its definition of the term "justice." It is only a relative term and has nearly as many meanings as there are individuals in society. In my humble opinion any tax imposed upon people for applying their labor to natural opportunities is robbery and tyranny, and consequently far from being just.

It is wrong for one man to own land, it is wrong for two, or any multiple thereof; any form or ceremony they go through cannot make it right. Hence it is as wrong for the government to own land as for one man. Men's rights to use the land are equal, and whenever any one is excluded from its use, anywhere, equity requires that he be compensated.—Pittsburg Kansan.

Correct, property in land is robbery, no matter whether it is private or common ownership; how, then, can you consistently advocate the Single tax? Either the State or private individuals must own the land before a tax could be imposed upon those that use the land. Give us free land without any proviso—that's all we Anarchists ask regarding the land.

The article "Absolute Individual Liberty" is, as the reader will see, full of sophistry and contradictions, but as it is directed to comrade J. H. M., who is quite able to set the author right, I will not prejudge the matter. The author has evidently accomplished the reform work at home and turns her attention to the neighbors.

Some people seem to think the present hard times affect everyone alike, when as a matter of fact it is harvest time for the big combinations of capital. A case in point is the earnings of the Northern Pacific for 1897. They show an increase of fifty per cent. The road has just celebrated the event by a reduction of ten per cent on the wages of its laborers.—Facts, Denver.

The savage and degrading notions of marriage taught by Christ, his priests and others have just led to another tragedy in Melbourne. Alex. Cameron had been from home for a long time; he returned, suspected his wife of infidelity to his bed; he shot her twice, and almost killed her, and then shot himself dead. All this is the outcome of christianity, which marries a couple and forbids all divorces, no matter how much they may be needed. This wicked religion teaches that sex aberration is the worst of crimes; hence it is that christians grow furious and commit murder and suicide where rational people would reflect and find a rational remedy for their wrongs. But the bachelor priests and the Palestinian savagism must be expelled before much improvement can be expected. So far, rational and open discussion of the greatest of all facts—the sex-facts—is forbidden in christian communities; without discussion there can be no improvement. And discussion is forbidden because the priests find it to their advantage to keep up the horrid doctrines they teach and have taught on marriage and kindred subjects. The crime caused by christian teaching is so immense that not one-millionth part of it can ever be imagined.—Liberator, Melbourne, Australia.

A gentleman described as "an Americanized Russian" who had been associated with the Nihilists in the country of his birth, is quoted in a recent magazine as saying:

"A Nihilist is not an Anarchist, nor even a Socialist. He is merely one who desires with all his heart, and above everything else in the world, the liberty of speech and action that is the birthright of every living soul, and which is guaranteed to every American by the Constitution of the United States. Oh, you Americans should be the happiest people on earth, for you have everything that the rest of the world is striving to gain."

And yet Massachusetts mill operatives are starving that mill corporations may pay dividends. In Pennsylvania corporate power and corporate wealth are being used to establish the principle that shooting down unarmed and peaceful strikers on a highway is not murder. In Ohio they are asserting that a Senator of the United States has obtained his seat by bribery. At Chicago one man owns all the wheat from which the people's bread must be baked.

Have we indeed "everything the rest of the world is striving for?" Is our boasted political equality anything more than a sham, while economic inequality remains so great and indeed grows greater?—New York Journal.

The earthquake shock of March 30th was felt on the Berkeley Hills at an elevation of 500 feet, eighteen minutes before midnight. It rocked the buildings violently and continuously for 42 seconds; the oscillation appeared to be from North to South.

Earthquakes should prove a great factor in keeping up the incomes of the many dealers in superstition. What an excellent subject for next Sunday, by which to prove that the internal fire is still kept up for those who do not support the Reverend Doctors of Divinity, and accept their salvation by attending to the "collection," even if they have "to rob the poor (Labor) because he is poor" (fool) to enable them to hire a sky-pilot.

J. A. K.-J.

## SEEKING HAPPINESS.

It used to be said that the human race was here for a purpose; that we all sought immortality and happiness beyond the tomb. It was asserted that instinctively and unerringly our desires lead to the final goal—immortal bliss.

With the development of the evolutionary theories this contention died away, and today the church is but a social institution, the mere shell of what it used to be, almost entirely lacking in "faith in the beyond." Skepticism has been succeeded by the positive conviction that the human race was not created for a purpose, but that it is a development, a growth from the simple to the complex, an integral part of nature.

In all development we find that the new always partakes, more or less, of the old that has preceded it. Growing out of the old and depending on the old for its early existence, it cannot be otherwise. For this reason it is quite natural that the old theory of purpose, destiny or mission of mankind should give birth to, or develop into a new theory that, while it differs from the old theory, yet partakes to a certain extent of its nature.

The new theory is that we constantly seek happiness, immediate or worldly happiness. Ingersoll said: "The only good is human happiness." Almost immediately afterward men began to declare that the great aim and object of all life was the attainment of happiness. That happiness is the goal we all seek. But is that any more proven than that we seek immortal bliss? I think not. The assertion that such is the case does not prove it, nor does the fact that we prefer pleasure to pain, or happiness to misery. In order to prove the theory by these facts it is necessary to prove that we are constantly in one or the other of these extremes, and that the condition of quiescence, or indifference, is impossible. Such theory, however, is as untenable as the long-ago exploded theory that we must love or hate and cannot be indifferent to others.

In order to be fully understood it will be necessary to define what is meant by the terms "happiness" and "seek."

Happiness is a condition into which a person has been thrown by hap or chance. Hap is "that which happens or comes suddenly or unexpectedly; chance," according to Webster's Dictionary, and happiness is the condition, or mental state into which this hap or chance has brought one. If we accept this definition, can we in reality seek happiness?

Let us see what "seek" means and then determine if we can seek that which must come by hap or chance. Webster's Dictionary defines "seek" thus: To go in search or quest of, try to find; to endeavor to find or gain by any means." Is it not foolish to make a conscious effort to gain that which owing to its nature must come by chance? To seek a thing we must make a conscious effort. If our action is involuntary, automatic or unconscious, then it cannot be said to be an act of seeking. We seek pleasure, enjoyment, comfort or delight, but are any or all of these terms synonymous with happiness? Not if we accept its original meaning, the meaning drawn from the root word, hap—chance.

Comrade J. H. M. found something very amusing in my statement that some persons seemed to take delight in becoming utterly miserable. Delight is defined as "a high degree of gratification of the mind." Now, it is quite natural that one who is so constituted that his mind runs to extremes, should get a certain amount of gratification out of the extremity of utter misery, so that comrade M's conundrum is not so very difficult of solution after all.

Are we any more justified in saying that happiness is the goal, the aim, the object of human life, the one thing we all seek, or strive after, than our pious ancestors were in saying that a mansion in the skies was the great end and aim of life? Has it been proven that life has any aim or goal? If we all seek happiness then that must be the goal of human life, but can it be proven that any goal, or great aim of life exists? The existence of such aim or goal is yet unproven.

The human brain is an exceedingly complex and diverse organism, and its operations equally so. The mind is not a simple, one thing, operating only one way at a time, but is at once an instrument of cognition, comparison and determination, of and concerning such things as go to make up its environment, and a register of the thoughts and emotions of a long line of ancestors dating far back into pre-historic ages. Thus we have two distinct sets of mental operations, conscious, or volitional, and unconscious or automatic. As a matter of fact most of our actions are automatic—result of unconscious or automatic brain action—while the things we do consciously, premeditatedly and volitionally form but a small part of our aggregate acts. We do things, not because we have considered them carefully and determined that by so doing we will gain happiness, or any other given end, but because we feel an impulse to act, and obeying that impulse we act. When we act thus we cannot be said to seek anything, for to seek is to put forth a conscious effort.

It may be contended that we expect to gain happiness, or hope to, by our acts. Is that true? No. Take for instance the oft-repeated illustration of the man who murders another. In many instances the murder



is unpremeditated, done in the heat of passion, and no desires sought to be gratified except that of revenge. In many instances not even revenge is thought of, but the fierceness of the wild beast, a quality transmitted through many thousands of generations, is awakened by some outside influence, and for the time being dominates all other qualities of the mind and silences the voice of reason. In this instance no conscious desire is gratified, but an overwhelming impulse, unreasoning and unpremeditated, forces obedience to its dictates, and the muscles, responding to the impulses transmitted to them by means of the nerves, act. Remembrance of the act may bring remorse, misery and wretchedness to the actor. Did he seek happiness? No! He simply acted in response to an irresistible impulse without any thought, care, hope or desire as to what the result to him would be.

Take another oft-repeated illustration. A man walking by a stream sees a child fall into the water, and immediately plunges in after it. We will suppose he is on his way to spend the evening with his best beloved. He is dressed in his best clothes and otherwise fixed so as to, as he hopes, charm the fair one and win endearing caresses from her. Comrade M. would say he is seeking happiness. As he passes along, a dirty-faced, ill-clad urchin toddles by him. He avoids contact with him and looks upon him with pity and contempt. He would loathe to touch him. Two seconds later the child falls into the water and the current of the stream is carrying it to sudden and sure death. The well dressed seeker after happiness hears the splash and, turning, sees the fate of the child. He immediately plunges in after the child, takes chances on getting drowned, spoils his clothes, makes himself unrepresentable for the evening, although he may not see his dear one again for a month, causes himself a great deal of inconvenience, and perhaps takes cold and has a spell of the grip. Why? Simply this: the instinct of the race preservation, awakened by the unexpected sight, asserts itself, becomes dominant and impels action. There is no conscious seeking for anything, no deliberate purpose, no calculation as to probable results. But that instinct which has made the preservation and development of the race a possibility; that instinct which impels to the sacrifice of one life in the attempt to save another or others overrides all other desire. The action of the man is unconscious and so unconscious that after it is all over he cannot tell how he did it. He only knows that the sight of the child in the water awakened an impulse in him that was irresistible, and he acted.

We are not yet fully self-conscious and self-considering beings. The consciousness has attained a degree of development far beyond that in lower races of men and in the other animals, but in spite of that the major part of our acts are as yet unconsidered and unconscious, or in other words, involuntary and automatic. If we keep this fact in view we will not fall into the semi-theologic error of supposing that life has some definite purpose and that we are constantly seeking that goal, and call it happiness. There is, to be sure, some conscious effort on our part most of the time that we are awake, but it is only a small part of our mental operation and physical response thereto.

We live! Around us is a vast sea of conditions, and these conditions are constantly changing. The changing of the conditions around us makes impressions upon us, weaker or stronger, and these impressions call into play the passions and emotions in exact proportion to the character and force of the impressions. Many impressions are too feeble to attract our attention and reach the consciousness, while some are so overpowering that no amount of conscious consideration can prevent them from forcing the muscles into action and for the time being "ruling the roost." Seeking being a conscious effort, it can have no connection with such action, nor with the acts that come from impressions that are too feeble to attract consideration; yet the greater number of all our acts must be classed with one or the other of these two, the unconscious and automatic, and the unconsidered and impulsive.

The healthy organism generates vitality which, like steam in a boiler, presses to escape. This necessitates action. At the same time sights, sounds, smells and other modes of feeling, or sensation, press in upon the brain and nerve system, and the action necessitated by inward vitality conforms to the demands of an impression from without, which impression is sometimes modified by consideration. When so modified we call it considerate or conscious action. When not so modified it is unconscious, automatic action. A little ob-

servation will show that at present the bulk of the acts of the human animal are unconsidered, unconscious. Seeking being a conscious effort, seeking for happiness is of necessity the exception, not the rule.

Some of the most miserable people I ever saw were constantly seeking happiness: some of the happiest did not seek it, but did things regardless of whether they would bring happiness or not. HENRY ADDIS.

### INCREASE OF CRIME.

Of course we are only concerned with the increase of those crimes whose perpetrators come into contact with the statutes and not with those whose perpetrators are prominent citizens, "influential politicians," and "great statesmen." There are no statistics as yet of crimes of the latter category, except the memory of the people who are apt to keep track of them for a reckoning at some future day.

Thus the ordinary crimes according to criminal statistics of the year 1897 have increased fifteen per cent over the preceding year.

The increase particularly extends to crimes against property, which fact may tend to irritate the moral hypocrites who consider property rights the holiest acquirement of man.

Yet this very increase of crimes against property proves beyond doubt to the unprejudiced observer that the causes of criminal acts are not to be traced to moral misconceptions but to economic troubles. The struggle for existence by legal means is growing continually harder and it becomes a matter of necessity for many people to turn their attention to illegal methods in order to survive the struggle. Modern society produces crime in the same ratio as it creates the two antitheses of riches and starvation. Is not the expropriation of the masses of the people by a few usurpers the greatest crime? The small crimes are but the effect of this great overshadowing crime which is being continually perpetrated upon the producers of wealth under the protection of the State.

It is in vain to explain the increase of crime by the growing moral degeneracy, for this degeneracy is but the effect of our rotten industrial arrangements. Statistics prove this beyond the shadow of a doubt; they prove with an almost wonderful precision the correspondence of the numerical increase of crimes with the increase of industrial depression.

In the face of these facts our "moralists" assume a ludicrous position. They are fighting a phantom in the clouds while the impure social soil at their very feet is ever reproducing crime. They never will listen to propositions of a thorough ploughing up of the ground; that means revolution and utopia, you know; and thus time is wasted with worse than useless quackeries.

And the State? It increases public power and reinforces and props up the existing system, first of which is property, but it is unable to conquer crime. Here it has found its match. With all its power; with all its forces; with all its penitentiaries, houses of correction and its regiments of police it is powerless against the social force.

Pause and think, ye preachers and governmentalists! It is impossible for you to banish what is known as crime, because crime is your legitimate offspring! Crime is the natural result of prejudice and superstition as represented in the church that befores people's minds and of oppression as represented by the State that fosters and protects monopolies which deny to the people the natural opportunities for existence. Not until Church and State will have vanished, will disappear hypocrisy, deceit, cunning and crime.—Chicagoer Arbeiter Zeitung.

### THINGS AND THOUGHTS.

Since our congressmen have been informed that the Cubans are suffering starvation they are bathed in tears and their animosity against such affair would be rather touching if their weeping was sincere. They apparently never heard of the sufferings of starvation and misery at their own doors. The millions that are appropriated for war would not only supply the starving people in Cuba, but also relieve those in distress in this country, and no man would be slaughtered.

Not long ago I wrote to a comrade about our movement and said among other things: "We have to practice what we preach or else we will never attain the freedom we are looking for—we must fight for it."

He takes exception to my view and says that I have "flatly" contradicted myself, i. e., if we have to fight for it anyway, he can't see why we ought to practice freedom at present. It is a pity that the term "fight" and "propaganda by deed" implies to some comrades nothing but a physical contest or the killing of a tyrant. When we refuse to serve the army, to serve on a jury, cease to dominate the children and to interfere with the feelings of the woman we happen to live with, etc., etc., we practice what we advocate, and when we cease to obey certain laws and customs, we are fighting for freedom to the extent that we defy them. To expect that we suddenly will jump into a state of Anarchist-Communism when the revolution comes is absurd.

How can revolutions or changes come about if people keep on submitting to the laws and customs prevailing today? The revolution is going on every day; all those who defy laws, customs and public opinions now are in the fight for freedom, and those who bid defiance to authority at present are the pioneers of better relations among men, but those Anarchists who have each other arrested for adultery are in practice the upholders of existing tyrannical conditions.

The objection that we cannot practice freedom in our sexual relations at present, and that this question will adjust itself when we are economically independent shows simply a lack of understanding. Many Anarchists have solved the sex question among themselves although they are very poor. But they recognize the fact that harmony can only exist when we cease to dominate over each other, and that any interference in our conduct is an act of invasion. On the other hand we see that Mrs. Standford, Mrs. King, Mrs. Vanderbilt, the Empress of Germany, et al.; women who possess millions and are consequently economically independent, are as much slaves to their husbands and subject to laws, customs and public opinion as is the poorest woman in the land. Why? Simply because they are not rid of superstition and prejudice; because they believe in the sacredness of the present marriage relations.

The American people are by no means enjoying a reputation for the most honest nation, but they certainly may lay claim to being the most moral one. In a small town of Pennsylvania the police prohibited the hanging up of wet underwear upon fences and in yards. There must be very bad people living in that town, for the reason given for such police interference is that the sight of women's undergarments have an immoral effect upon men. Poor men! They do need police protection, indeed, against the viles of the crafty women! And the poor police, too, need something to occupy their minds with, for they must of needs show that they are not feeding at the public crib for nothing! However the necessity becomes continually more patent for an amendment to the constitution entirely eradicating that "naughty" distinction between the sexes.

A. I.

### ART AND THE PEOPLE.

Extract from a lecture of Dr. Emil Reich, University of Vienna.

The more miserable and oppressive life is, the more man must contemplate or hear of noble works of art, in order to save himself from despair. The trite remark about modern pleasure-hunting is here entirely out of place, and the desire of the poor to participate in the enjoyment of the common productions of culture must in every way be respected. It is even our duty to arouse a taste for artistic pleasures among those who lack them and to unite the isolated sparks into one great flame of love for the grand and the beautiful. The phrase of the decay of art in a utopian state of proletarians implies the severest censure of those making such allusions, for if it were true,—all the wealthy and privileged were obliged to confess themselves guilty of such a condition. On whom else could the responsibility for such a defect rest than on those who neglect their duty towards the needy and refuse to raise them to a more humane plane, sharing with them the sweet amenities of life? A movement has taken hold of society, which, we hope, will prove irresistible. As the bourgeois formerly, so the laboring proletarians to-day struggle for equitable rights, which cannot be denied to them forever, be they for or against us. Our modern time feels very, very little respect for the theories of alleged necessary distinctions and historical rights, for the so-called historical

"rights" appear, in the light of the present, rather historical wrongs, if not crimes, committed at various epochs. For any pretensions of the kind mentioned Grillparzer, a rather conservative man, found the rebuking answer, which he puts in the mouth of "Fuerstin Libussa": "To help the poor, to love your brother, is not only your right, it is your duty, for 'right' is but a nice name for all the wrongs of law and custom."

In the same way the famous Professor Anton Menger remarks in his epoch-making book: "Civil law and the non-possessing classes," that the privileged have adjusted the laws to their advantage at the expense of the "lower" classes. The same thing happened with religion, for the same symptoms appear, where "Christian-social" movements are inaugurated. Fritz v. Uhde for instance in his picture gives back to the people "the Saviour of Small People," introducing him to their table as breaking bread with them, the "comforter of the disinherited," "the carpenter's son," who feels their misery with them. The same style is manifest in Millet's works, who instead of the neatly-dressed stage-peasants introduce the real, dirty farmhand, as the latter appears, to use the painter's own expression, "brutalized by labor from his head to his wooden shoes," and as Zola did recently in his powerful creation "Germinal," and Gerhard Hauptmann quite recently in his "Weavers." The simple unaffected stanzas of the "Weavers' Song" arouse a storm of revolt among the despairing half-starved men. The best evidence that leading men believe in the power of art to have such irresistible effects was for instance manifested in Brussels, when the revolution broke out after a performance of the opera "The Mute Lady of Portici," in which Machiavelli's revolt is depicted, but moreover by the prohibition of the "Weavers," which really amounts to a great compliment for the eminent talent of the young author. Friends of serious social reforms can indeed only wish that the conscience of the wealthy may become more often aroused in such effective manner and be reminded of their social sins and duties.

### OBSERVATIONS.

My first observation, if not at all new, is so far as I know neither recent nor frequent. Here it is:

Walking through many parts of Brooklyn, many streets in New York, I am forever shocked, annoyed and discouraged—even dismayed!—by the faces of the children. Not that their poor faces are plain, even homely and without beauty; that is a little thing and does not count with me. I have loved children very dearly that I knew were plain looking, and those children were very sweet and attractive to me. I have dearly loved a very few men and women who were most certainly far removed from even "good looks."

The children I am thinking of, were not repulsive in that they were plain, even homely and begripped with dirt; it was something else: it was the hard, animal look—the look of one hounded. If there be a "Supreme Intelligence," I cordially call its attention to the children it has neglected and allowed its servants to ignore.

What can Liberty-lovers, true Freethinkers do? Much! They can fight for freedom! They can talk in no uncertain voice for free speech and a free press; they can turn their backs to an interested priestcraft—the original source of all tyranny; they can be mentally decent, honest, cleanly. Mental cleanliness antedates bodily cleanliness.

CLINTON LOVERIDGE.

### BIBLE TEACHING UP TO DATE.

"For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves."

Gentile is one not a Jew; the early Christians applied the term to those who were neither Jews nor Christians; the Mormons use the term contemptuously of all those outside of their church.

Anarchists are certainly Gentiles; they are outside of all churches, desiring to live according to natural laws, and this would come about as a matter of course, if their liberties were not infringed.

The constitution admits that men are created equal, and just there it should stop, for no man can be created to govern another man, or, one would be the governor and the other the governed, exactly the opposite to equal; and yet it is perfectly constitutional for five men, the majority of the Supreme Court of

the United States, now to rule 70,000,000. What volumes could be written on that wonderful word—majority; it would be a subject of amusement to ascertain how many Americans, who worship the constitution, even know the number of judges forming the supreme court. About 99 per cent do not know the number and think it has not been changed since 1789, when John Jay received the appointment as chief justice. With him were joined as associate judges John Rutledge of South Carolina, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, William Cushing of Massachusetts, John Blair of Virginia, and James Iredell of North Carolina; but successive acts of congress increased the number to six in 1807; to eight in 1837, and the statute now in force, passed in 1869, fixes the number at nine, for the benefit of those driven by the government of the supreme court, to starvation, and which will, in all probability, still further drive them to murder and suicide. The names of the present tyrants are: Melville W. Fuller of Illinois, John M. Harlan of Kentucky, Horace Gray of Massachusetts, David J. Brewer of Kansas, Henry B. Brown of Michigan, George Shiras Jr. of Pennsylvania, Howell E. Jackson of Tennessee, Edward D. White of Louisiana and Joseph McKenna of California. These men are appointed by the money power, without any reference to the people. This fact cannot be too often printed or voiced. They will, by a majority (also arranged by the money power) declare any measure, distasteful to their masters, to be unconstitutional, the income tax to wit.

The Russians are deprived of their liberty by the czar, the Russians therefore deprive the czar of his liberty, for they see to it that he has to be always carefully guarded, his food tasted, and his mind kept in a continual state of fear. The Irish are never conquered—they are a continual thorn in the side of their oppressors. Americans lay themselves down in the gutter and invite the monopolists, to walk over them, kick them, spit on them, tax their lives out of them, none daring to make the vampires afraid. Trusts are most glaringly opposed to the Constitution, and the autocratic Supreme Court upholds them in their daily murders.

Suicides in this land of the free (pardon the lie) increased from 978 in 1885 to 5,750 in 1895; murders increased from 1,808 in 1885 to 10,500 in 1895. Unnatural conditions of production and exchange caused this awful loss of life. Both of these unnatural conditions may be traced back to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Labor must be free to do by nature the things contained in the law of nature, and they can do so by using a medium \* of exchange that will be utterly useless to those who live so unnaturally as to produce nothing but evil.

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.

### A KEY TO HARMONY.

I propose to furnish a brief synopsis of a "scientific discovery" bearing upon the question of human relations, particularly upon the relation of the sexes, a subject now being discussed in FREE SOCIETY.

Some forty years ago (or more I witnessed a simple but wonderfully suggestive phenomenon illustrating the methods of nature, that profoundly impressed me as being the spontaneous operation of an immutable law that might prove to be universal in its application, and if so, a more thorough knowledge of its existence and its uniform and unvarying operation, might be of immense importance and value to the race when we come to fully comprehend and utilize it, as it may be possible for us to do, as I shall endeavor to show in its application to human relations.

The phenomenon witnessed, to which reference has been made, was the spontaneous responsive vibrations of the strings of musical instruments when turned in complete unison. For example: a "Violin" and "Violoncello."

Let a skilled musician play upon the violin for instance, and the strings of the violoncello, if in the same room, without being touched by a bow, will vibrate to the common chords sufficiently to be plainly visible and to actually add volume to the music upon the violin.

At the time I first noticed this phenomenon and fully realized that it was the result of the operation of an immutable law in nature, I was engaged in teaching vocal music at an old-fashioned singing school,

\* Why have any medium of exchange at all? A medium or a standard of value must of necessity be arbitrary, and arbitration involves "injustice." Free production and free consumption solves the problem.

A. I.

and of course familiar with the very wonderful fact that the voices of men and women are keyed an octave or eight notes apart, that is, a woman's voice is an octave higher in pitch than a man's voice, this extraordinary difference existing between the pitch of most of voices of men and women alike. At the time referred to the conviction came over me like a wave of inspiration that the law of nature governing the relations of musical sounds as illustrated by the musical scale was here found manifesting itself in the relations of the voices of men and women and presumably in every other department of their being, attraction and repulsion corresponding to the chords and discords in the musical relations of sounds. Therefore, if by a thorough knowledge of the natural operation of this law of harmony and discord in the fixed relation of musical sounds, the skillful musical artist can so arrange and adjust the notes or degrees of the musical scale in composing a simple tune, or in ever so extensive and complicated a musical composition, that in its correct performance not a discord could find expression, what is to hinder our applying the same skill in the harmonious adjustment of the sexual, social, industrial or political relations of human beings, having found that the same immutable law governs here as definitely and surely as there? Is it not just possible that herein can be found a scientific key for the establishment of the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth?

I propose in a brief series of short articles under the heading, "A Key to Harmony" to open up a "Bonanza" more valuable than any to be found on the Klondike and to indicate its bearings upon the science of Anarchist-Communism.

M. E. MORSE.

### "ABSOLUTE INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY."

Is it possible to have absolute individual liberty, the definition given of Anarchy? Some one writes an opinion; it is published; straightway the comrades do all they can to demolish that opinion. Why? Because their opinions differ, and we can conceive of no higher authority than our ideas—or the source from which they sprang. Surely among the Anarchists will be found absolute individual liberty of opinion! J. H. M. says Armstrong writes "rubbish" when he writes of the "soul" and "immaterial part of man." Clinton Loveridge calls spiritualists "fools or frauds." Both J. H. M. and Loveridge have a right to their opinion, as has Armstrong and the spiritualists. Experience is our best and most thorough teacher and it is a dull scholar indeed, who has to have the same lesson over and over again in order to remember it.

Co-operative colonies cannot be made a success. They are not the panacea for all ills so far as I am concerned, for I have tried them and have learned my lesson; but I can only speak for myself and not for others. If FREE SOCIETY were filled with the praise of such colonies, I would not have the right to say more than this: "For me they made the burden heavier, and though the lesson learned was a valuable one, it was a hard way to learn it."

J. H. M. says "insanity is abnormality." Of course abnormality is a condition "separated from the normal." Now, who is to be the judge? Who is to say when we are sane, when we are normal? If we each lived our natural life, dared to be ourselves, how many would consider us sane? How many have been imprisoned, yes even put to death for a seemingly insane act, which proved in after-time to be the workings of an active sane mind.

Every one has his own idea of love, an ideal some time to be realized. Some may believe the highest love will find expression in sex contact, while others will think that it is only where the blending of the mental, spiritual and physical takes place that there is perfect love. Each speaks from the highest he realizes and should be entitled to respect. We are not constituted alike mentally or physically and all see things differently. What one would seek and embrace as love, another would spurn.

It is difficult to understand how an Anarchist can consistently endeavor to change another's opinion. A clear statement of belief and the reasons therefor is all that is necessary. When the claim is made that the bible is impure; that it is full of contradictions; that



god is a myth; that christ never existed; the proof should be given. When the assertion is made that the world was ages in forming instead of six days, and that it has been millions of years instead of 6000, since it first rolled into space, a good scientific reason should be given. When the call is made to the poor and suffering, the unhappy and miserable, "come travel in my road, and you shall have peace," the road should be made plain before them; and when all authority is ridiculed, care should be taken that "our opinions and our ideas" are not held up as the only guide to follow. It is not the wisest who says when something different from their accepted views is brought before them, "I don't believe that, it is utter folly," but they prove their wisdom by calmly giving the subject their attention. We must each reach the higher altitude of thought in his own way. We may have reasoned it out or quietly and passively taken another's word for it; or we may have had strange and varied experiences to bring us where we are. Whichever it may be, our own opinion is entitled to respect. We must have experience before we can comprehend. We can only deal with all that comes within the range of our personal experience and we are impotent whenever we try to deal with anything that transcends our experience. We cannot comprehend a fact when taken by itself; we must of necessity take the journey step by step leading to that fact. Then how worse than useless it is for any one, no matter how keen his thought, nor how great his accumulation of ideas, to measure another's knowledge by his own unless he has tested step by step every bit of the journey leading to that other's knowledge.

If we stand today ready to let all the past go, saying "it has answered its purpose, but it is not all the truth; I take my stand on this new ground," we have gained a step. If tomorrow we let that truth go and take another, we show no instability, no madness of character, but we are moving on. If we are making progress, let us be content. Change is progress.

One demonstrated fact is worth a thousand theories. Then let us be able to demonstrate what to us seem facts; if to another that demonstration seems valueless, so be it. If Armstrong believes he has a soul, he is happy in that belief, and has a reason for so believing. If J. H. M. believes the opposite, his belief makes him happy; he also has a reason for that belief. Both are unassailable, for they cannot prove the existence or non-existence of the soul.

Let us get the best we can from life, and remember that none of us have a "corner" on truth. We can talk wisely of "force," of "matter" and yet not be able to give an idea of our meaning. We can only say with Herbert Spencer, "Matter, motion and force are but symbols of the unknown Reality." That there is a force holding the entire Universe in its place all will admit, and that we have but a faint conception of the power of that force, we will all agree. But we know we are in the world today to get and to give the best we can. Let us do so without wasting time over useless questions. We have all we can do to start our reform at home. When that is accomplished we can turn our attention to our neighbors.

Hustburg, Tenn.

NELLIE M. JERAULD.

## Various Voices.

B. H., New York City.—Perhaps you will think I am mistaken when I say that I am not an Anarchist, especially as I believe that "Philosophic Anarchy" is the ideal condition, to which the world will eventually come. I am a single taxer, because I think it is a just method of resisting that aggression which deprives mankind of their primal equal right to the use of the earth.

In the education of my child, however, I put into practise purely anarchistic principles. My wife and I do not believe that parents have any right to order their children to do anything, much less to "punish" them. We think that our rights end in leaving the child to suffer the natural consequences of its actions, in modifying, in the small degree that is possible, the more serious consequences, and in appealing to the child's reason and sense of right.

We use stories instead of commands and disapproval and remonstrance instead of switches or closets. Of course, being right, it works very well. The moral of the stories is never expressed by us, but left to the child to draw and apply.

I would like to know how many Anarchists put their ideas in practice with their children.

This leads me to ask, also, if anarchistic propaganda would not be more effectively carried on by showing the evil effects of the more glaring repressive laws such as those against sexual abuses, access to the resources of the land, taxation and so on, than by the denunciation of principles which, to the careless and thoughtless, seem destruction of order and of communal life.

The single tax may establish new relations between master and slave, but would only place more power in the hands of a clique who would be as corrupt as government officials are today. To admit that the State has a right to tax land is to deny the right of mankind to the free use of it, and is therefore by no means "a just method" of resisting aggression. Admitting for argument's sake that the possibilities to rob would be lessened through the single tax, it would nevertheless be robbery, and the State is usually an infallible thief while the private individual must at least make a pretense to be honest.

I am, of course, unable to tell how many Anarchists put their ideas into practice with their children and in their own relations; it is evident, however, that we will make very little headway if we do not try to carry out our ideas practically as far as possible. In fact I cannot conceive of any other method to realize our ideal than to practice freedom, and to defy laws and customs. The pioneers will, as usual, be persecuted, prosecuted and crushed, but with the increase of the number of consistent Anarchists the persecution will decrease or break out in a conflict between the oppressors and oppressed. I do not think that the coming revolution will bring us any nearer to Anarchism if we fail to carry out our ideas among ourselves.

The most effective propaganda is to show the evil effects of all laws and restrictions, which we are constantly doing, not forgetting to enunciate our principles at the same time.

A. I.

G. V., Viento, Oregon.—Enclosed find 35cts. for three months' subscription for FREE SOCIETY.

It is a beautiful day. The pussy willows are in bloom. The robins hopping about in the garden, tell us spring is almost here; she is treading on the heels of winter in good shape. The world is very beautiful. Were it not for so much misery arising from our cursed life-destroying institutions, one might grow quite romantic and become happy. One can scarcely realize the unlimited happiness to be derived from a state of absolute freedom. My heart is heavy at present from the many letters I am getting from married women all over the States. Their yokes are so heavy and becoming almost unendurable. It seems the whole broad universe is groaning under its weight of woe. Every nook and hamlet has its victims; the cities are swarming with them. I wish there were thousands of Emma Goldmans that would get after marriage with a sharp stick, until the "sacred red tape" were riddled to atoms. Every day I live I wish my convictions were shared by thousands of women, so that all could live with men they loved, to defy all interference of laws and custom. I have lived with one man so long that I am beginning to feel like a married woman. I am a regular migratory animal. I long for great freedom to travel. Every spring I feel like a wild goose; I want to spread my wings and sail away; but alas! they are clipped. Once upon a time I used to feel guilty that I even possessed such feelings, and blamed myself and parents for them; now however I realize that the guilty parties are not the possessors but the legal suppressors of such feelings and I blame those that had a finger in the governmental pie. Yet I can not exactly blame them either, for I expect it was the best they knew. The only way, or the shortest route I see at present out of bondage is for every one that has a glimpse of freedom to live, up to his ideas to the letter. If they are arrested and sent to jail, the government would not find room enough to shelter all of them, and in a short time we should see people's eyes sticking out so wide that we could knock them off with a stick. They would begin to think hell was popping in good earnest.

We are just as happy as restrictions will permit.

A Friend, Boston, Mass.—Have been reading with some interest "Free Society" and Orford Northcote's article on "Monogamy and Evolution." What a good thing it would be for some women tied to perfectly detestable men and to the same men all the time, to have the privilege of leaving their husbands and

choosing their associates at will. I think the women have suffered long enough in this respect and should be glad of their emancipation. Would the women have their own dwellings? 1)

I think as you do about the land; it ought to belong to the people; as you say, the people must live on the land if they live at all, and there ought to be some way of distributing the land. I presume some might be too lazy to work it or have a gift for something else and lose their land. In that case would you have the land taken from them forever? Some of their children might want to own land sometime in the future. Would they suffer or wait till they were old men before they could earn enough to own land of their own? 2)

I believe there's to be soon a great change in our governmental affairs. The whole world is on the tip-toe of expectancy of some great upheaval. Christians expect this year or in this decade the second coming of their Christ. May they not be right? 3)

1.—Certainly, if women choose to live in separate dwellings, they will be perfectly at liberty to associate with whomever they please. And here is the beauty of a condition of free production and consumption: women and children, the weak and crippled, all are as independent as any man.

2.—Land ought not to belong to the people, but should be as free as the ocean and the air are at present, and no mode of distributing the land can be available. Those who like to cultivate the land will co-operate, or work alone, just as expediency and inclination will urge them to, and use as much land as they can and are willing to till. Thus the individual who felt like changing his occupation would be free to do so without injuring either himself or society.

3.—A change is coming, to be sure, but what this revelation of things will bring us, nobody can predict. It will depend altogether on the intelligence of those participating in the reconstruction of society. If you mean by "the second coming of Christ" a new era, so be it; but it is to be hoped that the people will do their own thinking and not depend on any saviors or christ.

A. I.

## Literature.

"How we may dispose of our Surplus Products and how we may employ our Surplus Labor" is an exceedingly interesting pamphlet of 16 small pages by Alfred Kinghorn-Jones; Price 5c. The pamphlet was originally written as a prize essay for the Mechanics Institute of San Francisco and the author was awarded a silver medal therefor.

The author crowds a wealth of statistics and sound philosophy in terse, plain language into a few short pages. A very spicy portion of the pamphlet are "Seven Straws Which Showeth Ye Way Of Ye Winde," which are an introduction and score the management of the Mechanics Institute.

The Pamphlet may be obtained by addressing either FREE SOCIETY or the author, room 48, 224 Geary St. San Francisco, Calif.

"The Trial of Emile Zola, A Detailed Report of the Fifteen Days' Proceedings in the Assize Court at Paris," is a pamphlet published by Benjamin R. Tucker, 24 Gold St., New York City. It consists of 356 large pages and contains Zola's letter to the president of France, the testimony of all the witnesses at the trial, the arguments of the opposing counsel, and Zola's speech to the jury. The argument of Maitre Labori, counsel for Zola, fills about 80 pages of the book, and gives a complete history of the Dreyfus case.

The price of the book is 25 cents. A cursory glance over it seems to verify the publisher's claim in a private advance-circular that: "It will interest Zola's friends and enemies alike, and especially every lawyer, every military man, every Jew, and every lover of fair play. It will prove to be the most convincing of all arguments that governments are not established to do justice."

S. D.

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.

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## The Letter-Box.

Group Ctenarska Beseda, Drill, O.—Thanks for the encouragement. It is not pleasant, to be sure, to accept money from the poor who are hardly able to sustain their families, but as the rich are not anxious to support the Anarchist press, we are forced to accept the contributions of the poor.

F. T., North Dakota.—"Why is it that you people do not recognize the B. of C. C. and S. D.? You must know the Anarchists were Socialists first," you ask. In Yankee fashion I will answer by another question: Why don't the B. of C. C. and S. D. recognize the democratic or republican parties from which they are recruited? Simply because they have outgrown the old and are striving for a new ideal. The same with the Anarchists: they are striving for something higher than the State Socialists and other reformers. The Anarchists are Socialists and will remain such. Socialism is a doctrine or theory of a more harmonious arrangement of the relations of mankind than are now prevailing; and that a government by the people—if such a thing was possible—would be much more tyrannical than the present one, is apparent; consequently those generally called Socialists are not striving for better but for worse social relations and do not deserve the name.

R. S., Coshocton, Ohio.—We received your letter and wondered what the contents of FREE SOCIETY would be if we considered all complaints and advice, and came to the conclusion that it would be a blank sheet. One is "tired of philosophical articles" and wants the present system criticized, and the other is tired of the criticisms of the present and wants to see only such articles as picture the beauties of Anarchism; one is "disgusted with the foolish articles on co-operation," because "we can't co-operate under capitalism," and the other is "glad that co-operation is favored as an immediate relief," one is dissatisfied because a parallel is given between Anarchism and Christianity, and hates to see the bible mentioned in an Anarchist paper, and the other is "delighted that the inconsistencies of the Christians are pointed out so clearly," one cannot see why the sex question is discussed in an Anarchist paper, because "that question will settle itself," and the other is

more than pleased that this question is treated, because "women will never attain their freedom unless they realize the degrading feature of marriage," one tells us to discuss nothing but the economical feature of society, and the other is much pleased that the paper is "many-sided and cultivates all the capacities of the human character," and so it goes on with infinity. What shall we do under such diversity of opinions? Simply go ahead and conduct the paper as we see fit, and the paper must live or die of its own merits or demerits.

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The German Group, Chicago, Ill. meets every Friday, 8 o'clock P. M., at 535 Blue Island Ave.

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

The Independent Educational Club meets every Sunday evening, at 7: 30 P. M. at 1927 E. St., Tacoma, Wash.

Independent Debating Club, St. Louis. 410½ Market St., Room 7, meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

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

Group Proletariat of New York City gives Anarchist lectures Fridays at 48-52 Orchard St., and Saturdays at 21 Suffolk St.

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

International Workmen Association, of Buffalo, N. Y., meets every Sunday morning at 10 o'clock A. M. at Blume's Schweizer Hall, 483 Broadway.

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

Freedom, an Anarchist monthly, 36c. per year. Address: 7 Lamb Conduit St., London W. C., England.

Freiheit, a German Anarchist weekly, price \$2.00 a year. Address: 317 Genesee Street, Buffalo, New York.

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

Sturmvoel, 50 First St., New York City, an Anarchist-Communist paper printed in German, semi-monthly; 80 cents per year.

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

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

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

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

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